



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

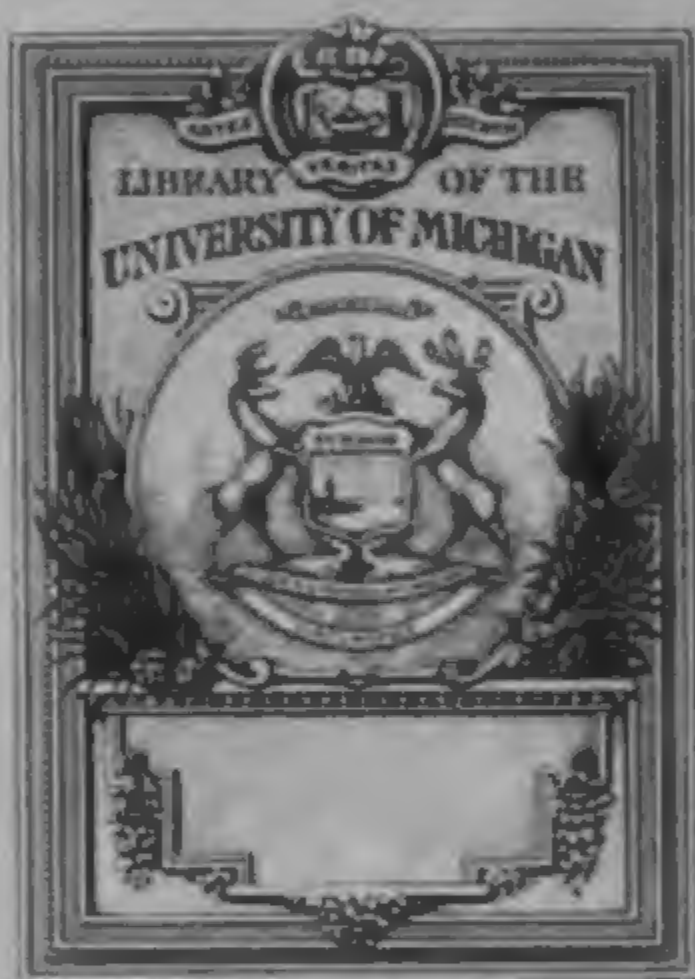
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

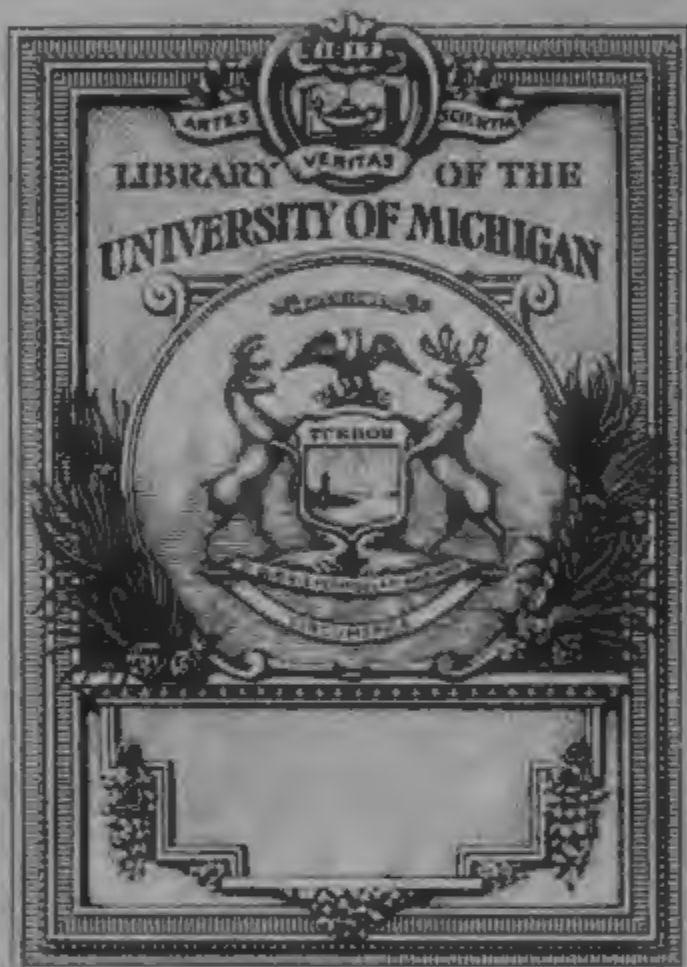
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







100  
100  
100







**THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
1873.**

13

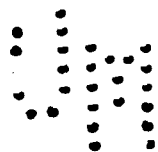


THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER:

A  
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME  
AND ABROAD,  
FOR THE YEAR

1873.

NEW SERIES.



LONDON:

RIVINGTONS, WATERLOO PLACE.

LONGMANS & CO.; HAMILTON & CO.; SIMPKIN & CO.;  
HOULSTON & SONS; SMITH, ELDER, & CO.; E. BUMPUS; J. WALLER;  
L. BOOTH; BELL & SONS; H. SOTHERAN & CO.;  
BICKERS & SON; W. HEATH; J. TOOVEY; J. WHELDON; R. WASHBOURNE;  
AND RIVINGTONS, OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

1874.

44

# CONTENTS.

## PART I.

### ENGLISH HISTORY.

#### CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Strike in the Iron Trade in South Wales—Scarcity of Coal—Speech of Sir Armstrong at Newcastle—Death of the Emperor Napoleon—The effect of the war—General feeling—The Lying-in-State and the Funeral—Unpopularity of the Government—Election Defeats—Liverpool—Opening of Parliament—The Prime Minister's Speech—Debates on the Address—Introduction of the Irish University Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech in introducing it—Effect of the Measure on the Second Reading—Defeat of the Government—Their Resignation—Ministerial Crisis—They resume Office—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli . . . . .	[1

#### CHAPTER II.

Education Bill—Speech of Lord Selborne in introducing the Bill—Protest of the members of the Equity Bar—Lord Cairns' Amendment—Appeal for Scotland and Ireland—Question of Privilege raised by Lord Cairns—Discussion in the Commons—Remarks of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. Disraeli—Proposal of a Bill concerning Ecclesiastical Appeals—Transfer of Land Bill and Jury Bill—Minor Government Bills—Small changes in Education Laws—The Budget—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Resolution of Mr. W. H. Parnell—Discussions upon the Resolution—Proposal to regulate Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act . . . . .	[40
---	-----

#### CHAPTER III.

Education Bills—Speech of Mr. Gladstone on Disestablishment—The Permissive Bill and other Measures—The Army Estimates—Mr. Cardwell's Speech—The Navy Estimates—Intended Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Minority of the Grant voted to him—The House of Lords—Mr. Gladstone—The Home Rule Contract—Irregularities at the Treasury—Speech of the Lord Chancellor at the Mansion House—Visit of the Shah of Persia—Ministerial Changes—Mr. Bright returns to office—His Speech at Birmingham—Losses of the Government—Elections—Mr. Disraeli's Bath Letter—The Taunton Election—Mr. Lowe at Sheffield . . . . .	[70
---	-----

#### CHAPTER IV.

Money-Market—Bank Rate of Discount—Railway Accidents—Board of Trade Circular—Ministerial Crisis and Scandal in Canada—The Ashantee War—Circumstances and History of the Gold Coast Dependencies—Imperial Famine in Bengal—The Russians and Khiva—Negotiations . . . . .	[92
---	-----



**THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
1873.**

Bishop of Argyle—Mr. Deutsch—Sir Jas. Duke, Bart.—J. S. Mill—Major-Gen. W. H. Miller—Lord Paget—Dr. Robinson—Earl of Zetland—Dr. Garnier—Vice-Admiral Griffin—Mr. T. Hunt—Lord Majoribanks—Hiram Powers—Mr. Jacob Waley—Mrs. Clive—Mr. MacClean—Prince Poniatowski—Sir. D. Salomons—Lord Westbury—Rev. J. Wilson—Bishop of Winchester—Lord Wolverton—Tom French—Col. K. D. Mackenzie—Sir Francis Ronalds—Mr. J. Wyon—Emperor of Morocco—Miss E. Carne—Mr. Clay, M.P.—Major-Gen. Matson—King of Saxony—Mr. Henry Bright—Dr. F. C. Calvert—Dr. Candlish—Major-Gen. Fyler—Mrs. A. Gatty—Sir Henry Holland—Lord Howden—Sir Edwin Landseer—Mr. J. G. Marshall—Sir Robt. McClure—Dr. J. Murray—Mr. G. Ormerod—Archdeacon Pollock—Count de Strzelecki—Lieut. Col. G. A. Vetch—Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Wickens—Mr. Baring—Lord Chief Justice Bovill—Hon. F. R. Forbes—Mrs. J. Hamilton—Lord Lyveden—Mr. J. G. Nichols—Professor Agassiz—Sir J. Cowen—Gen. Sir P. E. Craigie—Mr. J. A. Galignani—Sir R. A. Glass—Vice-Admiral Gordon—The O’Grady—Mr. Mark Philips—Lord Chief Baron Pigot—Gen. R. S. Piper—Gen. Sir A. Roberts—Sir G. Rose—Mr. Winterbotham, M.P.	PA
--	----

REMARKABLE TRIALS.

Bank of England Forgeries	1
Tichborne Case	1

APPENDIX.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

Correspondence with Russia respecting Central Asia	1
Correspondence respecting the Ashantee Invasion	1
Treaty with Belgium for Surrender of Criminals	1
Treaty with Italy for Surrender of Criminals	1

FINANCE ACCOUNTS :

Public Income and Expenditure for the Year 1872-3	1
---	---

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS	1
THE CABINET	1
SHERIFFS FOR 1873	1
UNIVERSITY DEGREES	1

# ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1873.

## PART I.

### ENGLISH HISTORY.

#### CHAPTER I.

The Strike in the Iron Trade in South Wales—Scarcity of Coal—Speech of Sir W. Armstrong at Newcastle—Death of the Emperor Napoleon—The effect upon general feeling—The Lying-in-State and the Funeral—Unpopularity of the Government—Election Defeats—Liverpool—Opening of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—Debates on the Address—Introduction of the Irish University Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech in introducing it—Effect of the Measure—Debate on the Second Reading—Defeat of the Government—Their Resignation—Ministerial Crisis—They resume Office—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli.

THE year began ominously enough at home with one of the greatest strikes yet organized—a strike of the iron-workers in South Wales. The struggle embraced every large establishment in the South Wales district, from Blaenavon on the east to Cwmavon on the west. The origin was simple. The masters gave notice of a reduction of wages of 10 per cent. on the 1st of December last year. They stated that their reason for doing so was that the iron trade had become so bad that they could not book orders except at such a great reduction in price as rendered the operation of a reduction of wages absolutely necessary. To that the men replied by quotations from the price lists of trades journals, showing that Welsh bar-iron had during parts of the year 1872 been quoted at higher rates than the North of England bars, yet there was no talk of a reduction in the North, where wages were higher already than they were in South Wales. There was then a conference of the two parties at Cardiff, at which the masters produced statements of the prices actually received by them, and which were considerably below the quotations upon which the men relied to prove their case. The men then naturally asked how they were to have the figures proved, unless the masters would



consent to a reference to arbitration. The answer was that arbitration had been one-sided in its working, as shown by cases in South Wales, and the most recent instance of the workmen of the North, who insisted upon 5 per cent. more than the arbitrators awarded, and the masters were obliged to yield to avoid a fight. But the question of proof was pertinent, and they would submit their books and vouchers to attest the accuracy of their figures to any two workmen appointed by their fellows at the several works. The masters suggested that the men should go to work and continue at the reduction till the 1st of March, to await the result of the spring inquiry for iron, when it was hoped and believed there would be such an improvement as to enable the employers to give back the 10 per cent. with a possible addition. What they asked the men to do was to enable them to tide over the present difficulty until then. But at a meeting at Merthyr the workmen decisively rejected these proposals, and insisted upon old prices or arbitration.

The difficulty was complicated by the action of the coal-owners, who raise coals for sale. The steam coal-owners bound themselves to rise or fall with the ironmasters' pits. A few days after the ironmasters had issued their notices, the steam coal-owners followed with a notice of reduction, and they were followed immediately afterwards by the house coal-owners with theirs. The angry attitude of the colliers led to the withdrawal of the notices at almost all the pits of these classes, leaving the ironmasters alone in antagonism with their men. It was not till the end of March that the strike was at last brought to a close, after many fruitless attempts at arrangement and negotiation. Meanwhile, the effect upon the supply and price of coal throughout the country was serious and alarming, and no sign of any material improvement in that respect followed upon the cessation of the strike. Meetings, in many instances of a violent character, were held in all quarters, and the effect upon some branches of trade was very depressing, the railway and great steamship companies, even those protected by large contracts, being unable to get their orders executed.

In February the price of coal in London rose 20 per cent. to 50s. a ton. A speech, delivered at Newcastle by Sir William Armstrong, president of a mining and mechanical engineers' institute in the North of England, is deserving of record as pointing out the only true remedy—economy—and the wanton wastefulness with which the great resources of the country have been thrown away.

“For many years past (said Sir William) the consumption of coal has been increasing at the rate of about 4 per cent. per annum, computed in the manner of compound interest. At this rate in eighteen years our present consumption would be doubled, in thirty-six years it would be quadrupled, and in fifty-four years it would be eight times greater than at present. It is clear, therefore, that our consumption has been increasing at a rate which could not possibly last. If nothing else was destined to arrest it, a failure of mining labour would have that effect; but a few years would probably have

yet elapsed before the number of hands became inadequate to meet the required demand, had not the miners precipitated the event by restricting the hours of work. Hitherto the men in this district have worked eleven days a fortnight, but it seems doubtful whether more than ten can now be worked consistently with the limitations of the recent Coal Mines Act in regard to the labour of the boys. The full hours per fortnight will, therefore, at the most be sixty-six, or thirty-three hours per week of labour at the face of the coal; but as it is only the steadiest men that work full time, the average time will of course be considerably below the limit. I do not suppose that the average output per man has fallen off proportionately to the reduction of hours. The men work hard, even harder than formerly, while at their post; but it is impossible that so great a reduction of working time can have taken place without so lessening the output per head as to neutralize in a great degree the increase of production due to the numerical growth of the mining population. Under these two conditions of increasing consumption and restricted labour we have reached a point at which the demand has overtaken the supply. The situation is a grave one, and the public has not yet fully realized how grave it is. Taking the present consumption at 110 millions of tons (exclusive of exportation), and estimating the extra price to consumers at 8s. a ton over all, the annual loss to the community from the additional cost of fuel amounts to forty-four millions sterling. Had a Government-tax of forty-four millions been levied upon coal, in addition to existing taxation, the effect would have been regarded as utterly ruinous, not only in regard to its prodigious amount, but on account of its repressive effect upon every kind of production. Yet it is a fact that we are now paying the equivalent of such a tax, with this unfavourable difference, that the money does not go into the coffers of the nation. Whether it chiefly goes to coal-owners or coal-miners is a question which I need not discuss; but I may observe that the restrictive action of the men has benefited their employers as well as themselves, and that the public are the only sufferers. Coal-owners have long been aware that limitation of quantity was the only effectual mode of raising prices, but they have never been able by their own action to maintain a restricted production. At last their workmen have done it for them, and we see the result. It is vain to appeal for relief either to coal-owners or coal-workers. Self-interest is the ruling principle of trade. Speaking, then, as one of the public, and not as a coal-owner, I say we must strive to economize the use of coal; speaking as president of an institution of mining and mechanical engineers, I say we must endeavour to make up for the deficiency of human labour by a more extended use of machine labour. The consumption of coal takes place under three great divisions, each absorbing about one-third of the whole produce:—First, domestic consumption; second, steam-engine consumption; and third, iron-making and other manufacturing processes. In the first two divisions the waste is simply shameful; in the third it is

not so great, but still considerable, though in some processes, and especially in the smelting of iron, economy of fuel has been so diligently pursued that there remains but little apparent scope for further saving. It is impossible to conceive any system of heating a dwelling more wasteful than that of sinking the fire-place into a wall directly beneath the chimney, which carries off the products of combustion. Nothing can be clearer than the advantage to be gained by merely advancing the fire-place a little into the room, and constructing it with proper heating surfaces, as in the 'Gill-stove,' and in many other stoves acting on the same principle. There is no occasion to shut out the fire from view. Neither is there any difficulty about ventilation, since fresh air can be easily introduced from the exterior by a pipe delivering its supply against the heated plates, so as to temper the air before it enters the room. By this simple and unobjectionable departure from the conventional fire-place, the quantity of coal required to produce a given heating effect might easily be reduced to one-half, and still greater economy would be effected by the use of hot water apparatus, which, however, has the objection of being too costly in first outlay to admit of very general application. For cooking purposes, also, the consumption of coal is in most houses equally extravagant, and, I may add, equally inexcusable, since the means of prevention are attainable by the adoption of known methods and appliances for concentrating the heat upon the work to be done. It is not alone in coal-mines that the extension of machinery is called for. The dearth of labour is being felt in every department of industry, and we have to fear on the one hand a ruinous collapse of trade, or on the other a continued rise in the price of all productions, threatening to neutralize the advantage of high wages, and impoverish persons dependent on fixed incomes. The only hope that I see of escaping one or other of these alternatives is by increasing the use of machinery and diminishing the direct employment of men."

Though prices remained, however, almost at a famine-standard, things became quiet as the year advanced; and after this beginning there was a notable absence of remarkable strikes in comparison with the previous agitated years.

In other respects the year 1873 throughout has been singularly uneventful as far as England is concerned. Allowing for a ministerial crisis at home, and a war abroad with some savages of the Gold Coast, the first public event of the year which excited attention in England was the death of the Emperor Napoleon at Chislehurst, the circumstances of which we elsewhere record. The general impression created throughout the country was reflected in the long articles and reports which for some days appeared in all our newspapers, in singular contrast to the silence of France, where the news had no perceptible effect whatever. And indeed, allowing for the momentary impression produced upon us among whom the exile died, and the spontaneous exhibition of feeling at his funeral, very slight at all events was the sensation created really anywhere by the

passing away of the most prominent figure in the European history of the last twenty years. But there was genuine feeling displayed, both by English and French, at the lying-in-state of the Emperor, and at the funeral service. Apart from individual inclination, there was nothing whatever to make scenes great State ceremonials. Yet such they became by the gathering of representatives of all classes—French and English. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and Prince Christian, joined the Princes of the House of Bonaparte in paying, by their presence at Chiselmurst, respect to the memory of the Emperor and sympathy with the Empress and Prince Imperial; though this had of course no political significance, any more than the fervent expressions of sympathy sent to the royal mourners by the Queen and from the various Courts of Europe. Politically, it seemed as if the French Empire had, even for Imperialists, died with the Emperor.

Placid and undemonstrative discontent with the Government appeared to continue to be the ruling political feeling, although displaying itself in a succession of Conservative victories at the elections, which this year were unusually frequent. That the hostility of the publicans had much to do with this can scarcely be doubted; but neither, on the other hand, can it be doubted that the Government had really succeeded, in spite of their large majority in the House, in securing a rare amount of unpopularity. The return of a Conservative at Liverpool (where Mr. Torr was elected by a majority of 1912 votes over his Liberal opponent, Mr. Caine), almost on the day of the opening of Parliament, was ominous of the difficulties that were soon to arise out of Mr. Gladston's third Irish measure—the reform of Irish education.

The fifth session of the existing Parliament was opened by Royal Commission on Thursday, the 6th of February. The Queen's Speech ran as follows:—

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,—*

*“ I greet you cordially on your reassembling for the discharge of your momentous duties.*

*“ I have the satisfaction of maintaining relations of friendship with Foreign Powers throughout the world.*

*“ You were informed, when I last addressed you, that steps had been taken to prepare the way for dealing more effectually with the Slave-Trade on the East Coast of Africa. I have now despatched an Envoy to Zanzibar, furnished with such instructions as appear to me best adapted for the attainment of the object in view. He has recently reached the place of his destination, and has entered into communication with the Sultan.*

*“ My ally the German Emperor, who had undertaken to pronounce judgment as Arbiter on the line of Water-boundary so long in dispute under the terms of the Treaty of 1846, has decided, in conformity with the contention of the Government of the United States, that the Haro Channel presents the line most in accordance with the true interpretation of that Treaty.*

“ I have thought it the course most befitting the spirit of international friendship and the dignity of the country to give immediate execution to the award by withdrawing promptly from my partial occupation of the island of San Juan.

“ The proceedings before the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, which I was enabled to prosecute in consequence of the exclusion of the Indirect Claims preferred on behalf of the Government of the United States, terminated in an award which in part established and in part repelled the claims allowed to be relevant. You will in due course be asked to provide for the payment of the sum coming due to the United States under this award.

“ My acknowledgments are due to the German Emperor, and likewise to the Tribunal at Geneva, for the pains and care bestowed by them on the peaceful adjustment of controversies such as could not but impede the full prevalence of national good-will in a case where it was especially to be cherished.

“ In further prosecution of a well-understood and established policy, I have concluded a Treaty for the Extradition of Criminals with my ally the King of the Belgians.

“ The Government of France has, during the recess, renewed its communications with my Government for the purpose of concluding a Commercial Treaty to replace that of 1860, which is about to expire. In prosecuting these communications, I have kept in view the double object of an equitable regard to existing circumstances, and of securing a general provision more permanent in its character, and resting on a reciprocal and equal basis, for the commercial and maritime transactions of the two countries. I hope to be enabled, within a short period, to announce to you the final result.

“ It has been for some years felt by the Governments of Russia and the United Kingdom respectively, that it would be conducive to the tranquillity of Central Asia if the two Governments should arrive at an identity of view regarding the line which describes the northern frontier of the dominions of Afghanistan. Accordingly a correspondence has passed, of which this is the main subject. Its tenour, no less than its object, will, I trust, be approved by the public opinion of both nations.

“ Papers will be laid before you with relation to the awards delivered under the Treaty of Washington, to the commercial negotiations with France, and to the northern frontier of the dominions of Afghanistan.

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—*

“ The estimates of the coming financial year will be presented to you. They have been framed with a view to the efficiency and moderation of our establishments, under circumstances of inconvenience entailed by variations of an exceptional nature in the prices of some important commodities.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,—*

“ Although the harvest has been to some extent deficient, the condition of the three Kingdoms with reference to Trade and



Commerce, to the sufficiency of the Revenue for meeting the public charge, to the decrease of pauperism, and to the relative amount of ordinary crime, may be pronounced generally satisfactory.

“ A measure will be submitted to you on an early day for settling the question of University Education in Ireland. It will have for its object the advancement of learning in that portion of my dominions, and will be framed with a careful regard to the rights of conscience.

“ You will find ample occupation in dealing with other legislative subjects of importance, which, for the most part, have already been under your notice in various forms and at different periods. Among these your attention will speedily be asked to the formation of a Supreme Court of Judicature, including provisions for the trial of Appeals.

“ Among the measures which will be brought before you, there will also be proposals for facilitating the Transfer of Land, and for the amendment of our system of Local Taxation, of certain provisions of the Education Act of 1870, and of the General Acts regulating Railways and Canals; together with various other Bills for the improvement of the Law.”

The address was moved and seconded in the House of Lords by Lord Clarendon and Lord Monteagle; and in the House of Commons by Mr. Charles Lyttleton (East Worcestershire), and Mr. Stone (Portsmouth).

This opening ushered in a singularly dull and barren session. At the outset the Prime Minister miscalculated his strength. He employed it in a hopeless attempt to please all parties in Ireland; and the defeated Government, after a waste of time spent in resigning and resuming office, neither recovered its former authority nor succeeded in re-establishing party discipline. Former Parliamentary triumphs had inspired Mr. Gladstone with a just confidence both in his own legislative ability and in his Parliamentary influence. The Irish Church Bill, the Irish Land Bill, the Education Bill, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, and the final establishment of Secret Voting were achievements of which the magnitude could not be disputed, even by those who denied the expediency of some of the measures. Mr. Gladstone felt himself as full of resource as in former years, and he trusted in his unabated power of exposition and debate to rally his supporters for a new enterprise and to overbear opposition. While he was still a candidate for office he had, perhaps under the influence of rhetorical temptation, described as three-fold the complex Irish grievance which he pledged himself to redress. In the earlier years of his administration he had, with unparalleled vigour, destroyed the Irish Establishment and remodelled the tenure of Irish landed property, and it only remained to fulfil his promise of reconstituting Irish Education. The indefatigable Minister was in vain warned that all the conditions of former success were wanting to his new undertaking. In 1869 and 1870 the objects which he proposed to himself were definite though

difficult, and while the Liberal party offered him a zealous and unanimous support, the immediate victims of his reforming energy feared to risk the withdrawal of the compromises by which he offered to mitigate the sacrifices which he imposed. In an attempt to legislate on Irish University Education the prospects of success were far less favourable. It was necessary to satisfy the conflicting demands of Roman Catholic Prelates, of English and Scotch Liberals, and of Protestant Nonconformists, who were already on other grounds threatening a rupture with the Government. The abolition of religious tests in Trinity College had only been prevented by Mr. Gladstone's refusal in a former session to sanction a partial measure of reform. The sole complainants were the Roman Catholic clergy, and, except for the satisfaction of their demands, there was no pressing need for legislation. By the terms of their alliance with the Dissenters for the overthrow of the Irish Establishment the priests had interposed insuperable difficulties in the way of concurrent endowment; and when the bond formed by common enmity was dissolved after the attainment of victory, it was difficult to conjecture how any Liberal Government could effect a practical settlement of the Roman Catholic claims. It is true that there are in Ireland vast funds of which Parliament has found itself unable to dispose, and that a richly-endowed Roman Catholic University would have less tendency than a number of cheap clerical seminaries to promote either disaffection or bigotry; but all parties in Parliament had, for various reasons, repudiated the most obvious solution of the problem; and, as the result proved, Mr. Gladstone himself was unable to reconcile contradictory opinions and pretensions. Even if his marvellous ingenuity had resulted in the proposal of some logical compromise, far more commonplace political observers might have told him that no University Bill which would satisfy the Roman Catholic Bishops could by possibility command the approval of the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, nevertheless, addressed himself to his embarrassing task with a confidence which may probably not have been shared by less enthusiastic colleagues. The Irish University Bill occupied a conspicuous place in the Queen's Speech, and a week after the meeting of Parliament the Prime Minister explained a measure which, if not in its language, in its details as well as in its conception was emphatically his own. His opening statement was a masterpiece of lucid exposition, and few more genuine tributes to oratorical ability have ever been paid than the seemingly assenting silence with which a Bill which afterwards provoked universal dissatisfaction was in the first instance received. The elaborate provisions of the Bill were, in truth, not to be comprehended without careful study. Eagerly adopting a convenient version of academical history, Mr. Gladstone described as an abuse or an accident the ancient union of the University of Dublin with Trinity College, and he accordingly proposed to abolish the exclusive connexion, and to affiliate Trinity College and several other educational institutions to the University. Of the Queen's



Colleges established by Sir Robert Peel, two were to be associated with the University of Dublin; but the Queen's University was to be abolished, and, on the allegation that it had failed to attract an adequate number of students, the Queen's College at Galway was to be suppressed. The so-called Catholic University, and several other Roman Catholic seminaries, were to be in the same manner attached to the University of Dublin, which was, however, not to be, like the University of London, a mere Examining Board, but a real University, with due appliances of lecture-rooms, of professorships, and of fellowships. To its revenues Trinity College would, under the provisions of the Bill, contribute 12,000*l.* a year, while the remaining revenues were to arise from a charge on the Consolidated Fund of 10,000*l.* a year. The government of the new University was to be vested in a council of persons to be named in the Bill. Future vacancies were to be filled for a certain number of years by the Crown, and afterwards by a mixed system of co-optation and election, in which the preponderating power would ultimately have devolved on the affiliated colleges.

For the third time, the Premier said in introducing the Bill, he rose to discharge a duty vital not only to the honour and existence of the Government, but to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. Referring to the opinion held in some quarters that Ireland offered but a barren field for these efforts of legislation, he declared emphatically that the Government did not share in that view. Industry there flourishes, the wealth of the community increases, order is respected, ordinary crime is less than in England, agrarian crime has greatly diminished, and treasonable crime has disappeared. Bespeaking indulgence for the intricate and complex details into which he should be obliged to enter, and promising that though the Government admitted the urgent necessity for dealing with intermediary education, they did not intend to mix that question up with University education, Mr. Gladstone referred, in a vein of sarcastic pleasantry, to the anticipatory criticisms in one of the leading journals on his measure, and repelled energetically the insinuation that it would be tinged with Ultramontane influence. As a matter of fact, the Government had not communicated with any of the bodies interested in university education, and the measure appealed for support solely to the equity and justice on which it was based. "We have heard much, sir," he said, "of Ultramontane influence (Hear, hear!) and it may be well, therefore—that cheer is an additional reason why I should notice the point—to refer to it for a moment. I cannot wonder that apprehensions with respect to Ultramontane influence should enter into the minds of the British public whenever legislation affecting the position of the Roman Catholics in Ireland is projected; and we cannot, I think, be surprised that the influences which appear so forcibly to prevail within the Roman communion should be regarded by a very great portion of the people of this country with aversion, and by some portion of them even with unnecessary dread. It appears to us, however, that we have one

course, and one course only to take, one decision, and one only to arrive at, with respect to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Do we intend, or do we not intend, to extend to them the full benefit of civil equality on a footing exactly the same as that on which it is granted to members of other religious persuasions? If we do not, the conclusion is a most grave one; but if the House be of opinion, as the Government are of opinion, that it is neither generous nor politic, whatever we may think of this ecclesiastical influence within the Roman Church, to draw distinctions in matters purely civil adverse to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen—if we hold that opinion, let us hold it frankly and boldly; and, having determined to grant measures of equality as far as it may be in our power to do so, do not let us attempt to stint our action in that sense when we come to the execution of that which we have announced to be our design. But there really, as I shall explain, is no room for any suspicion of either Ultramontane or any other influence with respect to the measure which I am now about to submit to the House. The truth is that circumstances entirely independent of our own will have precluded us from holding communications with any of the large bodies which may be said, as bodies, to be interested in Irish University education. The Governing Body of Trinity College, Dublin, have thought fit, in the exercise of their discretion—a discretion which they had a perfect right to exercise—to adopt a policy and to propose a plan of their own, or at least to associate themselves with the plan which was proposed in this House by the hon. member for Brighton, with the direct concurrence and sanction of one, perhaps of both, of the members of the Dublin University. That being so, it is obvious that it would not have been consistent with the respect which we owe to that learned body that we should have attempted to induce it by private persuasion to accept a plan of a different character, or that we should have entered into communications with it as to the nature of the proposal which we are about to lay before the House. Under these circumstances, the principles of equal dealing prevented us from similar proceedings in any other quarter. Therefore, the door was shut in that direction by no act of ours, but by an act altogether independent of ourselves; and consequently it was plain that the best course for us to take was to look as well as we could to the general justice and equity of the course we felt ourselves called upon to pursue, to devise a plan founded upon our own matured convictions, to spare no labour in drawing up the details of that plan, and to forego altogether the advantage—an advantage often considerable—of holding communications beforehand with the various parties who were interested in the matter. Therefore, the measure I am about to submit to the House is a measure solely of the Government. It is a measure of the Government alone; our responsibility for which is undivided, and our hopes of the acceptance of which are founded entirely upon what we trust will be found to be its equity and its justice. The provisions of the Bill have been drawn up without any disposition to shape them for the

purpose of currying favour or of conciliating any irrational prejudice, or of enabling the Government to pursue any other course than that which the most enlightened patriotism and the objects we have in view must dictate to every honourable mind."

Examining next the alternatives which had been offered to the Government or imputed to them, he declared that with regard to denominational endowment the Government was not only precluded from proposing it by their own pledges, but by a sincere belief that it would be unwise. The "Supplemental Charter" scheme had entirely gone by, and was not equal to the present emergency, and to set up another University by the side of Dublin University and the Queen's University would be no settlement of the question. Passing then to the principles on which the Government had determined to act, he started from the proposition that the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from University education in Ireland constitutes a religious grievance—a civil disability imposed for religious opinions. That both Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were debarred from the benefits of University education by their unwillingness to send their children to places where religion was not taught on authority as part of the system of training was a fact which, however some might deplore it, must be dealt with as a fact which could not be altered. To prove this, Mr. Gladstone quoted the returns.

"In the Queen's College, Ireland, the total number of matriculated students is returned to me as 708. The number of Roman Catholics among them is 181, or somewhat over one-fourth. But my proposition is this: in the return there is a fundamental fallacy; the great bulk of these matriculated students, or, at least, a very large portion of them, are simply professional students, and not students in art. But when we speak of University education as an instrument of higher culture, we mean University education in art; schools of law, schools of medicine, schools of engineering, and I know not how many other schools, are excellent things; but these are things totally distinct and different from what we understand by that University training which we look upon as the most powerful instrument for the culture of the mind. Therefore I am obliged to break down these figures in pieces, and ask, Out of these 181 students, how many are students in art? I now give the Roman Catholic students in art in the Queen's Colleges, Ireland. From 1859 to 1864, in these three Queen's Colleges, the Roman Catholic students averaged 59; from 1864 to 1869 they averaged 50; from 1869 to 1871 they averaged 45. I think these figures justify the statement that the numbers are miserably small, and, small as they are, they are dwindling away. When I speak of recognizing only students in arts, I am not hazarding the opinion of an individual; I am giving utterance to a judgment which I know every University man will sustain. It is the opinion upon which the University of Dublin has uniformly proceeded in its handling of this subject. The number of Roman Catholics matriculated as students in arts at Trinity College seems to be about 100. That

may not be the exact number, but, from the figures kindly supplied to me, it must be within two or three, one way or the other. Adding these 100 at Trinity College to 45 at the Queen's Colleges we have 145 as the whole number of persons whom 4,000,000 and upwards of Roman Catholics in Ireland at present succeed in bringing within the teaching of a University to receive academical training in the faculty of arts. Well, I think that is a proportion miserably small. It is something, but it is really almost next to nothing. Again, sir, the total number of students in arts in Ireland I find to be 1179. So that the Roman Catholics, with more than two-thirds—I think nearly three-fourths of the population—supply only an eighth part of the students in arts. I think there are hardly any in this House who will think fit to say that that is anything like an adequate proportion—anything like the numbers which they ought to furnish, even after making every allowance which ought fairly to be made for the relative proportions of Roman Catholics in the different classes of the community. Well, I think, then, I have shown that there is a great religious grievance in Ireland. Had I been able to point to a state of things in which the movement was in the other direction—in which, instead of an almost constant decrease of Roman Catholic attendance at the Queen's Colleges, there was a steady, healthy, and progressive increase—the case would have been greatly different. You might have said, 'It is well to wait and see what happens.' But I am afraid if we wait to see what happens, the only result of that would be to aggravate a state of things already sufficiently bad.

"I now, sir, quit the topic of the religious grievance. But quite apart from the religious grievance, there is a great and strong necessity for academical reform in Ireland. I will test the question first as to the quantity or supply of academical training in that country; and all along I will keep broadly and plainly in view the distinction between training in arts and mere professional training. Now, in Trinity College there are attending lectures in arts 563 young men, about the same number—I think it is a little more—as attend in Trinity College, Cambridge. In the Queen's Colleges the students in arts are as follow—I take the year 1871, which is the latest I possess:—At Belfast, 136; at Cork, 50; and at Galway, 35—in all, 221. Adding these two figures together we get 784 as the total for Ireland of University students in the proper sense of the word; that is to say, in the sense in which it is understood in Scotland, much more in the sense in which it is understood in England. Seven hundred and eighty-four is the whole number of students who are receiving regular instruction in arts, for the whole of Ireland, with its five millions and a half of population. But there are a large number of students in the Queen's Colleges who are receiving professional education in law, in medicine, and in engineering. The number of these is at Belfast, 201; at Cork, 174; and at Galway, 80—in all, 455. Thus, when we include students preparing for a professional career with the arts students, we come

up to 1239. Finally, there are a large number of persons who belong to Trinity College, Dublin, who have the honour of paying, without any deduction, all the fees of Trinity College, Dublin, but who receive from Trinity College, Dublin, no other benefits—and great benefits they are shown to be, or the price would not be paid for them—than those of examination and a degree. The number of these is 395, so that in this way we get up the number of University students in Ireland to the very poor and scanty figure of 1634, of whom less than one-half are University students in the English or in the Scottish sense of the word. Of students in that sense in Ireland there are but 784, against 4000 whom Scotland, with not much more than half the population, sends to her Universities. I think that is a pretty strong case as regards the absolute supply of University and academic training in Ireland. But the case is stronger still when we consider the comparative state of the academical supply. Take the Queen's Colleges—those valuable institutions which we should heartily desire to see in a flourishing condition. From 1859 to 1864 they matriculated on the average 226 persons per annum. This is in arts and other faculties taken together. From 1864 to 1869 they matriculated 1039 persons, or an average of 208 persons. In each of the years 1870-71 they matriculated 200 persons. Thus, as far as the Queen's Colleges are concerned, even the present narrow supply of academic training is a supply tending downwards. What is the case as regards Trinity College? Having a strong sentiment of veneration and gratitude for that institution, which has done in Ireland a large portion of the good which has been done for her at all, I observe with the greatest regret the decline in the number of students there. I now draw no distinction between resident and non-resident students; and I find that during the period of years from 1830 to 1834 the annual matriculations were 433. Then, taking a period of fifteen years down to 1849, at the end of which the Queen's Colleges were founded, the matriculations had sunk to 362 per annum; while from 1849 to 1872 they had again sunk to 295. Thus, sir, we find, upon examining this matter to the bottom, that, notwithstanding the efforts of Parliament, notwithstanding the general increase of education, notwithstanding the opening of the Queen's Colleges with large endowments, the University students of Ireland in the proper sense—that is, the students in arts—are fewer at this moment than they were forty years ago, when no Queen's Colleges were in existence. I have shown you that, at this moment, the students in arts in Ireland, even including men who are merely examined and who do not attend lectures, only number 1179; but I find that in 1832 the students in arts at Trinity College alone were 1461. Sir, I think I have now sufficiently made good my case as to the supply of academic training in Ireland and the necessity of reform so far as such a necessity can be deduced from the mere paucity of supply."

But beyond the religious grievance, he maintained that academical reform is needed in Ireland by reason of the present insuffi-



ciency of academical teaching and the strangely defective constitution of Trinity College. Here, again, Mr. Gladstone went deeply into statistics to prove that University education in Ireland is declining, and that there are now fewer students in arts than there were forty years ago. Discussing the second cause which calls for academical reform, Mr. Gladstone dilated on the anomalous position of the University and the strange inversion of the relations between it and Trinity College. This led him into a long retrospect of the history of the University, from which he drew the conclusion that by its original design the University was always intended to include several colleges, and that, in fact, various colleges had from time to time existed, although none had survived but Trinity College. On this historical conclusion he based the main principle of the Bill: that the University of Dublin—as distinct from Trinity College—is the ancient historical University of Ireland, and that within its precincts should be effected the academical reform which is needed. Before proceeding to describe the mode in which this principle will be carried out, he mentioned as a collateral proposition that the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork will be retained, that the Galway College will be wound up by 1876, and that it would be proposed to merge the Queen's University into Dublin University, although on this last point he seemed ready to defer to the judgment of the House.

“I come now,” he said, “to the question of the practical principles on which we hope Parliament will conduct that great academic reform to which I have pointed by means of the measure we are about to introduce. By what principles are we to be guided in that reform? Parliament has been recently engaged in reforming the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; it has laid down very sound principles with respect to these Universities; these principles have not reached their fullest development, but still there they are; they have received deliberate sanction, and it is upon these principles that we propose to go with respect to the University of Dublin and Trinity College. What, then, are the great principles upon which Parliament has acted with respect to the English Universities? First of all, it has abolished tests. Upon this point there is practically no difference of opinion, because while the whole Liberal politicians of the country have desired that abolition for its own sake, under the circumstances of the time that boon is freely offered with an open hand by the authorities of Trinity College and the University of Dublin itself. But this is a negative rather than a positive reform. The next principle has been to open endowments. Where endowments are tied up by particular provisions in such a way as to render them the monopoly of comparatively few, Parliament has endeavoured to widen the access, and to increase the number of those who may compete for them, with the conviction that that is the way to render them more fruitful of beneficial results. The next, and perhaps most important, principle has been to emancipate the University from the Colleges. That is what we did at once in

Oxford, and we did it in two ways. The first of them was the establishment of a new Governing Body. In Cambridge, the *Caput*, supplemented by conventional meetings of the Heads of Houses, in Oxford more formally the Hebdomadal Board, composed almost wholly of the Heads of Colleges—were in practical possession of the initiative, and were the rulers of the University. We abolished the Hebdomadal Board in Oxford and the *Caput* in Cambridge, and carried over the powers in each case to the Council. And now similarly, that we should establish a new Governing Body for the University of Dublin is evidently the conclusion to which both principle and policy should bring us. The other great measure of emancipation consisted in the introduction within the Universities of members not belonging to any College at all. Until within the last few years, no one could belong to the University of Oxford or of Cambridge without belonging to some College or Hall within it, just as now no one can belong to the University of Dublin without belonging also to Trinity College. Parliament enabled the English Universities to enlarge their borders by taking in members not belonging to any College or Hall. Speaking for Oxford, I rejoice to say that Act has been fruitful of good; and already, although the change is a very recent one, there are 120 young men to be found in the University enjoying all the benefits of careful training, but all able to pursue a social scheme of their own, to live as economically as they please, to seek knowledge in the way they like best, provided they conform to the rules of the University; and we may reasonably expect that a very powerful element of University life will in this way ultimately be established. Another method by which we have proceeded—I will not say to emancipate the Universities, but to make the Colleges conducive to the purposes of the University—is a very important one, and that is, to use a very emphatic little word, by “taxing” the Colleges for the benefit of the Universities. That is a principle which has already received in Oxford a considerable development. We already oblige Corpus Christi, Magdalen, and All Souls’ Colleges to maintain Professors out of the College revenues, not for College but for University purposes; and as for Christ Church, with which I have been myself connected, though a poor College in comparison with Trinity College—I greatly doubt whether it is half as wealthy—yet in Christ Church five Professorships of Divinity, at a cost of probably between 7000*l.* and 8000*l.* a year, are maintained out of the property of the College for the benefit of the University.

“These, sir, are the principles of academic reform on which we have proceeded in England. There are other principles which it would be necessary to observe in Ireland, in consequence of her peculiar circumstances; yet these are the main ones. But there are two points among those which the special case of Ireland brings before us, that I must particularly notice. To the one I would refer with some satisfaction—at least as regards Trinity College—to the other with pain. It is this. If we are about to found a



University in Ireland in which we hope to unite together persons of the different religious persuasions into which the community is divided, we must be content to see some limitations of academical teaching. It would not be safe, in our opinion, to enter with our eyes open into largely controverted subjects. In theology no one would wish the University of Dublin, if it be reformed, to teach; and we also think there are some other subjects with regard to which it will be necessary to observe limitations that I will presently explain. There is another matter on which we must pursue a course somewhat different from that taken in England. In England, when we reformed the Universities, we may say we did nothing to increase the influence of the Crown. In Ireland, as far as Trinity College is concerned, I should not propose to increase the influence of the Crown. It appears to me that it may be safely limited. But if we are to have an effective and living Dublin University with a new Governing Body, I am afraid it will be necessary to introduce for a time the action of Parliament and of the Crown in consequence of the unbalanced state of the University at the present moment—a state which must continue, at all events, for a time.”

The Bill contemplates three periods. On January 1, 1875, the powers now exercised by the Provost and the seven senior Fellows of Trinity College in relation to the University will be handed over to the new Governing Body; then will follow a provisional period, during which certain special arrangements will prevail; and after 1885, when the new system has been fully developed, the permanent rules will come into force. Coming next to describe in detail the changes which are to be made in the present position of the University, Mr. Gladstone said that first of all the University of Dublin will be incorporated, which it never has been yet; the theological faculty will be separated from Trinity College and handed over to the representative body of the Disestablished Church, with compensation for vested interests and a charge for its maintenance. The Chancellor will be appointed by the Crown, and will retain his present function of visitor of Trinity College; and the Vice-Chancellor will be elected by the Governing Body. The Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, the Roman Catholic University, and the Magee College will become colleges of the University, as will probably other institutions also, though on this point Mr. Gladstone spoke in a tone of uncertainty, having had no opportunity of communicating with the persons interested.

“The next change,” said Mr. Gladstone, “which I have to mention is probably the most important of all; it is the constitution of the new Governing Body of the University of Dublin. I have shown that we strictly follow the analogy of English legislation in substituting a new Governing Body for the old one, and as a necessary step in the process of emancipating—I do not use the word in any invidious sense—or detaching the University. But in the case of Oxford and Cambridge we had, already supplied to our hands, a large, free, well-balanced and composed constituency, to which we could at once

entrust the election of the new Governing Body. This, it is evident, is not the case with respect to the University of Dublin. Were the new Governing Body to be elected at once by the Senate of the University of Dublin, it would represent one influence, and one influence only. We have, therefore, determined to introduce an intermediate or provisional period, and we shall not ask Parliament to place in the hands of the Crown the nomination of the Council which is to govern the University for that period; but, passing by the Crown, shall ask the Legislature itself in the main to nominate the list of persons for that purpose. I need hardly say that we are not now prepared to bring that list of persons before the House. It would be impossible for us to do it. It was impossible for us to ask gentlemen of eminence in Ireland to allow us to propose their names until we were aware of the general view which they would be disposed to take of the plans of the Government and of the intentions of Parliament; and I have already explained the reasons why it has not been within our power to hold any such communications. There is, however, one point on which I wish not to be misunderstood, and that is the principle on which we shall endeavour to make the selection of names which we shall submit to Parliament. There is, indeed, another class of members of the Council, to whom I shall presently refer; but I speak now of the names we shall submit to Parliament of members whom I propose to call the ordinary members of the Council. They are twenty-eight in number, and will form the principal and therefore the predominating portion of the Council. These names of ordinary members we shall endeavour to submit to Parliament, not as representatives of religious bodies as such, but on wider grounds. For we think that the lists should be composed—without excluding any class or any man on account of his religious profession—from among all those persons in Ireland who, from their special knowledge or position, or from their experience, ability, character, and influence, may be best qualified at once to guard and to promote the work of academic education in Ireland. That is the principle on which we wish to make our choice, so far as we are concerned, and if we make it amiss, it will be in the power of Parliament to correct it.

“ I will next, sir, proceed to describe the manner in which the Council is to be brought into action. It will be necessary for it to perform certain preliminary functions before the 1st of January, 1875. It will have to matriculate students, to complete its number as I shall presently explain, and to make appointments of officers, so far as may be needed, to prepare it for entering on its career of full authority. On the 1st of January, 1875, it will take over those powers of ordinary government which have hitherto been exercised by the Provost and seven Senior Fellows of Trinity College. It will have the power to admit new Colleges over and above those named in the Act; it will have a general power of governing the University, and the function of appointing Professors and Examiners; and it is only in respect to the method of its own elec-

tion that it will remain under an intermediate or provisional constitution until it reaches the year 1885, when its constitution will assume its permanent form. The composition of the Council will be made complete from the first. But I have not yet fully described the mode of its appointment. There will be the twenty-eight ordinary members to be named in the statute, as I have already mentioned. During the ten years from 1875 to 1885—the provisional period—there will be, probably no great number, but still a certain number of vacancies in the Body which it will be necessary for us to make provision to fill up. For that limited period we propose that the vacancies should be filled alternately by the Crown and by co-optation on the part of the Council itself. At the expiration of the ten years it will come to its permanent constitution, and I will describe what that, as we propose it, is to be; and then the Committee will be able to judge of the meaning of what I said when I stated that our desire was that the University of Dublin should be founded, as far as possible, on principles of academic freedom. After ten years, we propose that service on the Council shall be divided into four terms of seven years each, four members retiring in each successive year. There will therefore be four vacancies among the twenty-eight ordinary members to be filled up every year, and these four vacancies we propose shall be filled in rotation—first, by the Crown; secondly by the Council itself; thirdly, by the Professors of the University; and fourthly, by the Senate of the University. There is a separate provision with regard to casual vacancies in the Council, to which I need not now more particularly refer. The ordinary members will constitute, according to the proposal of the Government, the main stock or material of the Council or Governing Body of the University; but we have been very desirous to see in what way that which we aim at may meet the general wants and wishes of the people of Ireland; and, considering how desirable it is to prevent the action of too strong an unitarian principle—I have, I believe, ample authority for using that word, which is familiar in the present politics of Germany—we have been very anxious to discover in what manner it might be possible to give to those bodies, which I have described as Colleges of the University, a fair opportunity, not of governing the action of the Council by any exertion of influence or combination among themselves, but of being heard in the Council, so that all views and desires with respect to education might be fairly brought into open discussion, and that right might have the best chance of prevailing. It is evident we could not adopt the system under which any one College should be allowed to send to the Council a large number of members. It is also evident that it would not be safe to adopt a system under which Colleges, insignificant in magnitude, should be permitted to claim a representation in the Council. What we wish is this—that considerable Colleges, which represent a large section of the community and of its educating force, should have a fair opportunity of making their voice heard in the Council. With

regard to all those dangers which would be likely to arise from too great a rigour of unity in the examinations, or too narrow a choice in their subjects and tone, though we introduce several other provisions on the point into the Bill, it is to the freedom and elasticity of the Council itself, I think, that we should look as the main security against anything either inequitable or unwise. We propose, then, that there shall be in the Council from the outset—that is to say, from the 1st of January, 1875—a certain number of what we call collegiate members, the basis of whose position in the Council will be that any College of the University which has fifty of its matriculated students, those students being *in statu pupillari* matriculated also as members of the University, may send one member to the Council, and if such College have 150 students, then it may send two members. That would be the maximum; and this element, so far as we can judge, while it ought to be and will be secondary in point of numbers, would become very valuable and necessary for the purpose to which I have just adverted. The Senate of the University of Dublin, as it now exists, does not, I may observe, discharge one of the living and standing duties which a University is called upon to perform. I mean the election of representatives to be sent to Parliament. The election of representatives for the Dublin University is mainly conducted by gentlemen who, except for that purpose, do not belong to the University at all—that is to say, who have ceased to belong to it, and who are empowered to exercise with regard to it no other function. What we propose is that henceforward the Senate shall elect the representatives of the University. The Senate will, of course, consist of all those who are now in it, and of all the doctors and masters who may hereafter have their names kept on it according to the rules which may be in force. I need not add that care will be taken that all those individuals who are now entrusted with the privilege of the franchise will have their rights preserved; but for the future we shall lay down the principle that the members for the University ought to be elected by the Senate as they now are by the Senate of Cambridge and the Convocation of Oxford, and by them alone.”

The new University would be a teaching as well as a governing body, and in describing the securities for conscience which would be taken, Mr. Gladstone said there would be no chairs in theology, in moral philosophy, or in modern history.

“We do not think it necessary,” said Mr. Gladstone, “to exclude these subjects from the examination, provided the submission to examination in them is voluntary. As I have said already, the University is to be a teaching University; but we propose to extend the voluntary principle still further, and to provide that, as a rule, no attendance upon the lectures of the University professors shall be compulsorily required from the students. We intend to trust to the excellence of the instruction which will be given, and to the vast advantages the University will enjoy from being placed in the metropolis of Ireland for the attraction of students to it; but we

propose to make the attendance upon the lectures of its professors voluntary. We propose, also, to exclude the two subjects I have lately named from the examinations for the emoluments of the University. From the examinations for honours we do not propose to exclude them, and for this reason. It is perfectly practicable to adopt the system of a positive standard as regards examinations even for honours, and you may bring up to that standard any number of men who show themselves competent to reach it; but as regards emoluments, the competition must be between man and man; what one gains the other must lose, and therefore we think it the best and safest method of managing these emoluments to provide that these men should meet upon a common ground upon which all can equally consent to be examined. There are some other provisions of the same kind in the Bill, because I need not say that these securities for conscience are among the most important safeguards of the Bill, and unless they are effective we cannot expect the Bill to work, neither should we desire it to be accepted by the House. Among these, we have provided a clause somewhat analogous to one which appears in the Education Act with reference to the punishment of masters who persistently offend against the conscientious scruples of the children whose education they conduct. We provide that a teacher in the University may be punished or reprimanded if he wilfully offends the conscientious scruples of those whom he instructs in the exercise of his office. But I am bound to say that the main security for the rights of conscience on which we rely is such a representation of all parties, within moderate and safe limits, in the body of the Council, as can be usefully and beneficially introduced into its constitution."

Into the financial part of the scheme Mr. Gladstone went with great minuteness, the general result of which is that from the present revenues of Trinity College will be taken the cost of providing for vested interests, and a contribution of 12,000*l.* a year to the new University. This, he said, will still leave Trinity the richest College in Christendom; and for its consolation he added that in all probability it would be necessary to apply the same treatment to some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge when the Commission now prosecuting its inquiries had reported. The expenses of the extended University Mr. Gladstone estimated at 50,000*l.*—viz., 25,000*l.* for the encouragement of learning, thus divided:—Ten Fellowships annually of 200*l.*, each tenable for five years; twenty-five Exhibitions annually of 50*l.*, and 100 Bursaries annually of 25*l.*, each tenable for four years; 20,000*l.* a year for the staff of professors, and 5000*l.* for examinations, buildings, and general expenses. This sum is to be thus provided:—12,000*l.* by Trinity College, 10,000*l.* from the Consolidated Fund, 5000*l.* from fees, and the remainder from the surplus of the Ecclesiastical property of Ireland. Finally, Mr. Gladstone mentioned that powers would be given to Trinity College to form a scheme for its own self-government. So, also, the other Colleges would have the same powers; and as to the



preponderance of lay or ecclesiastical influence in them, each, he said, must settle for itself; all the Legislature could do was to give them an open career and fair play. Mr. Gladstone, having spoken just three hours, concluded by claiming for the scheme that it was no mere innovation, but an attempt to build on the ancient historical lines.

“This is an important—I would almost say, considering the many classes it concerns and the many topics it involves, it is almost a solemn—subject; solemn from the issues which depend upon it. We have approached it with the desire to soothe, and not exasperate. I hope that in the lengthened address I have delivered to the House I have not said anything that can offend. If I have been so unfortunate, it is entirely contrary to my intention and my honest wish. We, sir, have done our best. We have not spared labour and application in the preparation of this certainly complicated, and, I venture to hope, also comprehensive, plan. We have sought to provide a complete remedy for what we thought, and for what we have long marked and held up to public attention as a palpable grievance—a grievance of conscience. But we have not thought that, in removing that grievance, we were discharging either the whole or the main part of our duty. It is one thing to clear away obstructions from the ground; it is another to raise the fabric. And the fabric which we seek to raise is a substantive, organized system, under which all the sons of Ireland, be their professions, be their opinions what they may, may freely meet in their own ancient, noble, historic University for the advancement of learning in that country. The removal of grievance is the negative portion of the project; the substantive and positive part of it, academic reform. We do not ask the House to embark upon a scheme which can be described as one of mere innovation. We ask you now to give to Ireland that which has been long desired, which has been often attempted, but which has never been attained; and we ask you to give it to Ireland, in founding yourselves upon the principles on which you have already acted in the Universities of England. We commit the plan to the prudence and the patriotism of this House, which we have so often experienced, and in which the country places, as we well know, an entire confidence. I will not lay stress upon the evils which will flow from its failure, from its rejection, in prolonging and embittering the controversies which have for many, for too many, years been suffered to exist. I would rather dwell upon a more pleasing prospect—upon my hope, even upon my belief, that this plan in its essential features may meet with the approval of the House and of the country. At any rate, I am convinced that if it be your pleasure to adopt it, you will by its means enable Irishmen to raise their country to a height in the sphere of human culture such as will be worthy of the genius of the people, and such as may, perhaps, emulate those oldest, and possibly best, traditions of her history upon which Ireland still so fondly dwells.”

The first feeling created by the Bill was admiration of the in-

genuity it displayed; the second was a suspicion that it violated the prejudices or the professed opinions of nearly all religious and political parties. Its least unfriendly critics were the Irish Hierarchy and Conservatives, who were ably represented by Dr. Ball. Trinity College might think itself fortunate in escaping with the sacrifice of a fifth or sixth part of its annual revenue, especially as the Theological Faculty was to be transferred to the Disestablished Church, and to be endowed from its surplus funds. There was nothing in the indirect benefit which might accrue to Roman Catholic institutions through the establishment of the University which could shock the advocates of denominational education; and perhaps the Protestants of the Irish Church appreciated more justly than political and sectarian factions the nature and amount of the discontent which existed among Roman Catholics. The Liberals in general, and especially the Dissenters, formed a more unfavourable judgment of the Bill. It was suspected that the suppression of the Galway College had been proposed to gratify the Roman Catholic clergy, and it was shown by plausible calculation that within a dozen or fifteen years the majority of the governing Council might be appointed under the influence of the Roman Catholic bishops. The provision for the exclusion of mental and moral science from the course of study was naturally regarded as a blot on the Bill, while it evidently implied a stigma on the good sense of the Irish nation. Mr. Gladstone had even thought it necessary to provide by special enactment for the punishment of any professor who should enunciate opinions which might be unpalatable to any section of the University; and it was stipulated that no student should be subject to disadvantage on the ground of his preference or rejection of any theory. It was easy to suggest the explanation that the Council and its officers would not fix an absurd interpretation even to the most paradoxical restrictions on freedom of education; but, as one of the movers of the Address to the Throne happily remarked on the first day of the session, the promoters of a scheme for disseminating learning without offence to religious feeling seemed to have thought far more of religion, or of religious prejudice, than of the interests of learning. No enlightened Governing Body would have been seriously encumbered by the cautious limitations of the Bill; but bigoted sectarians might have found in its provisions sufficient authority for the most perverse and vexatious interference. Secular patriotism in Ireland can scarcely have been gratified by the gagged and bandaged condition in which their national University was to commence its career; but the more independent Irish members were strongly disposed to accept, under protest, the Ministerial offer. The Roman Catholic bishops, in accordance with the recent policy of their Church, unwisely refused concessions which ought to have been recommended to their acceptance by the disapproval of their bitterest adversaries. Instead of waiting for the chance of manipulating to their own advantage the constitution of the Council, the bishops bitterly denounced every

project of education which was not exclusively under their own control. Five years before they had in a similar spirit rejected the liberal overtures of Lord Mayo; and they may have long to wait before they meet with another Minister so anxious to gratify their unreasonable demands as Mr. Gladstone. Their support might, perhaps, not have insured the passage of the Bill, but their rejection of the offered compromise was decisive. In the debate on the second reading Professor Fawcett distinguished himself by an exceedingly bitter and powerful speech. In the course of it he asserted that the measure would make the condition of University education in Ireland more unsatisfactory than ever, and would create worse evils than those with which it was meant to deal. There was no principle consistently carried out in it—it was a mere compromise intended to please everybody, but which pleased nobody. Against the abolition of the Queen's "University" and the Galway College he protested warmly, showing that the policy of centralization had failed in all foreign countries, and warning the Scotch members that, if they helped to carry this Bill, their four Universities would be united in one before many years. Travelling through the principal points of the measure, Mr. Fawcett took exception to the constitution of the Governing Body, and asked on what principle the selection of its members was to be made—was the qualification to be academical distinction or a balance of religious opinions? Of the gagging clauses, and the degrading censorship of professorial teaching which they involved, Mr. Fawcett spoke with great bitterness; and, speaking as a Cambridge professor, he declared that if such clauses were introduced into the English Universities he would not submit to them. The Bill could lead to no other conclusion but the establishment of denominational education in Ireland. It had not satisfied a single class, and he hoped the House would reject it on its merits without reference to the collateral issue of a Ministerial crisis.

Many of the younger Liberal members followed Mr. Fawcett in denouncing the humiliating precautions of the Bill against proselytism, and the alleged inclination of the Government to conciliate the priesthood. An unlucky remark by Lord Hartington, that it would be desirable to exclude from the new University professors holding the opinions of Mr. Fawcett, involuntarily conveyed the severest satire on the silencing clauses. Mr. Horsman, who had at first congratulated Mr. Gladstone on his happy solution of the puzzle, delivered a powerful speech against the Bill.

He began his criticism by remarking that the favour with which it was originally received was due to the assurance Mr. Gladstone had given that it was to be a settlement. But that delusion had been dispelled by the resolutions of the Roman Catholic bishops, and now it was evident that there was to be no end to the agitation until they obtained all their demands. Under these changed circumstances, Mr. Horsman asked, why does not the Government withdraw the Bill? Nobody wants it—nobody accepts it—it



settles nothing, but unsettles everybody. The Protestants did not want it, the Catholics refused to accept it, and Mr. Gladstone ought to have put an agreeable termination to an ugly business by withdrawing a Bill so impossible. There was no precedent for proceeding with a measure so universally condemned, and why should Parliament have this Bill thrust down its throat against its will as a vote of confidence in the Government? Had any English or Scotch member—Mr. Horsman asked amid loud cheers—ever gone through the hypocrisy of professing to feel confidence in the Government on this question? To ask for such a vote was a piece of effrontery worthy of a cartoon in *Punch*. When the country understood the Bill, such a vote would be regarded as a vote of confidence in Cardinal Cullen and his priests. Any member who gave such a vote would meet with speedy execution from his constituents.

After discussing the Bill itself, and an amusing criticism of Lord Hartington's speech, in the midst of which a gesture of dissent from Mr. Gladstone incidentally brought upon him a sarcastic allusion to his "equally sudden and auspicious conversion to the policy of disestablishing the Irish Church," which provoked some tumultuous cheering, Mr. Horsman declared that the Bill would lower the standard of University teaching. What a fall for the great English Liberal party to be exhibited in the face of Europe throwing its weight on to the side of the clergy, and conceding to the Roman Catholic bishops a power which they were not permitted to exercise in any other country in Europe! Regarding it as practically impossible to give the names of the Governing Body now, Mr. Horsman advised that all compromise should be abandoned; and, repeating once more that it was little short of an affront to persevere with the Bill, he appealed to the House to vindicate its independence by throwing it out on the second reading.

Mr. C. Fortescue assured the House that the Government had no intention of withdrawing the Bill, and pointed out to Mr. Horsman that if the Roman Catholic bishops had declared against the Bill it was on the ground that it perpetuated the mixed system, which Mr. Horsman said it destroyed. The object of the Bill was to create a National University, and the best mode was by separating Trinity College from the University and creating a new Governing Body. In defence of the Governing Body proposed by the Bill he referred to the National Board of Education, the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and other similar bodies, in proof that there was no fear of it becoming partisan or discordant. So, also, he ridiculed the apprehension that the Roman Catholics would get the control of the University by means of "bogus" colleges. The Government never had intended that the affiliation should go beyond a certain small number. No doubt the Roman Catholics might obtain an important position in the University, but that was the object of the Bill, and surely the Protestants were not going to confess beforehand that they could not hold their own. As to

what were called the "gagging clauses," Mr. Fortescue said the restrictions were thought to be required by the circumstances of Ireland, and pointed out that they would only apply to those who would not avail themselves of the advantages of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. Speaking to the Roman Catholics, he asked them to note how decidedly and impartially public opinion had pronounced against all endowments for all creeds; and with regard to the undenominational character of the University, he asked whether the Roman Catholics meant that henceforth no young man of their communion was to receive any education from a Protestant? The Bill, he believed, afforded them an opportunity which, if vigorously used, would give them all they required. It was an opportunity which might never recur, and if they refused it a great injury would be done to the cause of education.

Dr. Lyon Playfair showed by careful statistics that the quantity of academic teaching in Ireland was great, and he was by no means prepossessed in favour of a measure that proposed to disturb it. Pleading zealously for mixed education, on the value of which he expatiated with much force and eloquence, he concluded by entreating the House to hold fast by the system which would be appreciated by the people in the end, however the priests might frown.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the outset, replied to some of the points made by Dr. Playfair, and, remarking with regard to the "gagging clauses" that they were not of the essence of the Bill (which provoked much ironical cheering), he showed that their meaning had been entirely misapprehended. Many of the objections urged against the essential principle of the Bill arose from the ambiguous use of the words "University" and "College." While "College" only implied teaching provision, "University," as well as teaching, implied the power of giving degrees, and he maintained therefore, that while Colleges could not be over-multiplied, a University ought to have as nearly as possible a monopoly. In this way he justified the scheme of the Bill—the collection of a number of Colleges under a single University. The present necessity for legislation arose from three causes—the imperfect constitution of Trinity College, the insufficient education given at the Queen's Colleges, and the refusal of the Roman Catholic bishops to allow their youth to seek a degree either at Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. For this grievance this Bill offered an honest and efficient remedy, and in travelling through the various provisions of the Bill he observed, with regard to the apprehensions entertained respecting the affiliation of Colleges, that it was never intended that these Colleges should have any considerable influence in the University, and that in Committee means might easily be taken to prevent this. He regretted that the Roman Catholic bishops had signified their disapproval of the Bill, but that event must be treated as an earthquake, or any other natural calamity which could not be helped. In conclusion, Mr. Lowe spoke of the unexpected hostile criticism the Government had met with, "but," said the right hon.

gentleman, "we have no right to complain of that. There is always a consolation in these matters, that there are found some faithful spirits when others prove false to us. There are those who will not leave their friends even in the hour of darkest adversity. I have one in my mind of whom I will not speak in prose, but whose conduct I will describe in the language of the poet:—

"Come rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer;  
Though the herd have all left thee, thy home is still here.  
Here at least is a smile which no cloud can o'ercast,  
And a heart and a hand all thine own to the last."

The House will see that I am not too high flown in the panegyric I give when I read this letter:—'Mr. Gladstone has introduced a measure of University Education that does him great honour, and when perfected by amendment in Committee, and it takes its place in the statute book, it will be a noble crowning to the work of the present Parliament. We must all resume its consideration with an earnest desire to acknowledge the large and generous spirit with which the Government has addressed itself to the subject, and co-operate with the high purposes it has in view; and as the erroneous impression conveyed by Mr. Gladstone's allusion to Sir R. Inglis and the Pope could not pass without notice, I have written this letter with a view of getting it out of the way before we come to the real business.'"

An Hon. Member—"What is the date of the letter?"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—"7, Richmond Terrace, February 15,' and it is signed by 'Edward Horsman.' (Cheers and laughter.) I have read to the House that letter, and in the early part of the evening have heard the speech of the right hon. gentleman. I will only say that, whatever faults he may have to find with this Bill, I am sure the House will say its object is to remedy what appears to us a great and crying grievance. We have had a great deal of opposition; we shall have a great deal more; but as the effect of the storm which passes over the sea is only felt a few feet below the surface, I am much mistaken if there is not a vein of thought running below this storm of criticism; and if the people of these islands do not respond to the honesty and fairness of intention of this Bill, and place it, as my right hon. friend said, as the "crowning work of the session." (Cheers.)

Mr. Hardy asked, if Mr. Lowe's argument for the centralization of Universities were good for anything, why should not the London University do the work of examining and giving degrees for Ireland? The grievance proposed to be remedied, as stated by the Roman Catholic bishops, was utterly incapable of being met; but the lay grievance could be removed without the destruction involved in this Bill, and he showed how this could be done on the strictly secular principle, by removing tests, and enlarging the Governing Body on an academical principle. In this he assumed that there would be no affiliation of the Roman Catholic Colleges, since the bishops had refused it. As there was to be no remedy of the ecclesi-

astical grievance, therefore, there need be no new University—for he maintained that what was proposed by the Bill was a new University—an extinction, not an extension, of the old. Mr. Hardy objected decidedly to the destruction of the Queen's University, and after some caustic remarks on the form of the new University, he next discussed at some length the duty of the House with regard to the immediate question before it on an amendment. Though this had elicited a very useful discussion, he should prefer to give a decided vote against the second reading, and, alluding to a hint of an appeal to the country thrown out by Mr. Gladstone, he accepted the challenge that this question should be decided by the constituencies.

Although Mr. Lowe had persuaded himself to support a measure which seemed absolutely inconsistent with his known opinions, the course of the debate boded ill to the Government, when at the end of the third day Mr. Cardwell formally announced that many of the most important provisions of the Bill would be open to reconsideration and amendment in Committee. Some Irish members who had previously wavered found in Mr. Cardwell's declaration a reason or an excuse for conforming to the directions of their bishops; and only the most faithful adherents of the Ministry could be trusted to vote for the Bill.

The debate was closed by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Disraeli commenced his speech with a vigour that belied the rumours current of his illness, and this power, both of voice and action, was maintained throughout its delivery. Approaching the consideration of the Bill, after the usual and duly anticipated playful thrust at Mr. Horsman, the right hon. gentleman said he could not, upon the bare assertion of Mr. Vernon Harcourt—"at least not yet"—accept as authoritative the assurance of Mr. Vernon Harcourt that the clauses to which objections had been raised were dead. No such declaration had come from any actual member of the Government, and, according to his experience, he had always found that when a Minister said, "Go into Committee, and we will consider your objections," he very rarely failed to maintain the objectionable clauses. He was thus compelled to deal with the Bill as it had been printed, and his first objection to it was that it proposed to found a University that was not universal. It appeared to him a truly marvellous thing, that at an epoch when young men prattled about protoplasm, and young ladies, in gilded saloons, unconsciously talked blasphemy, a Prime Minister, and, above all, the leader of the Liberal party, came forward and proposed a policy which eliminated mental and moral philosophy from the curriculum of a University! The right hon. gentleman was scarcely less astonished at the proposal to prohibit the institution of a chair in modern history, whilst with respect to the constitution of the Governing Council, he thought that even if Mr. Gladstone was unable to furnish a list of their names, he might well afford the House some general information as to the general principles of the selection. With the view of eliciting such information, he, leaning over towards Mr. Gladstone, who was

freely taking notes, propounded a category of questions as to the quality and circumstances of "these anonymous persons." With a half apology for trenching upon the region of "modern history," the right hon. gentleman next proceeded to recapitulate the circumstances of the connexion of the Conservative party with the Roman Catholics. "The right hon. gentleman the First Minister of the Crown says I have burnt my fingers, but," added Mr. Disraeli, holding his hands out across the floor, and shaking them towards the throng at the bar—"but I see no scars. (Cheers and laughter.) The right hon. gentleman opposite has been a pupil of Sir R. Peel. He sat in the Cabinet of Palmerston, who was supposed to be a devoted votary of the policy of concurrent endowment. The right hon. gentleman suddenly—I impute no motives, that is quite unnecessary—(laughter)—but the right hon. gentleman suddenly changed his mind and threw over the policy of concurrent endowment—mistaking the clamour of the *Nonconformist* for the voice of the nation. (Cheers.) The Roman Catholics fell into the trap. They forgot the cause of University education in the prospect of destroying the Protestant Church; and the right hon. gentleman succeeded in his object. The Roman Catholics, having reduced Ireland to a spiritual desert, are discontented and have a grievance; and they come to Parliament in order that we may create a blooming Garden of Eden for them. The Prime Minister is no ordinary man. (Ministerial cheers.) I am very glad that my sincere compliment has obtained for the right hon. gentleman the only cheer which his party have conferred upon him during this discussion. (Opposition cheers and laughter.) The right hon. gentleman had a substitute for the policy of concurrent endowment, which had been killed by the Roman Catholics themselves. The right hon. gentleman substituted the policy of confiscation. ('Oh!') You have had four years of it. You have despoiled churches. You have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country. (Cheers.) You have examined into everybody's affairs. You have criticized every profession and vexed every trade. (A laugh.) No one is certain of his property, and nobody knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow." Although he had been far from willing to make this question the basis of anything like a struggle of party, he had been baffled by the right hon. gentleman himself. "It is the right hon. gentleman himself who has introduced so much passion, and so much, I may almost say, personal struggle into this question. It was the right hon. gentleman who, as the First Minister of the Crown, in introducing a question of a nature somewhat abstruse, and which to the majority of the members of this House must have been not easy at first to comprehend, commenced his harangue by saying, 'I am introducing a measure upon which I intend to stake the existence of my Government.' (Cheers.) That was, in my opinion, an unwise and rather an arrogant declaration. (Cheers.) I have certainly known instances where Ministers introducing into this House large measures which had been prepared with great care, and



feeling for them as much solicitude as the right hon. gentleman does for this Bill—I have certainly known instances where, after protracted debates, and when opinions appeared to be perhaps equally balanced in this House, Ministers have felt themselves authorized, under such circumstances, to say that they were prepared to stake the existence of their Governments upon the question at issue. But I do not recall an instance of any Minister who, on an occasion similar to the present, prefaced a laborious exposition, which by its very length and nature showed that it dealt with a subject which only the transcendent powers of the right hon. gentleman could make clear and lucid to the House, by saying, ‘But I tell you in the first place that I stake the existence of the Government upon it.’” (Cheers.) He trusted the right hon. gentleman had profited by the remarks which had been made in the course of this debate, and that he now felt that upon the occasion of introducing this measure his vein was somewhat intemperate. (Cheers.) “No one wishes to disturb the right hon. gentleman in his place. If the right hon. gentleman intends to carry out a great policy—that of confiscation—(cheers)—I wish at least that he shall not be able to say that he has not had a fair trial for that policy. I wish the House and the country fully to comprehend all the bearings of that policy of the right hon. gentleman. But although I have not wished to make this a party question, although I have no wish to disturb the right hon. gentleman in his seat, although I have no communication with any section or with any party in this House, I may say with any individual of my own immediate colleagues, I must do my duty when I am asked, ‘Do you or do you not approve this measure?’” (Cheers.) I must vote against a measure which I believe to be monstrous in its general principles, pernicious in many of its details, and utterly futile as a measure of practical legislation.” Loud and long-continued applause marked the conclusion of the speech, and finally mingled with the cheers from the Ministerial benches which welcomed the appearance of the Premier at the table.

Mr. Gladstone remarked that two-thirds of the speech just delivered had no connexion with the Bill, and drew down loud cheers by calling on the House to note that though Mr. Disraeli had declared “concurrent endowment” to be dead, it yet lived in his mind, and might revive under his magical touch. The attitude taken by the Government in reference to the Bill was not due to any words of his, but to what had happened during the last three years on Mr. Fawcett’s Bill. On the contrary, he deprecated sincerely the introduction of religious heat and party temper into the subject, feeling convinced that it must insure failure, and this led him to animadvert sharply on the tone of Mr. Horsman’s speech. Repeating once more the grounds on which the measure had been introduced—the grievance of the Catholics, and the necessity for academic reform in Ireland—he replied to Dr. Playfair’s statistics on the matter, pointing out where he had made a mistake in his calculations. To any one with an eye for a situation the history of

the Bill had some dramatic features. He admitted that it had suffered a catastrophe ; on its introduction all " the waiters on Providence " in London were in favour of it ; now not an individual of the species had a word to say for it. But now the question was, shall the House go into Committee on the Bill ? In deciding that, the House ought to have no other motive but to endeavour to do that now which a few years hence it would regret that it had not done. In examining the reasons given why the House should not go into Committee, Mr. Gladstone denied that the Bill would lower the standard of education, urging that the London University—a mere examining body—had certainly raised education. The opposition in Ireland had been exaggerated and misrepresented, but in dealing with a measure like this it would be impolitic and unparliamentary on that account to withdraw the Bill before it had been considered in Committee. The general effect of Mr. Cardwell's speech he entirely endorsed, that the House should go into Committee to compare opinions on all the divergencies of views which had been expressed ; and he retorted on Mr. Disraeli that the experience of his Reform Bill showed how effective an instrument Committee may be for transforming a Bill. On two of these points—the banishment of ethics and modern history from the curriculum and the introduction of collegiate members into the Council—Mr. Gladstone stated distinctly that he would not adhere to them, and, with regard to the others, he said generally that the Government would not stand on its dignity, but would meet the House on equal terms. It would welcome any amendments which were improvements, and even those which were not improvements they would accept if the House should desire, so long as they did not impair the vitality of the Bill. Answering the question so often raised—what is the vital principle of the Bill?—Mr. Gladstone said there must be a complete removal of the admitted religious grievance by opening degrees under an impartial and unsectarian authority to men of all opinions, whether educated under the mixed or separate system. The University must be relieved from the monopoly of Trinity College, and must have an independent Governing Body and a competent endowment ; and the Faculty of Theology must be separated from it. After some observations in condemnation of the principle of concurrent endowment, which gave him the opportunity of placing on record his belief that it would be a serious error to give the slightest encouragement to a system of separate endowment in Ireland (reversing the policy of 1869), Mr. Gladstone earnestly entreated the House to meet the threatened agitation by removing the grievance rather than follow Mr. Disraeli's alternative of withdrawing from the task. " The right hon. gentleman opposite (said Mr. Gladstone) told us that he was not anxious to lead what my hon. friend the member for Waterford would describe as his ' ragamuffins ' into their present position. He does not wish, he says, to make this a party question. Might I be allowed to fill up the sentence for him by saying that the Irish members almost forced him to do so by

inviting him to their embraces, and that he found himself unable to resist the opportunity? (A laugh.) And what, let me ask, is the character of the division which we are about to witness?—a division which will be watched and examined—(loud cheers from the Opposition benches)—a division which will not only be watched and examined, but which will be remembered and be judged. (Renewed Opposition cheers.) The party which is called the Tory party, the Conservative party, the Church party, the Protestant party, powerful as it is in this House, is not powerful enough to give effect to its wishes by a majority. But there is a hope that, by the accession of those who think we commit a gross injustice by declining to give a separate religious endowment to the Roman Catholics, their minority may be converted into a majority. No doubt there would be concord in the lobby for a few moments, but that concord would end when the tellers come to the table. On what plan of action have you decided? No doubt you will be a formidable body; for all I know, you will be a majority. I see before me a party expectant of office. (Oh, oh!) I mean, of course, by virtue of its position. That is a fair description always to apply to gentlemen who sit in combination on the Opposition benches. I see that party with that repentant rebel from below the gangway, the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck)—(laughter)—an old, inveterate rebel, believed to be incurable, but at last reclaimed. (Renewed laughter.) I always listen to that hon. gentleman with interest. I am no favourite of his. I trust, however, there is no unkind feeling between us, and, indeed, whenever I hear the hon. gentleman begin a course of censure upon myself, I listen with great patience, because I know it will be followed by a much more severe attack upon the right hon. gentleman opposite. (Laughter.) On this occasion the hon. member for Norfolk—the ‘right’ hon. member for Norfolk he may be in a few weeks—(a laugh)—had made a revelation. I heard him say that ‘he had listened with the utmost pleasure to his right hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Hardy) on the last night of the debate, for he understood him to say that he and those with whom he acted would, under no circumstances, accept office during the existence of the present Parliament—(cheers from the Opposition)—that he looked upon it as the most fortunate and most statesmanlike announcement that had emanated from the front bench on his side of the house for many years—(laughter)—and after it he had no hesitation in saying that he would vote against the second reading.’ (Cheers.) Well, sir, was that announcement made? I heard the speech of the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Oxford. I did not hear that announcement—none of us heard that announcement. It is impossible that the gentlemen who occupy the front bench of Opposition, who form her Majesty’s Opposition, who bring up their whole forces to overthrow the measure of the Government, can decline the responsibility of taking office. (Cheers.) I believe it is impossible that such an announcement can have been made, and if it has been made, the hon.



gentleman is the victim of his own simplicity in acting upon it. (A laugh.) What is the state of the case as regards the hon. gentleman? What is to be the policy that is to follow the rejection of the Bill? What is to be the policy adopted in Ireland? Perhaps the Bill of my hon. friend the member for Brighton will find favour, which leaves the University of Dublin in the hands of Trinity College, and which I presume, if passed, will only be the harbinger of an agitation different from that which would follow the passing of the present Bill. It will still leave the Roman Catholic in this condition, that he will not be able to get a degree in Ireland without going either to the Queen's Colleges, to which he objects, or to examinations and a system of discipline managed and conducted by a Protestant board—a board of eight gentlemen, of whom six are Protestants. The other alternative will be the adopting for Ireland a set of new principles, which Parliament has disclaimed for England, not only treating the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland as being the Irish nation, but likewise adopting for that Irish nation the principles which we have ourselves overthrown even within the limits of our own generation. I know not with what satisfaction we can look forward to these prospects. It is rather a dangerous course to tamper with objects of this kind. We have got our plan, for which we are responsible. We are not afraid, I am not afraid, of the charge of my right hon. friend, that we have served the priests. I am ready to serve the priests or any other man as far as justice dictates. [Mr. Horsman—‘I did not say so.’] I am glad to hear it. I am not ready to go an inch further for them or for any other man—(cheers)—and if the labours of 1869 and 1870 are to be terminated—if where we have earnestly sought and toiled for peace we find only contention—if our tenders of relief are thrust aside with scorn—let us still remember that there is a voice which is not heard in the crackling of the fire or in the roaring of the whirlwind or the storm—the still, small voice of justice, which is heard after they have passed away. To mete out justice to Ireland, according to the best view that with human infirmity we could form, has been the work, I will almost say the sacred work, of this Parliament. (‘No, no,’ and cheers.) Having put our hand to the plough, let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or the perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist have the slightest effect in turning us from the path on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us go through, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and the practice of the country the last—I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland.” (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Precisely at two o'clock the Premier concluded an address which he had commenced at midnight, and the House divided on the question that the Bill be read a second time. The counting of votes occupied about twenty minutes; and when Colonel Taylor, the Opposition teller, took the paper from the hands of the clerk at the table, a tremendous “Hurrah!” burst from the Conservative

benches, which was repeated again and again when the numbers were read out as follows:—

For the second reading . . . . .	284
Against it . . . . .	287

---

Majority against the Government . . . . . 3

Mr. Gladstone had already declared that his Ministry would stand or fall by the result of this division, and, accordingly, he immediately placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen, to the bewilderment of the country, which had troubled itself very little indeed about the precise merits of the debate or the nature of the points at issue. This Ministerial crisis, however, proved to be a mere flash in the pan. The public suspense continued for a week, during which time various rumours were current. Among other things it was rumoured, perhaps on doubtful authority, that Mr. Gladstone wished to appeal to the constituencies; in that case, his colleagues were well advised in inducing him to reconsider his decision. There is no doubt that, having adopted the alternative plan of resigning, he was sincerely anxious to transfer the reins of Government to the Opposition. When Mr. Disraeli prudently and properly declined to take office with a minority, at a time when a dissolution must have been postponed for some months, Mr. Gladstone took the singular course of addressing to his rival, in the form of a letter to the Queen, an argument intended to prove that Mr. Disraeli was bound to form a Government. However, it was definitely announced, at length, that the Opposition declined to take the reins of Government; and, after a few days further adjournment, this chapter of political history was closed on the 20th March by the Ministers resuming their places on the Treasury Bench. In a crowded House, Mr. Gladstone rose and said he was now in a position to state that he and his colleagues had resumed their positions, and were prepared as a Government to carry on the affairs of the country as before. Referring to the curiosity expressed in many quarters to learn what had passed between Thursday evening, when Mr. Disraeli declined to form a Government, and Sunday night, when he himself found it necessary to place his services at her Majesty's disposal, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to give the House a chronological account of the transactions between those two dates. "On Friday morning (says the Premier) I received from her Majesty, in writing, the reply that had been submitted to her Majesty by the right hon. gentleman, and her Majesty was pleased to ask my advice thereupon. On my first examination of that reply, I doubted whether I could collect its effect with all the precision necessary before tendering advice, and therefore I answered her Majesty's reference to the fact that I did not feel quite certain as to the purport of that reply. On Friday evening I received a communication from her Majesty, which completely put an end to all doubt, and satisfied me that the reply was an unconditional refusal on the part of the right hon. gentleman to take office. I then felt it my duty to submit a statement, the

nature of which I shall presently refer to. That statement was submitted on Saturday morning, and was made known to the right hon. gentleman opposite. Her Majesty received the reply of the right hon. gentleman at Windsor on the evening of Sunday, and at ten o'clock on Sunday night her Majesty transmitted her reply to me, together with an inquiry as to whether I was prepared to resume my office in the Government. Having read that reply, I deemed its nature to be perfectly unequivocal, and it removed from my mind the last vestige of expectation that a Government might be formed by the party opposite, and, therefore, without delay, on the same evening I returned an answer to her Majesty, to the effect that I should endeavour to arrange the reconstruction of the Government, and that task which I undertook on Monday last is now complete." (Loud cheers.) Mr. Gladstone next referred to a difference of opinion which had arisen between himself and Mr. Disraeli as to the duties of an Opposition when it had brought about the fall of a Government; and in explanation read an extract from the statement which he had submitted to her Majesty on Saturday last, the substantial effect of which was that the nation should be constantly kept aware of the Parliamentary action likely to take place on the overthrow of a Government. The consideration of such matters required the utmost care, counsel, and deliberation, and to the parties concerned were attended with serious responsibilities. "Mr. Gladstone (it ran on) does not and will not suppose that the efforts of the Opposition to defeat the Government on Wednesday morning were made with a previously-formed intention on their part to refuse any aid to your Majesty, if the need should come of providing for the government of the country, and the summary refusal, which is the only fact before you, he takes to be not in full correspondence either with the exigencies of the case or, as he has shown, with Parliamentary usage. In humbly submitting this representation to your Majesty, Mr. Gladstone wishes to point out the difficulty in which he would find himself placed were he to ask whether his colleagues were prepared to resume office if your Majesty should call on them to do so; for certainly he is persuaded they would call on him, out of consideration for their own honour and the usefulness of their future services, if he should be enabled to do so, to prove to them that, according to constitutional usage, every means had been exhausted on the part of the Opposition for providing for the government of the country, or, at least, that nothing more was to be expected from that quarter." Adverting then to the delay which had occurred, Mr. Gladstone said he was not conscious of its being due to any personal reluctance to resume office, although he did feel it, and thought he had earned a right to rest, so far as it could be earned by labour. But the experience of a Government's resuming office was not encouraging, and what had occurred, he feared, would modify the relations of the Opposition and the Government in a manner not likely to contribute to the satisfactory working of our Parliamentary system. "Such (said Mr. Gladstone, in conclusion) are my views, and in

consistency with them we have resumed office. We shall endeavour fully and honourably to discharge our duty; we have resumed our offices in the belief that there was nothing in the event which occurred last week to warrant our arriving at any special conclusion with regard to the duration of existence in the present Parliament, either as regards the course of public business or the duration of time. (Hear.) In that respect we stand as we stood before—prepared to abide the course of events, and to act as they may require. But I have felt it my duty to say thus much on the subject, because nothing can be more inconvenient and more injurious to the country than the prevalence of floating, unauthenticated opinions that there is an intention not avowed by the Government, but not distinctly disavowed, to bring the Parliament shortly to a conclusion. (Cheers.) Such an intention has been, I hope, disavowed now, while of course I need not say that we retain the liberty which is at all times essential to the discharge of our functions. We shall endeavour to proceed, both with respect to legislation and administration, in the same manner and upon the same principles as those which have heretofore governed our conduct, and shall address ourselves to our arduous public duties, relying steadfastly upon the continued confidence and support of the House of Commons.” (Cheers.)

Mr. Disraeli, who was warmly cheered by his supporters, next gave his account of what had passed between himself and the Queen after receiving the letter which first summoned him to Buckingham Palace. In his audience, in reply to an inquiry from the Queen, he informed her Majesty that he should be ready to form a Government which would carry on the affairs of the country efficiently and in a manner entitled to her confidence, but that he would not undertake it with the present House of Commons. In giving his reasons for this decision, Mr. Disraeli said he had represented to the Queen that, though recent elections had been favourable to the Conservative party, Mr. Gladstone had still a majority of close upon ninety, and that the division which overthrew the Government offered no elements which could lead to an expectation that this numerical position would be modified. He pointed out, also, that the majority against the Government the other night was created by a considerable section of the Liberal party—the Irish Roman Catholic members—with whom he had no bond of union. If he had appealed to them for support, they would have repeated their demands for a Roman Catholic University—a demand which he believed was decisively condemned at the last election, and by the subsequent disendowment of the Irish Church. Of office under such circumstances Mr. Disraeli said he had some personal experience—(at which there was a laugh)—and it had convinced him that such an experiment weakened authority and destroyed public confidence. Consequently, he had prayed her Majesty to relieve him of the task. Replying to the question why he had not advised the Queen to dissolve, he remarked that there was much misconception about the act of dissolving. “It is supposed (said Mr. Disraeli) to be an act which can be performed

with very great promptitude, and that it is a resource to which any Minister may recur with the utmost facility. That is a grave mistake. Dissolution of Parliament is a different instrument in different hands. It is an instrument of which a Minister who is in office, with his Government established, can avail himself with a facility which a Minister who is only going to accede to office is deprived of. (Hear, hear.) There may be circumstances which may render it imperative on a Minister in office to advise the Sovereign to exercise the prerogative of dissolving Parliament, but he always has the opportunity of disposing of the public business before that dissolution takes place. The position of the Minister who is about to accede to office is very different. In the first place he has to form his Administration. This is a work of great time and of heavy responsibility. It is not confined merely to the construction of a Cabinet. Before a Ministry can be formed, whoever undertakes the task of its construction must see some fifty individuals, whom he has to appoint to offices of trust and consideration. It is a duty which he can delegate to no one. He must see each of those individuals personally, and must communicate with them by himself. And this is a matter which—irrespective of the knowledge of human nature, which whoever undertakes to form a Cabinet ought to possess—requires time, and materially affects the business of the country. In the present case it would not have been possible to form a Government before Easter. Then the holidays would have intervened. After the holidays we might—by having recourse to measures of which I greatly disapprove, namely, provisional finance, the taking votes on credit and votes on account, and by accepting the estimates of my predecessors—have been able to dissolve Parliament in the early part of May. But when the month of May arrived, this question would have occurred—What are you going to dissolve Parliament about? (Hear, hear, and laughter.) There was no issue before the country. At least, it cannot be pretended for a moment that there was one of those issues before the country which would justify an extraordinary dissolution of Parliament; that is, some question upon which the country would passionately wish to decide. I ask the House to consider impartially what was the real condition of affairs. Her Majesty's Ministers had resigned; the Queen had called upon a member of this House to form a Ministry in a House in which he had nearly ninety majority arrayed against him. Suppose it was in his opinion necessary to appeal to the country by which the majority might be returned—probably of ninety—in his favour. (Laughter.) Well, the Irish University Bill was not a Bill on which any Ministry could resign. But we could not carry on affairs without appealing to the country; and is it not clear that we could not appeal to the country without having a policy? (Laughter.) Hon. gentlemen may laugh at the word policy, but I maintain that it is totally impossible for gentlemen sitting on the Opposition bench suddenly to have a matured policy to present to the people of this country, in case Parliament dissolves. The position of any party in opposition



is essentially a critical position. On all great questions of the day gentlemen on this side of the House have certain principles which guide them on the subjects before Parliament; but on these questions we cannot rival in the possession of information those who hold the seals of Government." This point Mr. Disraeli elaborated at some length, mentioning Central Asia, the Three New Rules, and the French Treaty of Commerce, as matters on which no body of men suddenly created a Government could have any policy until they had studied the official information. Local taxation, too, was a question which they must have fully considered before going to the country; but the strongest obstacle to an immediate dissolution would have been the necessity of carefully scrutinizing the estimates, which he maintained were just as large as his own, which were so vehemently denounced in 1868. The upshot was, that the session would have been one of ordinary length, and he knew, from experience, the consequences to a party and to the public interests of endeavouring to carry on the Government in the face of a hostile majority. "I know well (added Mr. Disraeli), and those around me know well, what will occur when a Ministry takes office and attempts to carry on Government with a minority during the session, with the view of ultimately appealing to the people. A right hon. gentleman will come down here, he will arrange his thumb-screws and other instruments of torture (laughter), and we shall never ask for a vote without a lecture; we shall never perform the most ordinary routine office of Government without there being annexed to it some pedantic and ignominious condition. (No, no, and cheers.) I wish to express nothing but what I know from painful personal experience. (Laughter.) No observation of the kind I have encountered could divest me of the painful memory; I wish it could. I wish it was not my duty to take this view of the case. For a certain time we should enter into the paradise of abstract motions. One day hon. gentlemen cannot withstand the golden opportunity of asking the House to assert that the Income-tax should no longer form one of the features of Ways and Means. Of course, a proposition of that kind would be scouted by the right hon. gentleman and all his colleagues; but they might dine out on that day (laughter), and the resolution might be carried, as resolutions of that kind have been. Perhaps another gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge of 'men and things' (Mr. Rylands), moves that the Diplomatic Service should be abolished. While hon. gentlemen opposite may laugh in their sleeves at the mover, they vote for the motion in order to put the Government into a minority. (Renewed laughter). So it would go very hard with us if on some sultry afternoon some member should rush in 'where angels fear to tread' (Mr. Trevelyan), and successfully assimilate the borough and the county franchise. (Loud cheers.) And so things would go on until the bitter end—until at last even the Appropriation Bill has passed, Parliament is dissolved, and we appeal to those millions who perhaps six months before might have looked upon us as the vindicators of their intoler-

able grievances, but who now receive us as a defeated, discredited, and a degraded Ministry, whose services can be no longer of value to the Crown or a credit to the nation." Under these circumstances, with the concurrence of all his friends, he had represented to the Queen that it was not for the public interest that he should attempt to form a Government. The Queen, he said, with the impartiality she always showed, had permitted him to dissolve, if it would assist him. In reference to Mr. Gladstone's complaint that he had not exhausted all the means in his power before refusing to take office, Mr. Disraeli read the following extract from his letter to the Queen, arguing this point:—"The charge against the leader of the Opposition personally, that by 'his summary refusal' to undertake your Majesty's Government he was failing in his duty to your Majesty and the country, is founded altogether on a gratuitous assumption by Mr. Gladstone, which pervades his letter, that the means of Mr. Disraeli to carry on the Government were not 'exhausted.' A brief statement of facts will at once dispose of this charge. Before Mr. Disraeli, with due deference, offered his decision to your Majesty, he had enjoyed the opportunity of consulting those gentlemen with whom he acts in public life, and they were unanimously of opinion that it would be prejudicial to the interests of the country for a Conservative Administration to attempt to conduct your Majesty's affairs in the present House of Commons. What other means were at Mr. Disraeli's disposal? Was he to open negotiations with a section of the late Ministry (loud laughter), and waste days in barren interviews, vain applications, and the device of impossible combinations? Was he to make overtures to the considerable section of the Liberal party who had voted against the Government—namely, the Irish Roman Catholic gentlemen? Surely, Mr. Gladstone could not seriously contemplate this? Impressed from experience, obtained in the very instances to which Mr. Gladstone refers, of the detrimental influence upon Government of a crisis unnecessarily prolonged by hollow negotiations, Mr. Disraeli humbly conceived that he was taking a course at once advantageous to the public interests, and tending to spare your Majesty unnecessary anxiety by at once laying before your Majesty the real position of affairs." Mr. Disraeli also stated that he had represented to the Queen that Mr. Gladstone had resigned on very inadequate grounds, and that, his honour having been satisfied by a resignation, his return to office was the best solution of the difficulty. Finally, Mr. Disraeli addressed those of his supporters who might be disappointed at the result. "I am quite aware (he said) that the course I recommended her Majesty to take may have been very disappointing to some gentlemen among my supporters in this House—(cries of 'No')—and to many more in the country. If so, I deeply regret it. But I would fain believe that when they have given a mature and impartial consideration to all the circumstances, they will not visit my conduct with a verdict of unqualified condemnation. (Cheers.) I believe that the Tory party at the present moment occupies the

most satisfactory position it has filled since the days of its greatest statesmen, Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville. It has divested itself of those excrescences which are not indigenous to its native growth—(laughter)—but which in a time of long prosperity is a consequence sometimes of negligence, and sometimes perhaps in a certain degree of ignorance. (Cheers and derisive laughter from the Ministerialists.) We are now emerging from the fiscal period in which almost all the public men of this generation have been brought up. All the questions of trade and navigation, the incidence of taxation, and of public economy, are settled. But there are other questions arising of not less importance, but of a deeper and higher reach and range—the attributes of a constitutional monarchy; the question whether the aristocratic principle shall be recognized in our constitution, and if so, in what form? whether the Commons of England shall remain a state of the realm, numerous, but privileged and qualified, or whether they should degenerate into an indiscriminate multitude?—(laughter)—whether a national Church shall be maintained, and what should be its rights, and what should be its duties?—the functions of corporations, and the sacredness of endowments—(cheers)—the tenure of landed property—(renewed cheers)—the free disposal and even the existence of any kind of property—(cheers and laughter)—all these institutions and all these principles which we believe have made this country free and famous and conspicuous for its union of order with liberty, are now impugned, and in due course will become great and burning questions. (Cheers.) I think it is of the utmost importance that when that time, which may be nearer at hand than we imagine, arrives, there should be in this country a great constitutional party, distinguished for its intelligence as well as for its organization, that may lead and direct the public mind. And, sir, when that time arrives, when they enter into a career, which must be noble, and which I hope and believe will be triumphant, I think they may perhaps remember, not without kindness, that I at least prevented one obstacle from being placed in their way; that I, as the trustee of their honour and their interest, declined to form a weak and discredited Administration.” (Cheers.)

With this political manifesto from the leader of the Opposition the crisis ended, and the House settled down into the peaceful condition which it maintained for the rest of the session. At a later period of the session Mr. Fawcett's rival Bill for the reform of the University of Dublin was by arrangement allowed to pass in a mutilated form as a simple measure for the abolition of tests. It may be conjectured that for some time to come no Government will attempt the hazardous task of Irish University Legislation.



## CHAPTER II.

The Judicature Bill—Speech of Lord Selborne in introducing the Bill—Protest of Members of the Equity Bar—Lord Cairns' Amendment—Appeal for Scotland and Ireland—Question of Privilege raised by Lord Cairns—Discussion in the Commons—Remarks of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. Disraeli—Proposal of Mr. Hardy concerning Ecclesiastical Appeals—Transfer of Land Bill and Jury Bill—Minor Government Bills—Small changes in Education Laws—The Budget—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Resolution of Mr. W. H. Smith—Discussions upon the Resolution—Proposal to regulate Suspension of the Bank Act.

THE Judicature Bill, originated in the House of Lords, was the only measure of the first rank passed during the session.

By this Bill the Lord Chancellor at last succeeded in effecting the change which had been projected by Lord Cairns' Commission. The unsuccessful attempts of former Chancellors, and especially of Lord Hatherley, had not been wasted as illustrations of the truth that a complete scheme was more likely to win support than a partial experiment; and they had prepared public opinion within and without the House of Lords for comprehensive changes.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Selborne) introduced the measure in a speech at once singularly clear and comprehensive, on the day of the introduction of the ill-fated Irish University Bill into the House of Commons. Having pointed out the anomalies of the existing system, and described the gradual step of the advance of public opinion upon the matter, Lord Selborne proceeded to deal with the details of his measure. "Taking stock," he said, "by the light which we have acquired during the last six years, I think I may say there are four points which have become settled points in the minds of those who best understand the subject, as well as in the mind of the public. The first relates to the artificial separation of legal and equitable jurisdictions, such as never did exist and does not exist in any other country in the world except our own and those which have borrowed our system. This artificial distinction is not only unsatisfactory in itself, but is productive of the greatest possible inconvenience and obstruction to the administration of justice in its actual results. There has been a conviction that, whatever else may be done, we ought to put the finishing stroke to measures of a more partial character which have already been adopted in the same direction, by bringing law and equity—two ideas not artificial but real—into one single administration in the Superior Courts of this realm. The second point is, that we must bring together our many divided Courts and divided jurisdictions by erecting or rather re-erecting—for, after all, there was in the beginning of our constitutional system one supreme Court of Justice—a Supreme Court which, operating under conve-

nient arrangements, and with a sufficient number of Judges, shall exercise one single undivided jurisdiction, and shall unite within itself all the jurisdictions of all the separate Superior Courts of Law and Equity now in existence. The third point is, that it is desirable to provide as far as possible for cheapness, simplicity, and uniformity of procedure. The fourth, that it is necessary to improve the constitution of the Courts of Appeal. My Lords, I approach the subject with the advantage of all these conclusions, which I venture to say have received your Lordships' approbation and the approbation of the public; and I am fortunate in being able to profit by the criticisms that have been brought to bear upon them, and so to avoid—or at least to endeavour to avoid—the defects which were thought to exist in the former attempts at legislation on this great subject.

“I propose, then, to ask your Lordships to unite in one Supreme Court of Judicature all the present Superior Courts of Common Law and Equity, and also the Probate and Divorce Court, the Admiralty Court, and the London or Central Court of Bankruptcy. All these Courts I propose to have united in one Supreme Court; which is to be divided into two permanent branches or Divisions: the one consisting of a High Court of Justice to exercise original jurisdiction, and also to hear appeals from Inferior Courts: the other being a Court of Appellate Jurisdiction, to be called the Court of Appeal. I will deal with the Court of original jurisdiction in the first place, and afterwards with the Court of Appeal. I ought to have mentioned that I do not mean to elevate any Inferior Courts so as to unite them to the Superior Courts; but it is proposed to abolish two Common Law jurisdictions, the Courts of Pleas of the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Durham:—they will be merged in the jurisdiction of the High Court. This High Court will consist of twenty-one Judges. Those Judges will be the present Judges of the Superior Courts of Common Law, the present Vice-Chancellors, the present Master of the Rolls, the present Judge of Probate and Divorce, and the present Judge of Admiralty, with the exception of such three of them as her Majesty may think fit to remove to the Court of Appeal. The number of the Judges whom I have enumerated is twenty-four; but three of the Puisne Judges are proposed to be taken to the Court of Appeal, to remain there permanently—so that twenty-one Judges will be left for the High Court. The President of the High Court of Justice will be the Lord Chief Justice of England, and—this is a concession to sentiment—the old historic titles of the present Chiefs of the Common Law Courts will remain to them as Presidents of Divisions of the High Court. The Lord Chief Justice of England will, of course, retain his present title; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and the Lord Chief Baron will be chiefs of Divisions with their present titles; but all the remaining Judges will be called ‘Judges of the High Court of Justice,’ and are to be addressed as the Judges of

the Courts of Common Law at Westminster are now addressed, without any other distinction. So far as the measure to be laid on your Lordships' table goes, it is, as I have said, proposed that twenty-one shall be the number of the Judges of the High Court; but, of course, if in the working of the measure that number is found to admit of diminution, that might be made a subject of future legislation. At present, it would be premature to assume that such will be the case, and I do not propose to deal with such a contingency at present.

"Passing from the constitution of the Court, I have now to mention the next important point—namely, the jurisdiction which it is to possess, and the manner in which that jurisdiction is to be exercised. This High Court will unite the jurisdictions of all the present Courts except the Courts of Appeal—namely, the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, of the Courts of Common Law, of the Probate and Divorce Court, of the Admiralty, and of the London or Central Court of Bankruptcy, of the existing Courts of Pleas of the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Durham, and of the Courts created by Commissions of Assize; and I hope the measure which I shall lay on the table will contain what your Lordships will consider sufficiently clear and precise directions as to the general way in which the legal and equitable jurisdiction, so conferred, is to be exercised.

"Those directions are given under seven heads. First, the Court in all its branches will give effect to the equitable rights and remedies of plaintiffs; secondly, it will do the same with respect to equitable defences by defendants; thirdly, it will give effect to counter claims of defendants; fourthly, it will take notice of all equitable rights and liabilities of any persons, appearing incidentally in the course of any proceeding; fifthly, it will stay proceedings, when necessary, by the authority of the Judges before whom an action is pending, and not by injunctions to be obtained from other Judges; sixthly, it will give effect, subject to all equities, to legal rights and remedies; and lastly, it will deal, as far as possible, with all questions in controversy in one and the same suit, so as to do complete justice between the parties, and prevent a multiplicity of proceedings."

After pointing out certain exceptions it was thought necessary to make to the rule of fusion between law and equity, and proposing that it should depend on the circumstances of each particular case whether existing business should be wound up under the old system or at once transferred to the new, Lord Selborne proceeded,—

"Then as to the distribution of business. Here, my Lords, I follow, I believe, closely and accurately the intentions and recommendations of the Judicature Commission. It stands to reason and common sense that some internal division of labour must be made in so great a machine as that necessary for the administration of justice, and that such a division ought to be made in accordance with intelligible rules. Some cases can be conveniently classified

and brought together and dealt with by the same Judges ; while others may not admit of such classification, and require to be dealt with in a different manner. It is proposed to divide the High Court into four Divisions of five Judges each ; and that will leave one Judge not attached to any Division. But, though the Judges will be thus attached to different Divisions, it would be a mistake to suppose that this involves any return to the old system of divided jurisdiction, because every Judge is to be made available for any part of the business of the entire Court, in which his services may be required. The division of the Court into four Divisions is merely for convenience in the arrangement and distribution of business. It is proposed that these Divisions should correspond as nearly as may be with the divisions of the existing Courts ; and in the first classification of business any convenient classification now in use may wisely be adopted as an element. I will read to your Lordships an opinion of the Associated Committee of Law Societies, given in February, 1868, and also a passage, bearing on the same point, which I find in the first Report of the Judicature Commission. The Associated Committee said,—

“ ‘The division of legal business ought to be by judicial regulation, and not by general law. The general division of legal business effected by the present system is very convenient ; and in giving to every Court entire jurisdiction over any matter which may come before it, and in dividing the business of the law by regulation, it is desirable that the work of the Courts shall as much as possible continue to pass through its present channels.’ ”

“ Other gentlemen, of great knowledge and experience, made similar recommendations, and the Commission reported thus :—

“ ‘Between the several chambers or divisions of the Supreme Court it would be necessary to make such a classification of business as might seem desirable with reference to the nature of the suit and the relief to be sought or administered therein ; and the ordinary distribution of business among the different chambers or divisions should be regulated according to such classification. For the same reason which induces us to recommend the retention for the present of the distinctive titles of the different Courts in their new character, as so many divisions of the Supreme Court, we think that such classification should in the first instance be made on the principle of assigning as nearly as practicable to those chambers or divisions such suits as would now be commenced in the respective Courts as at present constituted ; with power, however, to the Supreme Court to vary or alter the classification in such manner as may from time to time be deemed expedient.’ ”

“ My Lords, that recommendation rests on reasonable principles, and what I propose to do in conformity with it is this :—The first Division of the High Court will consist of the present Judges of the Court of Queen’s Bench, subject to the necessary arrangements for taking three Judges from the aggregate of the present Courts of First Instance permanently to the Court of Appeal. The second

Division will be composed of the existing Judges of the Court of Chancery; the third, of the existing Judges of the Court of Common Pleas; the fourth, of the existing Judges of the Court of Exchequer. The existing Judge of the Court of Admiralty will be a member of the second or Chancery Division of the High Court, and the chief of this Division will be the existing Master of the Rolls. The distribution of business proposed to be made between these Divisions and the unattached Judge is proposed as one to start with, and not as a stereotyped one. It will be subject to alteration, to the power of transfer, and to other safeguards. In the first place, with the exception of the second or Chancery Division, all the Divisions will have those classes of business which are now within the exclusive cognizance of the Courts of which the future Judges of those Divisions are members. Thus, Criminal and Crown business will be in a Division composed of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas business will be in that of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and Revenue business will be in that of the Judges of the Exchequer. As to the second Division, we could not go that length, because if we did so we should be going too far towards the re-establishment of the distinction between the administration of law and equity which we do not want to be acted on longer, except so far as it may in the nature of things be coincident with a convenient distribution of the business. The second Division will hear Admiralty cases, as the present Admiralty Judge will be there, and Bankruptcy cases, as the present Bankruptcy Judge will be there, and also that class of cases for which the Court of Chancery has at present the only or the best available machinery; being all causes, matters, and proceedings for any of the following purposes:—The administration of the estates of deceased persons; the dissolution of partnerships or the taking of partnership and other accounts; the redemption or foreclosure of mortgages; the raising of portions, or other charges on land; the sale and distribution of the proceeds of property subject to any lien or charge; the execution of trusts, charitable or private; the rectification, or setting aside, or cancellation of deeds or other written instruments; the specific performance of contracts between vendors and purchasers of real estates, including contracts for leases; the partition or sale of real estates; the wardship of infants and the care of infants' estates. Your Lordships will see that the business to be so assigned to the second Division may be summed up in the words 'administrative business,' which requires administrative machinery. Such business should remain where it is, but not without a power to move it elsewhere when there are reasons to make its removal desirable. I mentioned that there will be one Judge not attached to any Division. He is the present Judge of Probate and Divorce, and, of course, he will hear such cases as are now heard in his Court. This distribution of business, alterable by rules, is subject to the additional safeguard that, in cases not expressly provided for, any suitor will have the right to choose where he will bring his action; in what Division,



and in cases where suits are decided by a single Judge, before what Judge. But some of your Lordships may suggest that perhaps, through ignorance on the part of the suitor, or from some other cause, the action may have been begun in a wrong Division, and then what is to be done? Why, the suitor will not lose his cause—it will simply be removed into the right Division, and the proceedings will be taken up at the point to which they had arrived at the time of transference. There will also be power to transfer any case from one Division to another, or from one Judge to another, in consequence of the nature of the case or because of litigation going on elsewhere, or for any other reason which may make such transfer desirable.”

Lord Selborne then proceeded to deal shortly with the sittings of the Courts and with the subject of trial, and on the question of Procedure said that the Bill would adopt the recommendations of some of the members of the Judicature Commission, who had suggested certain rules which would be embraced in the schedule. They covered all the main points of procedure, he said, and “their object is to get rid of long and expensive pleadings, to establish a single uniform system, to constitute the means of giving a decision when there is no practical defence, and in many other respects to introduce useful improvements.”

“My Lords,” said the Lord Chancellor, “I now come to the subject of the Appellate Jurisdiction. I do not propose to deal by this Bill with the appeals from Scotland or Ireland. Those countries have each their own system of jurisprudence and judicature, with which, so far as their original jurisdiction is concerned, this Bill does not in any way deal. Furthermore, the evidence given before your Lordships’ Committee last year by gentlemen conversant with the practice of appeals from Scotland was to the effect that no change was desired in that country. I think the views entertained by the people of Scotland on this subject are entitled to very great respect; it would be an unwise and unnecessary thing to propose changes applicable to that country which the public opinion of that country does not require. As to Ireland, there was also no evidence that any change was wanted. I do not, of course, conceal from myself that if you establish in England a thoroughly good appellate jurisdiction, and find that it works as we hope it will work, opinion both in Scotland and Ireland may probably hereafter tend to the application and adoption of the same system in those countries. But I am perfectly content to wait, and not to anticipate the time. All I propose is that, in the constitution of the Court of Appellate Jurisdiction, we may make it possible to have the services of eminent Judges who have served in Scotland and Ireland.

“I will now remind your Lordships of the present state of the appellate jurisdictions in this country. We have four Courts of Review—the Exchequer Chamber, the Court of Appeal in Chancery, your Lordships’ House, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. These Courts give to the dissatisfied suitor, in most,

although not in all cases, the opportunity of a double appeal. In Admiralty cases there is only one appeal—to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In Lunacy cases also there is only one appeal—to the Judicial Committee. But all the cases in the Superior Courts of Common Law, which are brought by Error to this House, must go through a double appeal. They must first go to the Exchequer Chamber, and in every case where an appeal is taken to the Exchequer Chamber it may also be brought to this House. It is not so in Chancery. In Chancery cases there is an option generally for the appellant either to come at once to this House or, if he prefers it, to the Court of Appeal in Chancery; but every judgment of that Court is subject to an appeal to this House. Therefore, there is generally a system of double appeal for the suitor. I have never concealed my opinion that this is not a good system. If you have a good Court with sufficient judicial power to command the confidence of the country, it is better that there should be no double appeal. I would not exclude the power where you have an appeal heard by a small number of Judges of having it reconsidered by a larger number of Judges. But my opinion is that if you establish an adequate Court, it is desirable for the parties and for the general interest of the country that the decision of that Court should be final, and that you should not multiply appeals. You never can escape, by going through any number of Courts of Appeal, from the risk of differences of opinion in each and every one of them, and from doubts arising as to whether the last Court decided better than those before it. What you want is to make as good a Court as possible, and to give it all the power and authority you can, and that, in my humble judgment, is best accomplished by making it final. I will now briefly review the results, upon this subject, of the useful discussions of the last few years; and I hope your Lordships will pardon me if I first ask permission to read a passage from a speech delivered by myself in the House of Commons six years ago, when I moved this question. Your Lordships will, at least, see that the opinions which I now express on this subject are not newly formed, and that they are indeed the same that I expressed at that time. Addressing the House of Commons on the 22nd of February, 1867, I said, ‘I will venture to state what has occurred to me as the best way of meeting all these difficulties, before I say a word on the most difficult portion of the subject, relating to the august tribunal of the House of Lords. Taking the three Courts I have mentioned alone—the Court of Error in the Exchequer Chamber, the Court of Appeal in Chancery, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—I am of opinion, if the House agrees with the view I have expressed, that one Court of Appeal is sufficient—that out of the Court of Appeal now existing in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council you might, with some additions, form a most admirable Supreme Court of Appeal, capable of discharging the whole of the business which is now done by that Court and also by the Courts of Exchequer Chamber, and of Appeal in

Chancery. The constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is most excellent, as far as it goes. I have no hesitation in saying that that Court, powerfully constituted, with a sufficient number of Judges to render it capable of subdivision, and comprising men conversant with different kinds of law—Common Law, Equity, and, it might be, Scotch law, as well as Colonial and Indian law—would be able to dispose of the appeals most beneficially to our jurisprudence, with great satisfaction to the country, and at no very great additional cost. You might have the Lord Chancellor, though, if the House of Lords retained its appellate jurisdiction, he would be required there frequently. You might also have the Lords Justices, and all the other eminent persons now constituting the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. You might have two or three other permanent Judges with proper salaries, chosen with reference to qualities which are not ordinarily to be found in the Judges of the Court of Chancery. . . . Some such measures as these have been suggested by high authority, as necessary to maintain in efficiency the Judicial Committee, even for its present purposes. I venture also to think that those who may hereafter fill the high office of Lord Chancellor might, considering the circumstances which often deprive the country of their services in that office, be called upon, *ex debito*, in consideration of their pensions (which are ample, though not too great), to give their services in the Supreme Court of Appeal, as they now voluntarily give them, from a sense of public duty, in the House of Lords. It would be thus quite practicable to form such a Supreme Court of Final Appeal as might unite the various jurisdictions now exercised by different Courts; and then I should certainly recommend that the Court should assemble in the same place as the other Law Courts—in the future home about to be provided for justice in the neighbourhood of those who practise the law, and not, as the Judicial Committee now does, in such an inconvenient place as the Privy Council Office in Downing Street. I do not conceive that there would be any constitutional objection, resulting from the relation of the Colonies to the Crown, to giving such a Court jurisdiction over Colonial and Indian appeals, because its Judges might be, and in practice would be, Privy Councillors, and, being so, would be qualified to advise her Majesty on all matters of that kind.’—[3 “Hansard,” clxxxv. 857.]

“My Lords, in reading this passage from my speech delivered six years ago, I desire to prove to you that I have not now arrived at a new conclusion: and if in what I now propose I seem to ask your Lordships to relinquish some part of your judicial authority, I hope your Lordships will feel persuaded that this does not arise from a disposition on my part to take anything away from the dignity and importance of your Lordships’ House. Independently of my being the youngest Member of your Assembly, my own constitutional principles have always made the honour, the dignity, and the constitutional power of this House, most dear to me; and there is not a man in it who would be more unwilling to do anything to



derogate from the dignity of your Lordships' House in any respect whatever. I ought almost to apologize for saying this, because I do not think I can possibly be mistaken in the conclusion I have arrived at, that your Lordships to a man will be at one with me on this point. Your Lordships can have no privilege—no notion of artificial dignity or importance—which you would desire to stand in the way of the due administration of justice. The name and shadow of the appellate jurisdiction of this House is utterly unimportant, unless it can be shown that the substance of that jurisdiction ought in the public interest to be maintained. I feel assured that I rightly interpret your Lordships' opinion, judging from what has occurred in this House, when I say that your Lordships long ago came to the conclusion that any improvements which can on solid grounds be shown to be desirable your Lordships will willingly make, although they may involve some diminution of the exercise of judicial power in the name of the House. At the same time, I agree that all proposals of this nature should be carefully scrutinized by your Lordships, and I am most willing that those I now submit to your Lordships should undergo the strictest examination."

After a further brief review of past schemes, Lord Selborne proceeded to explain the proposed constitution of the new Court. "I propose," he said, "that there shall be five *ex-officio* members—the Lord Chancellor, who shall be the head of the Court, and the heads of the four Divisions of the High Court—namely, the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron. In that way there will be a representation of the Court of First Instance in the persons of the principal Judges, who will also belong to that Court. In addition, I propose there shall be a number, not exceeding nine at any one time, of ordinary Judges, who in the first instance will be obtained in this way:—The two present Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery, the four salaried Judges of the Privy Council, who were appointed under the recent Act in the contemplation of a future Court of Appeal, and three Judges to be transferred from the present Courts of First Instance, who are permanently to serve in the Court of Appeal. I need not say that whatever Government may have to carry out such a measure would endeavour to select from the Courts of First Instance some of the most able and experienced Judges. The reason for fixing the number at nine is this:—The Acts under which the three Election Judges and the four Privy Council Judges are appointed are not permanent Acts; and, as to the Privy Council Judges, any power of appointing an additional Judge would, in the natural course of things, cease this year. It was not contemplated that so large a number would permanently be required; and, as this may well happen also with the new Court of Appeal, it is thought right not to make nine an inflexible number, though at present it is desirable to take advantage of the existence of these Judges. In addition to these *ex-officio* and ordinary Judges, it is also proposed that her Majesty shall have power to appoint as additional Judges

of the Court of Appeal any persons who have filled any judicial office in England which would qualify them to be members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or who may have filled the offices of Lord Justice General or Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland, or Lord Chancellor or Lord Justice of Appeal in Ireland. Such appointments would be made with their own consent, and not otherwise. I hope and believe that those who have discharged the duties which would qualify them, and who have strength to enable them still to render useful service, would not refuse to give their assistance in the new Court of Appeal as additional Judges. I should not myself stand here to ask your Lordships' assent to such a proposal without being ready myself to serve in such a capacity, if her Majesty should think me worthy of the honour, when I cease to be Lord Chancellor. That is the proposed constitution of the Court of Appeal. It is proposed that its decisions shall be final, and that the only appeal from the High Court shall be to that Court. (It is proposed at once to transfer to it the Admiralty and Lunacy appeals which now go to the Privy Council; and it is proposed to enable it to sit in divisions, with not fewer than three Judges in each, so that it may overtake and dispose of all the business. However great it may be, such a number of Judges will doubtless be able to transact it.) (The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council remains, and, with respect to it, the only constitutional point to be borne in mind is this: Appeals from the Colonies and from India go to her Majesty in Council, and it has always been the custom for the decrees and orders of the Court to be issued in her Majesty's name, the assent of her Majesty being given in Council. But Parliament has passed Acts regulating these appeals, so far as relates to the hearings, and there is no part of her Majesty's foreign possessions in which any exception has ever been taken to the regulation of these appeals by such Imperial statutes. What I propose in this Bill is not at once to remove the appeal business of the Judicial Committee to the new Court, because it might possibly be thought reasonable to see the working of the new Court for a short time before that is done; but since this jurisdiction, in a constitutional point of view, is with the Queen in Council, it appears to be an unexceptionable mode of proceeding to empower her Majesty, if she think fit, to transfer the appellate jurisdiction now exercised by the Judicial Committee, in other than ecclesiastical causes, to the new Court of Appeal.) (I do not propose to touch the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; it is one *sui generis*, standing apart, and the prospect of passing this measure would not be increased by any needless interference on my part with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. (The Judicial Committee will remain to advise her Majesty upon any non-judicial questions which may be referred to it, and, as far as my proposition goes, it will remain to determine ecclesiastical appeals under the present law.) (If her Majesty should exercise the power which I shall ask the House to confer upon her, all the other judicial business of the Privy Council would be transferred to the new Court of Appeal. It is

convenient it should be so, because if we are to have the services of these four Judges appointed for the business of the Court of Appeal, it is manifest we must provide in the first instance for the discharge by them of those duties for which they were specially appointed to the Judicial Committee, and the two systems will be most conveniently combined if we have the whole business brought together. Furthermore, the provision made by the appointment of these four Judges for the judicial business of the Privy Council is only a temporary provision, and unless Parliament should think fit to amend the Act of 1871 by giving additional powers to her Majesty to provide for that business, it must soon fall into its former condition, and necessitate fresh legislation."

The new Bill met, on the whole, with general approval. The only serious objection raised emanated from the practising members of the Equity Bar, nearly all of whom publicly expressed their alarm at an arrangement by which the Court of Chancery was apparently deprived of its controlling power and converted into one of four co-ordinate tribunals. It was urged that, although all Courts will henceforth have power to provide the proper remedy for every wrong, the great majority of the present Judges, forming three Divisions out of four, must be expected to prefer the system to which they have been accustomed, and that they would be exempt from the interference which the Court of Chancery has hitherto in certain cases exercised very beneficially.

Acting as spokesman of this feeling, Lord Cairns proposed and carried an amendment to the effect that the Lord Chancellor should preside over the Second Division, which was to consist of the Judges in Equity; and when the Bill was returned to the House of Lords, he favoured the re-insertion of this amendment, which had been struck out in the House of Commons. Lord Westbury, though afflicted by an illness which proved fatal in the summer of this year, intimated his approval of the Bill. In the House of Commons it was introduced by the Attorney-General.

Yielding to a fanciful scruple, the Lord Chancellor conceded that the House of Lords should still be the Court of Appeal for Scotland and Ireland, and that ecclesiastical appeals should be, as at present, decided by the Judicial Committee. After the Bill had passed the House of Lords, it was discovered that neither Scotland nor Ireland was so far enamoured of Home Rule as to prefer an ancient Court of Appeal, which had been discarded by the rest of the empire as obsolete, to the most efficient tribunal which Parliament had been able to devise. In deference to what seemed the opinion of all parties interested, and to the judgment of the House of Commons, the Ministers undertook to modify the Bill by including Scotch and Irish appeals among the subjects of the new appellate jurisdiction; but, as soon as their purpose had been announced, Lord Cairns called the attention of the House of Lords to an alleged breach of privilege which the House of Commons would be committing if it were to suppress the residuary judicial functions of the House of Lords. He

argued that the Bill was not intended to interfere with the jurisprudence of Scotland and Ireland, while the Lord Chancellor had himself said that it would be undesirable to change the existing system in Scotland, and had added that there were constitutional objections to sending Scotch and Irish appeals to an English Court. While the Bill was passing through this House, all the occupants of the Treasury Bench expressed their opinion against there being only one Court of Appeal for causes from all the three kingdoms, yet that project was now being attempted. This was a clear, palpable, and most serious infringement of the privileges of their Lordships' House, as any measure which affected the jurisdiction of that House ought to commence there, and ought not to be altered elsewhere. This principle had been established on many occasions. It was absolutely necessary to bring this matter forward now, because neither House submitted its privileges to the decision of the other, and if the Bill came up containing that which was objectionable it must be laid aside and could not be considered, and that was a course which he did not wish to adopt, as he had too much goodwill towards the measure as it was sent to the House of Commons.

The Lord Chancellor, in replying, expressed his regret that there should be a disturbance of the harmony which had hitherto prevailed respecting this measure. He regarded this discussion as inconvenient, and declined to go into what was taking place in the House of Commons. He was not in favour of the proposal to bring up appeals from Scotland and Ireland, but remarked that that proposal did not emanate from the Government, and was not approved of by them until they were satisfied that public opinion in Scotland and Ireland was in favour of the change. The question of privilege, he added, had never occurred to the Government; but the matter should be looked into, and he asked their Lordships not to contemplate taking an extreme course with the Bill.

On Lord Cairns' assertion of privilege forming the subject of argument in the Commons, "As far as I am concerned," said Mr. Gladstone, "I have no doubt there ought to be one final Court of Appeal for the three kingdoms; and I have also no doubt, after listening to the very manly statement of the right hon. and learned gentleman the member for the University of Ireland (Dr. Ball), there will be one Court of Appeal for the three kingdoms, and that the just claim of Ireland has received a recognition which I believe will be permanent and effectual at the proper time, whether it be found practicable or not to give effect to it during the present session. I think it only just to say so much in answer to what has fallen from the right hon. and learned gentleman. There has been no difference expressed among the speakers to-night with regard to the supposed privilege, which has threatened to be an impediment to our proceedings, and for my own part, all reflection confirms me in the conclusion that that privilege is as purely visionary as any claim in the history of Parliament that ever was set up. On the other hand, those who share that opinion agree with the Govern-



ment in thinking it is not desirable we should enter into controversy with the other House of Parliament upon the subject. It has been our desire to frame our course with reference to this principle—it might be, if the House of Commons were weaker than it is, it could not afford to pass by an occasion when its rights are challenged; but it is because it is strong in the breadth and depth of its popular base, as well as in great historical traditions, that we come freely to that conclusion which the public interest dictates as the best, on the whole, with reference to the circumstances before us, and do not trouble ourselves about the question—what observations or criticisms may be made upon the apparent surrender of rights, which, if we had thought fit, we might have proceeded to urge?”

Mr. Disraeli commented on the singular fate attending the Bill—that, though supported by the leading men of both sides, it should fall into serious difficulties at this late stage. This he attributed entirely to the vacillation of the Ministry, whose mind was not yet made up as to what course they would take. With regard to the question of privilege, Mr. Disraeli said it was not his place either to assert or deny it, but he severely censured the mode in which Mr. Gladstone had met it. First he had vehemently denounced it, then he had yielded to it with fatal, not to say pusillanimous, facility. If the House of Lords ever did advance the privilege, the existence of which had been asserted (for what had happened amounted to no more than that), the House of Commons would be involved in disgrace and discomfiture if it had no better arguments to rely upon than the precedents cited by Mr. Gladstone. These precedents, Mr. Disraeli maintained in a long and elaborate analysis of them, had no force or application, and he concluded by a vehement condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's conduct in allowing an important legislative measure to be modified and endangered on the mere rumour of a claim of privilege.

According to the most approved precedents, the claim of privilege was certainly unfounded; but the fate of the Bill depended on Lord Cairns, with an eager majority of the House of Lords awaiting his signal; and the Government, which had, fortunately, not yet introduced the proposed amendment, wisely deferred to a power which it could not directly resist. It was far better that the Judicature Bill should pass into a law, than that it should, as an abortive project, be somewhat more complete.

About the same time Mr. Hardy obtained the unanimous assent of the House of Commons to a proposal that Ecclesiastical Appeals should be transferred to the Supreme Court. It happened by an odd coincidence that on this point the opinions of secular legislators coincided with the wishes of the extreme advocates of clerical independence. The sound and dispassionate judgments of the Judicial Committee, which have hitherto preserved the Church of England from disruption, have confirmed the conviction of intelligent laymen that articles of conformity are most safely committed

to the interpretation of lawyers. The prelates who form a part of the Court have been judicious and prudent men, not incapable of emulating the impartiality of their colleagues; but it seemed to Mr. Hardy that judicial functions would be best discharged by professional Judges. The more turbulent members of the clerical body dislike a semblance of spiritual validity in judgments which they openly question as far as they are adverse to their respective theories. They consequently object to the participation of the heads of the Church in the deliberations of the Court of Appeal. But the prelates, whose authority was to be summarily superseded, naturally differed both from the ecclesiastical and the secular view. The remonstrances of the archbishops induced the Lord Chancellor to adopt the middle course of enabling a certain number of prelates to act as assessors to the Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical cases.

The schedule which regulates procedure, though necessarily technical, is by far the most important part of the Act. The combination of Equity pleadings with the method of determining issues of fact which has long been practised in the Courts of Common Law is sound in principle. Further experience will suggest many improvements, and perhaps the Superior Courts may ultimately find it possible to dispose of their business without delegating, as at present, some of their most important functions.

The Supreme Court of Appeal, therefore, under this Act, is to consist of the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, the Lords Justices, the Peers who have held judicial office, and the permanent members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. By one of the most doubtful provisions of the Bill intermediate appeals are abolished; and the Supreme Court will exercise exclusive appellate jurisdiction in all English, Indian, and Colonial cases.

The other legal measures of the session were insignificant or unsuccessful. The Lord Chancellor contented himself with introducing a Bill for facilitating the transfer of land; and the Attorney-General introduced an abortive Jury Bill, which was generally disapproved both by the profession and the public.

The Judicature Bill alone redeems from insignificance the legislative performances of the Government. Mr. Stansfeld carried through the House of Commons an unpretending Bill for extending the area of ratability to certain kinds of property which had not been included in the original Act of Elizabeth. It was proposed that timber as well as salable underwood should be rated, and that mines of metal should be placed on the same footing with coal mines. The right of shooting, which is practically rated when it is held by the lessee of the land, was to be subject to the same burden if it were retained by the landlord as if it were separately let. None of the proposed changes were either important, or in theory objectionable, and Mr. Stansfeld showed a laudable desire to provide for the equitable assessment of the various subjects of taxation. The House of Lords, nevertheless, summarily rejected

the Bill on the ground of some alleged defects, which could not have been corrected in that House without a possible infringement of the privileges of the House of Commons. The Peers would have exercised a sounder judgment if they had submitted to the removal of a few anomalous exemptions which are at present allowed to landowners. It is evident that in all ordinary cases the judgment of the House of Commons ought to be regarded as final in all questions which belong to its exclusive competence. One of the objects of the Rating Bill was to evade or postpone compliance with the Resolution on Local Taxation which was carried two years ago by Sir Massey Lopes. The sweeping measure by which Mr. Goschen answered the challenge of the Opposition failed in the object of detaching the tenant farmers from their alliance with the landowners. Mr. Stansfeld's more moderate and more equitable Bill furnished the Government with an excuse for withholding for the present any contribution from the public resources in aid of the rates. Local taxation ought, it was said, to be equalized and extended before the necessity or amount of aid to be rendered by the State can be accurately estimated. The zeal of the House of Commons for the relief of the local taxpayers had in the meantime rapidly abated. Even when the Government, immediately after its resumption of office, was weakest, an ill-judged attempt of the Opposition to obtain a victory on the question of local taxation was easily defeated.

An alteration introduced by Mr. Forster into the law of elementary education is not of primary importance. By an Act which bore the name of the late Speaker, Guardians were prohibited from making the education of the children of paupers a condition of outdoor relief. The law is now reversed, and Mr. Forster's Bill has transferred from the School Boards to the Guardians the duty of determining whether the fees of indigent children shall be paid out of the rates. When the intention of the Government was made public, some Boards of Guardians remonstrated against the change; and opponents raised the sentimental objection that parents would be pauperized by a receipt of aid which would, in fact, prove that they were paupers. Mr. Forster yielded to the pressure; but he steadily refused to comply with the demand of the Birmingham League, that fees should not be paid out of the rates to denominational schools. Mr. Fawcett, in one of the most powerful speeches of the session, denounced the narrow intolerance of the League, although he is himself an advocate of Secular Education. Mr. Forster's Bill, in its curtailed form, was finally passed by a majority of nearly four to one, though Mr. Torrens, on behalf of the ratepayers, combined his forces with the thoroughgoing secularians represented by Mr. Richard.

The Budget of the year was not of an ambitious order. "The financial year, which has just come to a close," said Mr. Lowe, in introducing it, "has been by no means exempt from incidents and vicissitudes. We have had what I fear must be characterized as an



unfavourable harvest. Two of the States which, together with us, form the barrier of Europe against the Atlantic are at this moment provisionally governed, and one of them seems to be in the throes of a civil war. If we turn in another direction, we find that the monetary world has been very much agitated and excited by the very large remittances which have been made from France to Germany, and in addition to that we have had at home the self-inflicted misery of strikes to contend with, besides a great rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, more especially in that greatest necessary in our cold and damp climate—coal. But I think that any one who attends to the narrative which I am about to lay before the House will not be able to trace the slightest vestige of any ill effect which those different vicissitudes and misfortunes have had upon the revenue and finances of the country. Things which in former years would have produced the most active effect seem now almost powerless. It really looks as though the winds that could bow the sapling were harmless against the oak—as if our finances, our business, our commerce, our trade, by the immense expansion which has taken place, have gained in solidity, and are more difficult to be moved, just because they are larger than before. I trust it will prove so. At any rate, my task is a very gratifying one—namely, to detail the financial results of a year of almost unexampled prosperity.

“The first point I would draw attention to is a comparison of the expenditure of the year which has just elapsed—1872-3—with the total grants within that year. By the words ‘total grants’ I understand the grants which were made in the Appropriation Act, together with the supplemental estimates which were granted in the current year. Now the total grant of the year 1872-3 amounted to 71,881,000*l.*, and the actual expenditure of the year amounted to 70,714,000*l.*, so that the actual expenditure is less than the actual grants by a sum of 1,167,000*l.*, and less than the amount granted in the Appropriation Act by 949,000*l.*, and less than the total original estimate in the budget by 599,000*l.* I now proceed to mention some of the principal items of this saving. The first is a sum of 205,000*l.* unexpended money—charges on the Consolidated Fund. That arises in this manner:—By the Act of 1869, by which the Chancery and Bankruptcy balances were transferred and paid into the Exchequer, provision was contained to the effect that, in case the funds fell below a certain sum, a grant should be made in aid of them from the Consolidated Fund. We have had to make such a grant since the Act was passed, and a sum of 100,000*l.* was put down for that purpose. Happily, however, the fund has been sufficient, and the grant has not, therefore, been called on. Another cause is somewhat similar in its nature. By the Telegraph Act, also of 1869, it was enacted that if the telegraph revenue should show a profit, that profit should be expended in the purchase of stock, and 100,000*l.* was put down to meet such an expenditure. In point of fact, however, the expenditure had not to be incurred, and the total saving on these heads has been 205,000*l.* Again, the

Civil Service estimates show a very large reduction indeed, amounting to no less than 766,000*l*. This arises principally on two heads—the one Education, the other Public Buildings. In respect of the first, the Education Department seem to have believed that the Act would come more rapidly into effect than it has done, and they made provision accordingly, which has not been called upon. That, I must say, is only in accordance with my own experience. An error which people are very likely to fall into is this—that because a change is made, the change which is expected and desired can be at once brought about. According to my experience, it is a matter of time, labour, and care to bring a new system of any kind to maturity. Twenty years of excessive labour were devoted by able men to the old system, and I think we must not be too sanguine in expecting that the new scheme shall arrive at the point we should like to see it attain until, at any rate, several years have elapsed. (Hear.) Thus there has been a considerable saving on the Works Vote, class 1, amounting in round numbers to about 300,000*l*. On this subject the Committee on Public Accounts have made a very valuable suggestion. They point out that very large surrenders are often made in this department—amounting in 1869 to 240,000*l*., in 1870 to 270,000*l*., in 1871 to 243,000*l*., and in 1872 to 305,000*l*. They point out how this has happened, and suggest that, when the sum taken for a particular work has not been expended, a system of transfer should be adopted similar to that which exists in the case of the army and navy. This suggestion was well worthy of consideration. In the Post Office there was an excess of 24,000*l*., and in the Telegraph department of 172,000*l*. I think that in future it would be better that supplemental estimates should be moved for any excesses of this kind than that they should be allowed to run on to the end of the year. (Hear, hear.) I have now compared the actual expenditure of the past year—1872-3—with the grants of the year, and it may be worth while to compare the expenditure of 1872-3 with that of 1871-2. The expenditure of 1871-2 was 71,190,000*l*.; that of 1872-3 was 70,714,000*l*.; showing a decrease of 776,000*l*. in the expenditure of last year as compared with the year preceding it. There was a decrease of expenditure on the army of 1,055,000*l*.; the navy, 358,000*l*.; the Civil Service, 187,000*l*.; the Consolidated Fund charges, 222,000*l*.; and on the debt of 31,000*l*.; making in all 1,856,000*l*. There has been an increase of expenditure in only two items—namely, for the abolition of purchase 606,000*l*., and in the revenue department 575,000*l*., arising from the great extension of the Post Office and Telegraph departments; making the net decrease 675,000*l*.

“ I now proceed to compare the revenue of the year 1872-3 with the estimate of that year. The estimate was 71,846,000*l*. The actual revenue for the year has been 76,608,770*l*., so that there was an increase of revenue over estimate of 4,781,770*l*. The expenditure, as I have stated, for the year was 70,714,770*l*., and, subtracting one of these amounts from the other, we found a surplus of income over

expenditure for the year which has just expired of 5,894,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) Of this revenue there were derived from sources other than taxes—from the Post Office, Telegraphs, Crown Lands, and Miscellaneous—10,191,000*l.*, so that the residue alone was derived from taxation. The Customs have, I find, increased by a very large amount; in fact, there has been an increase in every item of Customs' revenue with the exception of coffee, chicory, and molasses. Coffee produced in the financial year to March 31, 1872, 362,000*l.* The loss on coffee has been only 157,000*l.* On the reduction of the duty in May there was an enormous increase of consumption, and every month except September shows an increase over the corresponding month of the previous year. The returns are very gratifying, because it had always been said that coffee was an article which it was no use relieving from taxation, since the English could not make it, and did not like the trouble of it; and, in point of fact, it was not a national beverage. The result has shown the contrary. The increase in consumption has been seven per cent. in coffee and eight per cent. in chicory, whereas in the previous year there was a decrease of eleven per cent. The loss on coffee was estimated at 165,000*l.*, but it has only been 157,000*l.* The result of the change of duty had been that while the revenue from coffee and chicory in 1871-2 was 479,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated revenue of 495,000*l.*, the revenue in 1872-3 was 273,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated revenue of 265,000*l.* It is pretty plain, therefore, that I was right in thinking that coffee was over-taxed with respect to tea, and that it only required to be placed on a level with it for the consumption to increase. The increase in Customs' duties has been—in spirits, 357,000*l.*; in tobacco, 253,000*l.*; in tea, 129,000*l.*; in wine, 37,000*l.*; and in sugar and molasses, 85,000*l.* I now turn to the Excise. The revenue from Excise in the year just expired has been 2,475,000*l.* in excess of the estimate, spirits showing an increase over the previous year of 1,330,000*l.*, making the total receipts from spirits 13,600,000*l.* The increased consumption has continued throughout the year, and at the rate of 25,000*l.* per week. During the six months, April to September, it was at the rate of 30,000*l.* per week; and in the last six months it was at the rate of 20,000*l.* per week. It is impossible to make such a statement as this without very mixed feelings. On the one hand, we cannot help thinking to what much better use the greatest part of the money—only a small portion of which is represented by these enormous totals—might have been put; on the other hand, we cannot but in some degree rejoice that the state of the working classes has enabled them to make this expenditure, although they might have spent the money in so much better a way. I now come to malt, the increase on which is also very large. The increase of revenue in 1872-3 over 1871-2 is 866,000*l.*, but of this 400,000*l.* is due to exceptional circumstances. It arises from a late malting in 1872 and an early malting in 1873. The real increase in the quantity of malt made is represented by the respect-

Civil Service estimates show a very large reduction indeed, amounting to no less than 766,000*l*. This arises principally on two heads—the one Education, the other Public Buildings. In respect of the first, the Education Department seem to have believed that the Act would come more rapidly into effect than it has done, and they made provision accordingly, which has not been called upon. That, I must say, is only in accordance with my own experience. An error which people are very likely to fall into is this—that because a change is made, the change which is expected and desired can be at once brought about. According to my experience, it is a matter of time, labour, and care to bring a new system of any kind to maturity. Twenty years of excessive labour were devoted by able men to the old system, and I think we must not be too sanguine in expecting that the new scheme shall arrive at the point we should like to see it attain until, at any rate, several years have elapsed. (Hear.) Thus there has been a considerable saving on the Works Vote, class 1, amounting in round numbers to about 300,000*l*. On this subject the Committee on Public Accounts have made a very valuable suggestion. They point out that very large surrenders are often made in this department—amounting in 1869 to 240,000*l*., in 1870 to 270,000*l*., in 1871 to 243,000*l*., and in 1872 to 305,000*l*. They point out how this has happened, and suggest that, when the sum taken for a particular work has not been expended, a system of transfer should be adopted similar to that which exists in the case of the army and navy. This suggestion was well worthy of consideration. In the Post Office there was an excess of 24,000*l*., and in the Telegraph department of 172,000*l*. I think that in future it would be better that supplemental estimates should be moved for any excesses of this kind than that they should be allowed to run on to the end of the year. (Hear, hear.) I have now compared the actual expenditure of the past year—1872-3—with the grants of the year, and it may be worth while to compare the expenditure of 1872-3 with that of 1871-2. The expenditure of 1871-2 was 71,490,000*l*.; that of 1872-3 was 70,714,000*l*.; showing a decrease of 776,000*l*. in the expenditure of last year as compared with the year preceding it. There was a decrease of expenditure on the army of 1,055,000*l*.; the navy, 358,000*l*.; the Civil Service, 187,000*l*.; the Consolidated Fund charges, 222,000*l*.; and on the debt of 34,000*l*.; making in all 1,856,000*l*. There has been an increase of expenditure in only two items—namely, for the abolition of purchase 606,000*l*., and in the revenue department 575,000*l*., arising from the great extension of the Post Office and Telegraph departments; making the net decrease 675,000*l*.

“I now proceed to compare the revenue of the year 1872-3 with the estimate of that year. The estimate was 71,846,000*l*. The actual revenue for the year has been 76,608,770*l*., so that there was an increase of revenue over estimate of 4,781,770*l*. The expenditure, as I have stated, for the year was 70,714,770*l*., and, subtracting one of these amounts from the other, we found a surplus of income over



expenditure for the year which has just expired of 5,894,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) Of this revenue there were derived from sources other than taxes—from the Post Office, Telegraphs, Crown Lands, and Miscellaneous—10,191,000*l.*, so that the residue alone was derived from taxation. The Customs have, I find, increased by a very large amount; in fact, there has been an increase in every item of Customs' revenue with the exception of coffee, chicory, and molasses. Coffee produced in the financial year to March 31, 1872, 362,000*l.* The loss on coffee has been only 157,000*l.* On the reduction of the duty in May there was an enormous increase of consumption, and every month except September shows an increase over the corresponding month of the previous year. The returns are very gratifying, because it had always been said that coffee was an article which it was no use relieving from taxation, since the English could not make it, and did not like the trouble of it; and, in point of fact, it was not a national beverage. The result has shown the contrary. The increase in consumption has been seven per cent. in coffee and eight per cent. in chicory, whereas in the previous year there was a decrease of eleven per cent. The loss on coffee was estimated at 165,000*l.*, but it has only been 157,000*l.* The result of the change of duty had been that while the revenue from coffee and chicory in 1871-2 was 479,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated revenue of 495,000*l.*, the revenue in 1872-3 was 273,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated revenue of 265,000*l.* It is pretty plain, therefore, that I was right in thinking that coffee was over-taxed with respect to tea, and that it only required to be placed on a level with it for the consumption to increase. The increase in Customs' duties has been—in spirits, 357,000*l.*; in tobacco, 253,000*l.*; in tea, 129,000*l.*; in wine, 37,000*l.*; and in sugar and molasses, 85,000*l.* I now turn to the Excise. The revenue from Excise in the year just expired has been 2,475,000*l.* in excess of the estimate, spirits showing an increase over the previous year of 1,330,000*l.*, making the total receipts from spirits 13,600,000*l.* The increased consumption has continued throughout the year, and at the rate of 25,000*l.* per week. During the six months, April to September, it was at the rate of 30,000*l.* per week; and in the last six months it was at the rate of 20,000*l.* per week. It is impossible to make such a statement as this without very mixed feelings. On the one hand, we cannot help thinking to what much better use the greatest part of the money—only a small portion of which is represented by these enormous totals—might have been put; on the other hand, we cannot but in some degree rejoice that the state of the working classes has enabled them to make this expenditure, although they might have spent the money in so much better a way. I now come to malt, the increase on which is also very large. The increase of revenue in 1872-3 over 1871-2 is 866,000*l.*, but of this 400,000*l.* is due to exceptional circumstances. It arises from a late malting in 1872 and an early malting in 1873. The real increase in the quantity of malt made is represented by the respect-

able figure of 466,000*l*. The licences, which have not been progressive lately, show an increase of 148,000*l*. Stamps also show a remarkable increase over the estimate of 247,000*l*., while as compared with last year's, produce deeds show an increase of 105,000*l*., bills of exchange of 110,000*l*., receipts and drafts of 40,000*l*., marine insurance of 12,000*l*., probates and administrations of 75,000*l*., and fee stamps of 10,000*l*., making altogether 352,000*l*. On the other hand, there has been a falling off of 190,000*l*. in the Legacy duty, which of course is not under the control of the Government; but it must be remembered that the amount of legacy duty in 1871-2 was the largest on record—viz. 3,371,000*l*. The Income-tax shows an increase over the estimate of 560,000*l*. I now come to the comparison of the revenue in 1872-3 with that in 1871-2. In 1872-3 it was 76,609,000*l*., in 1871-2 it was 74,708,000*l*., showing an increase of 1,901,000*l*., although taxes were remitted calculated to cause a loss of 3,240,000*l*.

“I will next refer to the state of the Exchequer balances for the four years from April 1, 1869, to March 31, 1873. On April 1, 1869, the balance was 4,707,000*l*. There has been a surplus of revenue over ordinary expenditure during the four years of 16,079,000*l*., and an excess of repayments of loans for public works over advances of 2,109,000*l*., and other items, making together 22,895,000*l*. Out of that sum there has been applied directly to the extinction of debt 10,903,000*l*., leaving a balance on March 31, 1873, of 11,992,000*l*. Between April, 1869, and April, 1873, we have paid off debt to the amount of 29,633,000*l*., but during the same period we have incurred debt, for telegraphs, 8,668,000*l*., and for fortifications, 1,285,000*l*., making together 9,953,000*l*. Subtracting that from the amount paid off, there remains a net diminution of debt of 19,680,000*l*. The Committee should observe that the debt incurred for telegraphs is not money sunk, but represents reproductive expenditure (hear, hear), so that in truth we have not been far from reducing the debt by the large sum I first mentioned. On April 1, 1869, the total debt of all kinds, funded, unfunded, and terminable annuities, was 805,480,000*l*. On April 1, 1873, it had been reduced to 785,800,000*l*., it being composed as follows:—Funded debt, 727,425,000*l*.; capital value of terminable annuities in Three per Cent. Stock, 53,546,000*l*. (42,000,000*l*. of which, I think, will drop in 1885); and unfunded debt—viz., Exchequer bills—for we have no Exchequer bonds out—4,829,000*l*., making a total of 785,800,000*l*. The debt has been reduced within the current year by 6,861,000*l*. I will give a few figures showing what I may call our capital expenditure during the last four years. During that time we have spent in fortifications and telegraphs 9,028,000*l*.; in the abolition of purchase 1,286,000*l*.; we have diminished the debt by 19,680,000*l*., and we have increased the balance in the Exchequer by 7,285,000*l*., making a total capital expenditure of 37,279,000*l*. During the same four years taxation has been remitted amounting to 9,166,000*l*., which I hope will be an answer to those who accuse

us of having devoted our attention wholly to the debt, and of having done nothing to alleviate the burdens of the people.

"I now turn to the financial year on which we are entering, and compare the estimated expenditure for that year with the grants of 1872-3. The estimated expenditure for the current year is 71,871,000*l.*, and the grants of 1872-3 were 71,881,000*l.*, showing a net decrease of 10,000*l.* There is a reduction of charge on debt of 80,000*l.*, arising from the cancelling a large amount of stock, and the charges on the Consolidated Fund are reduced by 210,000*l.* On the other hand, there is a loss in terminable annuities, fortifications, and barracks. The army expenditure, as the Committee have heard from my right hon. friend (Mr. Cardwell), is 407,000*l.* less than in the past year, the chief decrease being 350,000*l.* in warlike stores. There is an increase on fuel and provisions of nearly 400,000*l.* On the navy there is an increase of 341,000*l.* There is an increase in the dockyards through the increase of wages of 136,000*l.*, also an increase of 144,000*l.* in naval stores, and an increase on steam machinery of 132,000*l.*, making together with various other items 475,000*l.* The increased cost of coal is estimated at 60,000*l.* The Civil Services show an estimated increase of 127,000*l.* There is a decrease in Class 1 on a number of buildings now in hand, but an increase on the Natural History Museum and the new Courts of Justice, both buildings which we are now seriously about to commence. (Hear, hear.) We have only recently received the estimate for the New Law Courts, and I do not think that any time has yet been lost in that matter. In Class 2 there is an increase of 107,000*l.*, due to an increase in the Local Government Board estimate caused by the Public Health Act, and in the Home Office estimate caused by the Regulation of Mines Act. Some increase also occurs in Class 3, which is attributable to the Irish constabulary, in consequence of the report of a Commission, and likewise to the metropolitan and county police. Industrial schools also exhibit an increase, which, I apprehend, will continue as long as those institutions are conducted under an Act so loosely drawn as the present one. On the other hand, criminal prosecutions, reformatories, and county prisons, show a decrease, which is, of course, gratifying. In Class 4 education shows a decrease of 100,000*l.*, which is owing to the fact I have already mentioned—namely, that the Act does not come so rapidly into effect as was anticipated. Science and art and education in Ireland show an increase. Class 5 is practically stationary. There is some decrease in the charge for Colonial establishments, while for the diplomatic service and the Zanzibar mission there is an increase. In the Revenue departments the Customs and Inland Revenue show an increase of 40,000*l.*, arising from the new assessment to the income-tax. In the Post Office there is an increase of 135,000*l.*, attributable to the progress of the service, and the telegraphs exhibit an increase of 145,000*l.*, due to the same cause—the revenue being estimated to increase in larger proportion.



“I now proceed to submit to the House the estimate of the revenue for the year 1873-4, as compared with the actual revenue for 1872-3. The actual revenue for 1872-3 was 76,608,770*l.* The estimated revenue for the year 1873-4 is 76,617,000*l.*; so that there is an increase over the actual revenue of last year of 8230*l.* We take the Customs at the same amount as they produced last year—viz., 21,033,000*l.* The Excise we estimate to yield 25,747,000*l.*, or 38,000*l.* less than last year. That decrease, I apprehend, is accounted for by what I have already mentioned about an apparent great rise in malt. The stamps we take at 10,050,000*l.*, being an increase of 103,000*l.* The land-tax and the house duty we take at 2,350,000*l.*, or 13,000*l.* more than they yielded in 1872-3. The income-tax we take at 7,000,000*l.* It yielded 7,500,000*l.* last year, the difference of 500,000*l.* being, of course, accounted for by the relics of the higher rate we had before. The Post Office we take at 5,012,000*l.*, showing an increase of 192,000*l.*; the telegraph service we estimate to produce 1,220,000*l.*, showing an increase of 205,000*l.*; the Crown Lands we take at the same amount as last year—viz., 375,000*l.*, and the miscellaneous we estimate at 3,830,000*l.*, being an increase of 33,230*l.* over last year. The total estimated revenue for 1873-4 is 76,617,000*l.*, being an increase of 546,230*l.* over the actual revenue of 1872-3. The Customs, as I have said, are put at the same figure as last year. The Excise we estimate to produce a total of 25,747,000*l.*, divided under the following heads:—Chicory, 7000*l.*; licences, 3,880,000*l.*; malt, 6,980,000*l.*; racehorses, 10,000*l.*; railways, 520,000*l.*; spirits, 14,200,000*l.*; sugar, 150,000*l.*—total, 25,747,000*l.* The estimates for spirits is taken at a considerable advance over last year, it having been observed that the revenue from this source has of late years advanced steadily and almost in the same ratio, or about 700,000*l.* a year. In 1866, when my right hon. friend at the head of the Government was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he called attention to the large yield under the heads of Customs and Excise, and stated that 13,959,000*l.* from spirits was the largest sum ever raised in any period of our history by a tax on a single commodity. Well, the estimated income for the ensuing year from spirits under the heads of Customs and Inland Revenue is 19,000,000*l.* The income-tax we estimate will produce 7,000,000*l.*; that is 1,750,000*l.* for every penny. When the late Sir Robert Peel first imposed the income-tax, he estimated, taking an average of years, that it would yield 728,000*l.* for each penny. So that the result of thirty years of experience, and I hope of the improvement of the tax, has been that it now yields a million for every penny more than it did in 1842. (Hear, hear.) It now remains for me to balance the two sides of the account. The income for the year 1873-4, as I have stated, will be 76,617,000*l.* The expenditure we estimate at 71,871,000*l.*, showing a surplus of 4,746,000*l.* I have already informed the Committee that the balances approach very closely upon 12,000,000*l.* Now, the question arises, what are we to do with all this money? (Laughter and cheers.)

“The first subject which must be in everybody’s mind, and which, therefore, I will deal with first, is the damages in which we have been cast by the arbitrators at Geneva. Their amount, as far as we can tell by reducing American money into English, is 3,200,000*l.*, which we are to pay before the 1st of October next in gold at Washington. This appears to me, I confess, to be the service of the present year. (Hear, hear.) Some people, as I have observed, have attempted to make out that, seeing the arbitration occurred last year, it may be said in some degree to belong to last year. But I hold it to be an indubitable principle that nobody pays debts before he is obliged (hear, hear, and a laugh), and as we are not obliged to pay before the 1st of October next, it is in the year in which that fatal day arrives that our duties accrue in this matter. I therefore regard this as undoubtedly a charge not on the year that has gone by, but on the year that is now before us. But while I state this, I am also quite free to admit that this does not necessarily settle the question of the manner in which this large sum is to be met. It is quite true that it is a charge on the year, but it is also true that it is a charge entirely *sui generis*, and that it has never happened to us before, although I am quite willing to say I hope it may happen again—(oh, oh)—at least, I hope the chance of it may occur again by the reference of some future difference which may arise to arbitration. (Hear, hear.) So large a payment, however, undoubtedly interferes with our ordinary finance, but it interferes with it not as a permanent payment, but as one that comes once and that may never recur. We have taken these matters into our consideration, and we are of opinion that, on the whole, it is our duty to place one-half of this payment upon the ordinary revenue of the present year. (Hear, hear.) That will be the sum of 1,600,000*l.* As to the rest of the sum—viz., another 1,600,000*l.*—we think that we ought to provide for its payment, without any further resort to the taxation of the year, by asking for power to give Exchequer bonds or Exchequer bills for the amount, in case, which I do not at all anticipate, of an unfavourable state of the finances. By that means we have disposed, therefore, of 1,600,000*l.* of our surplus. There remains 3,146,000*l.*, and the question is how are we to dispose of that sum?

“We have carefully considered the matter, and we have come to the conclusion that it is our duty to propose a remission of taxation on some articles which enter very generally into the food of the people, and in that way to give the greatest and most general relief. After having weighed as well as we could the claims of different articles, we have come to the conclusion that the article on which it was desirable that we should fix was sugar. (Hear, hear.) There were a great many taxes which one would be exceedingly anxious to reduce, but there was scarcely one which enters so widely into the comforts of all classes of her Majesty’s subjects, from the highest to the lowest, as sugar. It is a sweetener which enters into all sorts of food; it is the delight of children (a laugh), and the solace of age. (A laugh.) With all these admirable

qualities, it is exceedingly nutritious and wholesome, constituting really and truly an article of food. We are also very much encouraged by the result of former reductions to proceed in this direction. The sugar duty in 1872-3 produced 3,252,000*l.*, that being a very considerable recovery from the sum which was taken off in 1870. We are now asking you to make this reduction chiefly on one ground, but there are others on which I need not enlarge which may be taken into account. The reduction of the duty in 1870 has brought into more conspicuous view a set of questions with which I confess I for one was very little conversant before, and on which I would wish to be allowed to say a few words. Nothing, perhaps, has been legislated about so minutely as sugar. It is divided into five different scales, the first being under the head of refined and the others of unrefined sugar. To each of these scales a different value is attached. Before 1865, the highest scale of refined sugar was, I think, taxed at 18*s.* per cwt., and the lowest at 12*s.* My right hon. friend near me in 1865 reduced the tax on the highest to 12*s.*, and on the lowest, if I am not mistaken, to 8*s.* per cwt. In 1870 the House reduced the tax again to 6*s.* and 4*s.*, so that as we reduced the tax we gradually reduced the range within which the five scales I have mentioned operated. In other words, we left the same number of stairs as before, but then they were not so steep. The effect has been considerable, and I think beneficial. There are not only five different scales of duty for sugar, but seven different scales of drawback for one class—that is refined sugar. The drawback is not paid on the raw but on the refined article, and the system, as it stands, has given rise to innumerable practices, which I shall not call by any hard names, but which our neighbours across the Channel call by very hard names indeed. The result of the change to be made in the sugar duty will be to diminish very much the injury to which I am referring, because the difference will be so slight between the several classes of drawback that it will not be worth any person's while to dress up sugar so as to make it appear a different class from that which it really is. Complaint has been made on the same subject in France, where the duty is very high, and the best results will be produced, I think, in removing the injury to which I am referring if the House should assent to the proposal which I am submitting to its consideration. We shall still leave the scale existing; we have not the power to alter it; but the several scales will be so near each other that it will not probably be worth the while of any one to take much trouble in order to get more in the shape of a bounty than he would have to pay in duty, and the revenue will thus be more fairly treated. The reduction, I may add, which we propose is to take off again half the duty on sugar as before. The duty for the present year—1872-3—is 3,252,000*l.*, and the half of that sum is 1,626,000*l.* We believe, however, that the increased consumption would give us 1,822,000*l.*, and that the loss to the revenue, therefore, would be only 1,430,000*l.* I may mention, while on this subject, that we propose the reduced

duty should not come into effect until May 8, so that time may be given to those who hold stocks of sugar to get rid of them. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Crawford.) We have no inclination to enter into another discussion with my hon. friend the member for the City of London, and after the cheer with which he has just received my proposal, I hope he will not come forward again as one of those evil counsellors who may be disposed to contend that further time should be given. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) The rates of duty will be found in the resolution, and it will be sufficient to state now that the highest rate on refined sugar will be 3*s.* per cwt., on the first class 2*s.* 10*d.*, on the second 2*s.* 8*d.*, on the third 2*s.* 5*d.*, on the fourth 2*s.*, and on molasses 10*d.*

"Well, we have still something left, and I will not keep the House in suspense one moment on the subject. What we propose to do is to take a penny off the income-tax. (Cheers.) There has been considerable agitation against this tax, to which, however, we have felt it to be our duty to offer the firmest opposition. We are in no position to get rid of the tax in the present state of our finances; nor are we in a position, as I have often argued, to break down the integrity of the tax by treating one schedule in a different manner from another. We have no choice but to retain it; but we are anxious to act as fairly as we can towards all parts of the community, and having made a great remission of indirect, we desire to do something in the way of remitting direct taxation. (Hear, hear.) There is also another reason for the proposal which we make which is not quite so obvious. When Sir R. Peel imposed the income-tax in 1842, the tax, which was then 7*d.* in the pound, yielded, I think, 7,100,000*l.*, or about 100,000*l.* more than the present amount. (Mr. Disraeli—"Without Ireland.") At present a tax of 3*d.* in the pound would yield as much as a tax of 7½*d.* would yield in the days of Sir R. Peel, and we are therefore maintaining the amount of the tax as nearly as possible at its original level, while we are diminishing the number of pence in the pound. In consequence of the proposed reduction there will be a loss this year of 1,425,000*l.*

"I have also to mention another small matter—I allude to a reduction of 30,000*l.* which we propose, by extending the exemption for servants to persons employed by hotel keepers and persons keeping houses for the sale of intoxicating liquors. They have made out, I think, a good cause, because they have hitherto been charged for their servants under circumstances which have caused other trades to be exempted. I had no sufficient answer to give to their argument, and therefore I give them this 30,000*l.* (A laugh.) I may also observe that the reduction of the duty on sugar will cause an increase of 30,000*l.* to the Excise, because the Excise demand a large sum for a certain amount of sugar used for the purpose of protecting malt, and the lower duty now paid to the Customs would be paid to the Excise. Setting that sum against the 30,000*l.* by which the Excise will be diminished by the remission

of the tax on the servants of hotel keepers, the amount of the Excise duties will remain unaltered.

“I will now state to the House the result of these changes. The Customs will be diminished, by the remission of half the sugar duties, to 19,603,000*l.* The Excise will remain as it is. The Income-tax will be reduced from 7,000,000*l.* to 5,575,000*l.*, and the expenditure will be augmented by 1,600,000*l.* on account of the ‘Alabama’ indemnity. Thus the estimated revenue will stand at 73,762,000*l.*, against an expenditure of 73,471,000*l.*, leaving a surplus income over expenditure of 291,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) To sum up briefly what we have done, I may say that we hope to pay during this year the amount of the ‘Alabama’ indemnity, 3,200,000*l.* (A hon. Member—“Half that amount.”) No, we hope to pay, in fact we must pay, the whole of that amount during the year; we hope to reduce the National Debt by 6,000,000*l.*; we shall lend one million in excess of payments in respect of public works, and we shall remit taxation to the amount of 2,835,000*l.* I trust these estimates will be satisfactory to the Committee, and that hon. members will think that the Government have acted in a spirit of fairness and equality to all parties. (Cheers.) We have been anxious to hold the balance as evenly as we could between direct and indirect taxation, and to consult, as far as we could, the wishes and interests of every portion of the community. We believed that we could not listen to the request to take off the income-tax altogether, but we have endeavoured to make the burden more tolerable, and we believe that in reducing the tax upon sugar we shall not only largely relieve the consumers of that article, but also strike a vital blow at a very objectionable system that has grown up of giving bounties under the form of drawbacks. While they have done their best to relieve the tax-payers, the Government have not been unmindful of the duty resting upon them to reduce the debt as far as they were able. During the present year we have paid off 6,800,000*l.* of debt. There are, I believe, some who murmur at our having devoted such a large sum towards the payment of the debt. I hope, however, and indeed I believe, that those who hold that opinion are in a small minority, and that they will continue to be in a minority, for I am perfectly satisfied that whenever this nation shall arrive at a point when it shall lose its feeling for the corporate unity of the nation, and shall come to regard individual comfort as of more importance than the welfare and the well-being of the State, and shall consult merely the wishes and the convenience of the present generation; when we shall adopt the witty and worthless maxim—that as posterity had done nothing for us, it is our duty to do nothing for posterity—we shall not be far from the edge of that abyss into which so many States and Empires have been precipitated by self-seeking and sordid purposes. It only now remains for me to move the resolution, fixing the income-tax at 3*d.* in the pound.”



In the debate which followed, Mr. White expressed a general satisfaction with the scheme, but his colleague, Mr. Fawcett, vehemently attacked what he called the cowardly policy of borrowing money with a surplus revenue in hand to pay the "Alabama" indemnity. Neither did he think the remission of the sugar duties the most effective mode of relieving consumers, for it would only amount to a farthing in the pound. So also a reduction of one-third on all temporary incomes, and the exemption of all incomes under 150*l.* would have been a more sensible relief to the direct taxpayers.

Sir John Lubbock also regretted that the "Alabama" claims had not been paid out of income, and was for omitting the annual ceremony of a Budget for four or five years, leaving taxes unaltered, and applying the surpluses to reduction of debt.

Col. Barttelot, Sir G. Jenkinson, Mr. Corrance, Mr. Greene, and Mr. Read joined in complaining of the entire omission of any relief for the agricultural class.

Sir W. Lawson made a Permissive Bill speech *à propos* of the increase in the spirit duties, which, he considered, so far from denoting an increase in the prosperity of the country, meant increased demoralization and misery.

Mr. Crawford feared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken too sanguine a view of the revenue of the year, under the impression that the recent burst of prosperity was to be permanent, and warned him that serious discontent with the assessment of the income-tax was brewing.

Mr. Laing and Mr. Muntz thought the Budget a good one on the whole, and certain to be popular. Several other members also made some observations, to all of which

The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus replied :—"I am accused of over-sanguine estimates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer never hits the golden mean in that respect. The future is unknown to me, although some other hon. gentlemen seem to have a clear apprehension of it. At present, I believe, we are said to be in the full tide of prosperity; but the estimates we have taken show no increase on the 800,000*l.* we took last year. That, I think, is not an unreasonable prospect. Of course circumstances may happen either way. There may be an additional flood of prosperity, and I might have to stand in this House before the bar of public opinion next year to answer for not having been sufficiently sanguine. On the other hand, there may have been a great crash and catastrophe, when I may be severely blamed for having put the estimates too high. That is the position which belongs to persons in my situation, and I accept it freely. I do not think there is anything else for me to answer. Hon. gentlemen connected with the agricultural interest consider themselves neglected because they have been only treated as part of the community. When I consider the large amount the agricultural interest contributes to Schedules A and B, and when I consider the interest they have in the general prosperity

F



and in the increase of trade, which react indirectly on those commodities which they produce, I cannot think they will believe themselves to be unfairly dealt with because I have not addressed myself to any of their pet grievances, or because they think they have been deprived of large sums of money in taxes which really fall on the consumer. Nothing is farther from my wishes than to treat them with any unfairness. The same thing I will say about brewers, who seem to think themselves very ill-used because we have not attended to their recommendation to take off the licence duty. It appears to me they are in a dilemma, from which there is no extrication. If that licence duty falls on the consumer it does not injure the brewer. If it falls on the brewer it is a large payment exacted from him out of his own resources before he is allowed to commence the exercise of his trade. That creates in his favour a qualified monopoly, which tends to diminish the number of competitors, and so to keep up the price of the commodity he sells, and therefore in one way or another it appears quite certain that the brewer must get value for his outlay. On the whole I have reason to be grateful to the Committee for the manner in which they have received this Budget. I hope they will allow me to pass the resolutions through Committee to-night, and as they will not be reported until after the recess, the House will have full time to consider them. With regard to the income-tax, that which was incurred under the late Income-Tax Act, although that Act has now expired, will have to be paid at the rate fixed by that Act, and all income-tax that has accrued since the expiration of the Act should, I apprehend, be paid at the reduced rate, which is intended to be imposed by the new Act. I think, therefore, that if the Committee should please to pass the resolutions to-night, those who have to make the reductions will be justified in making them in accordance with the lower scale."

The scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not a very popular one, and during the consideration of the Budget, on the report of the sugar duty reduction being brought up,—

Mr. W. H. Smith moved a resolution of which he had given notice, that before deciding further on the reduction of indirect taxation, the Government ought to put the House in possession of its views on the maintenance and adjustment of direct taxation, local and imperial. He justified his interposition at this stage by various precedents, particularly by the course taken by Mr. Gladstone in 1851 and 1852, and by comparing Mr. Gladstone's pledge, given on August 15, 1872, that a Bill should be introduced for the relief of local burdens, with his recent letter to the Metropolitan Board of Works, announcing that nothing would be done this year. Another reason was, that the Budget as it stood prevented any relief to local taxation, not only this year, but the next; indeed, Mr. Lowe's object evidently was to use up the surplus and to embarrass his successor in dealing with this question. Moreover, it was evident that many important sources of revenue, particularly the income-tax,

as was shown by recent language of the Prime Minister, were in danger. Personally he did not object to the remission of the sugar duties, if the revenue could afford it, and if the consumer would get the benefit, which he denied. The reasons for dealing with local taxation had been strengthened since Mr. Gladstone's pledge last year, for, as he showed from the returns, local burdens had considerably increased, especially in those branches which were imposed by the Imperial Parliament and controlled by the Central Executive. The calculations of Mr. Lowe's Budget, he argued, were unsafe, being formed on the basis of an inflated trade and exceptionally high prices, and the result would be to throw the relief of local taxation entirely on the chapter of accidents.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer maintained that the Government had already complied with the conditions of the resolution. In his Budget speech he had stated that the reduction of direct and that of indirect taxation were to balance each other; that the poor, who, roughly speaking, paid the indirect taxes, should have as much relief as the rich, who paid direct taxes. As to local taxation, the Government in 1871 had thrown out a suggestion for handing over to the local authorities some 1,200,000*l.* a year, and from the general pledge to propose some relief they did not retreat, though they reserved their discretion as to the time and manner. They held it to be an important question, constitutional as well as financial, and they must be careful not to do any "irremediable mischief" in a hurry. Before any relief could be granted there were such questions as exemptions, constitution of local bodies, collection of rates, &c., to be dealt with; and Mr. Stanfeld, he reminded the House, was about to deal with them on Thursday by two Bills and a Select Committee. The Budget, he admitted, put it out of their power to do anything this year. But he denied that he had endeavoured to embarrass his successor; because, as he said amid much laughter, he intended to be his own successor next year. Mr. Smith's argument on this point, he asserted, was founded on an entire misapprehension of the Budget. Mr. Lowe went on to oppose the motion on the ground that it would upset the Budget, because after that part which was to benefit the poor was struck out the Government would not go on with that which relieved the rich; but the Budget, he maintained, was popular both in the House and the country. In defending the particular proposition now before the House, he admitted that since his often-quoted speech in 1870 he had changed his mind about the sugar duties, remarking that there was no subject about which so many "lies" were told. The Government would treat the motion as an affront and a vote of censure; and supposing it were carried, he asked the Opposition, had they made up their minds what they would do? Were they prepared with a plan, or was another fortnight to be consumed in another Ministerial crisis, to end as before? The resolution, he maintained, was intended to manipulate the surplus for the exclusive benefit of the rich and of the landed interest, and those who could think that such a proposal would not create

deep discontent must regard the working classes as either saints or idiots.

Mr. Disraeli vindicated the resolution as reasonable and natural, especially when proceeding from the representative of a constituency which suffered much from the pressure of local taxation and saw no relief provided in the Budget. It was unfortunate, therefore, that it should have been met immediately by an intimation that it would be regarded as a vote of censure—a process too common with the present Government, and quite unconstitutional in matters of finance. In like manner he justified its opportuneness, and in describing the motives which had dictated its composition, he traced the history of the movement against local taxation from the period immediately following the repeal of the corn laws down to Mr. Gladstone's acknowledgment of its importance the year after his accession to office, Mr. Goschen's Bills, and the victory of Sir Massey Lopes last year. Consequently, Mr. Lowe was trifling with the House when he met the motion by the plea that the Government knew nothing about the matter, and could do nothing without further preparation. On Mr. Lowe's tone and manner Mr. Disraeli made some humorous comments. He looked upon them as a specimen of the juvenile ardour of some primitive assembly. It was not every one who had travelled in the Antipodes, and it was an advantage to have brought under their notice an authoritative example of how the claims of the people for relief from unjust and oppressive taxation would be met by the leaders in such an assembly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked them—"not rudely," Mr. Disraeli was careful to add—"What do you mean? What will happen supposing this measure is carried?" "What will happen?" continued the right hon. gentleman, speaking very slowly, and leaning carelessly against the despatch-box on the table; "what will happen is—exactly what happened before. This is not the first Budget from the same hand that we have humbly criticized. What will happen is, that the right hon. gentleman will take back his Budget; he will reconsider it, and he will bring in another, or perhaps two more, one of which we may unanimously agree to." This led to a reference to the recent Ministerial crisis. If any waste of time had happened, the Opposition were responsible only for one little hour, and he regarded Mr. Lowe's mention of the matter as another attack on his colleague. The local taxation of the country, Mr. Disraeli said, amounted to twenty-five millions, of which half was paid by men who were not rich, and more than five millions by the working classes. Consequently, they were more deeply interested in the reduction of local burdens than in this remission of the sugar duties, which he calculated would give every working man about ninepence a year. Commenting on Mr. Lowe's new-born zeal for the working classes, and on his assertion that direct taxes were borne by the rich and indirect taxes by the poor, he maintained that working men are twice as heavily taxed in such countries as France, Russia, and Belgium as in England. This they were well aware of, and it was

not from them, but from "addle-headed professors" and Ministers of State that revolutionary but silly projects of finance had proceeded. Dilating again on the severity and pressure of local taxation, he urged Mr. Gladstone to avoid a division by convincing the House that Mr. Lowe's manner of meeting the motion was not authorized by the Cabinet, and by assuring it that he was prepared to deal with the question. There was ample time this session; but if this assurance were refused, the Opposition, knowing the interest felt by the country, would not evade a division or an appeal to the judgment of the country. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone began by admitting Mr. Disraeli's right to defend the resolution, in which he might be supposed to have an interest almost parental. At this there was a laugh, which was renewed when Mr. Gladstone went on to remark that it was next to impossible to get at its meaning, and that Mr. Disraeli's speech was totally irreconcilable with its language. But he drew especial attention to the fact that it was aimed at all indirect taxes—at the malt tax as much as the sugar duties. Replying to the various objections urged in the debate, he showed how the remission of the sugar duties would reach the consumer without involving of necessity the ultimate abandonment of the tax, and maintained that the revenue was in no danger. Neither was there any foundation for the assertion that the Government by their Budget had put it out of their power to fulfil their pledges as to local taxation next year. On the contrary, Mr. Lowe in his calculations had taken no credit for the annual increment of the revenue, in which he felt more than usual confidence, seeing that increased wages always yielded a larger percentage to the revenue than increased profits. Passing to the question of local taxation, he contended that, except in one particular, the Government had complied with Sir Massy Lopes's motion carried last year. The relief of local burdens must include a comprehensive reform of local taxation as it exists, and but for this motion, said Mr. Gladstone, the plans of the Government would be before the House at this moment.

The motion of Mr. Smith was negatived without a division, but the feeling of the House about the Budget was clearly manifest.

In his only attempt at legislation during the session Mr. Lowe was not more fortunate. Mr. Anderson had, under a familiar delusion, moved for a Commission to inquire whether the Bank Act of 1844 might not be so remodelled as to fix the Bank rate of interest without regard to the inevitable and incessant variations in the value of money. Sir John Lubbock, though he refuted the fallacies propounded by Mr. Anderson, proposed to substitute a Select Committee for a Commission, and Mr. W. Fowler induced the Chancellor of the Exchequer to promise that he would endeavour to regulate by law the periodical suspension of the Bank Act. The Bill which was afterwards introduced for the purpose provided that the heads of the Treasury might authorize an additional issue of Bank notes when the conditions were satisfied. The rate of discount was to be not



less than 12 per cent., and the foreign exchanges were to be favourable. The profits of the operation were, after a deduction for expenses, to accrue to the Treasury. The scheme, which was inconsistent with social economic principle, proved to be universally unacceptable. In 1866, when the last suspension occurred, the exchanges were adverse, and the rate of discount was only 10 per cent. The advocates of occasional relaxation objected to limitations which might render suspension impossible, and the adherents of the orthodox theory had from the first disapproved the proposed innovation. If debtors are to be arbitrarily released from their engagements, it is better that the Government of the day should be responsible for the irregularity than that a breach of contract should be anticipated and sanctioned by law. The only other Government measure of even secondary importance was the Railway and Canal Bill, introduced in accordance with the recommendation of the Joint Committee of the previous session on Railway Amalgamation. A Board or Commission of three members will, at the request of either party, act by themselves or their sub-commissioners as arbitrators wherever a reference to arbitration has been provided by a special Act. The Commission will also have power to establish through rates, on the application of any company, by any route which may be deemed reasonable and convenient.

### CHAPTER III.

**Private Bills—Speech of Mr. Gladstone on Disestablishment—The Permissive Bill and other measures—The Army Estimates—Mr. Cardwell's Speech—The Navy Estimates—Intended Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Minority against the Grant voted to him—The House of Lords—Mr. Gladstone—The Zanzibar Contract—Irregularities at the Treasury—Speech of the Lord Chancellor at the Mansion House—Visit of the Shah of Persia—Ministerial Changes—Mr. Bright returns to office—His Speech at Birmingham—Losses of the Government—Elections—Mr. Disraeli's Bath Letter—The Taunton Election—Mr. Lowe at Sheffield.**

ALTHOUGH the inaction of the Government might have been expected to leave an opening for the activity of private members, the session was not propitious to amateur experiments in legislation. The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, as usual, passed the House of Commons, to be rejected, according to a still more constant practice, by the House of Lords. Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, and Mr. Hinde Palmer's Bill for the Protection of the Property of Married Women, obtained considerable majorities in favour of the second reading, but both measures ultimately disappeared. In the majority of cases the House of Commons disposed summarily of sentimental and speculative projects. Mr. Jacob Bright's Female Suffrage Bill, Mr. W. Fowler's Bill for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, Lord Claud Hamilton's proposal for the purchase of

Irish Railways, and a motion by Mr. Auberon Herbert, which was intended to facilitate the future confiscation of College Endowments, were all rejected by decisive majorities. Mr. Gladstone himself delivered a powerful speech against Mr. Miall's plan for the disestablishment of the Church of England; and the motion, which had in former years met with but faint opposition from the Government, was rejected by 356 to 61.

Mr. Gladstone said that he opposed the motion, not only on its merits, but as ill-timed and incapable of discussion at the present moment, though at some future time it might be destined to occupy months—nay, years. He was sensible of the difficulties with which the Church was hampered by its connexion with the State, but those difficulties were not to be got rid of by the simple process of disestablishment, even if it were as much desired by the people as he believed it to be opposed to their wishes, and as easy as he believed it to be impossible. On this point he read a passage from an essay of Dr. Döllinger, and spoke in terms of warm and enthusiastic eulogy of the part played in English history by the English Church. With regard to freedom, though not recanting a single opinion as to the Irish Church, he must admit, if challenged, that thought was not so free there as before disestablishment; and if Mr. Miall sought to allure him into disestablishment by the promise of its greater freedom, he preferred to remain where he was. The strong feeling of the Nonconformists against the principle of Establishment and the distractions within the Church (though they were not confined to the Church of England) no doubt stimulated discussions of this kind; but Mr. Miall was bound to show that these distractions would be composed by dissociation from the State. The Nonconformists would find allies in the spirit of indifferentism and ecclesiastical pretensions, but after all these admissions he contended that the enterprise was one which Mr. Miall's courage would shrink from, even if he could get the sanction of Parliament. Suppose the House were to pass this resolution, what would the country say to it to-morrow morning? Recent manifestations of popular feeling were not favourable to the proposal, and if a general election were to occur, he believed a House would be returned much less disposed to entertain this question than the present. Mr. Miall had been misled by what had happened to the Irish Church, and had been taken in by those who declared that the cases of the English and the Irish Church were identical. The Irish Church Act probably had given a temporary stimulus to the demand for disestablishment, but that was ebbing away; and though it might be a question of the future, it was of the indefinite and remote future. Though there were no accurate statistics, which he greatly regretted, Mr. Gladstone expressed his belief that it was far below the truth to say that the Church embraced less than half the population. On the contrary, a very considerable majority of the people were bound to her by some tie or other. Among other difficulties of disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone dilated on the financial problem, and on the



objection to starting a voluntary community on the world with ninety millions at its disposal—the sum which he reckoned the Church would be entitled to on the precedent of the Irish Church Act. On the whole, it was a puzzling problem, which no prudent—and, for himself, he added—elderly man would venture on. “I invite the House,” said the Premier, by way of peroration, “distinctly and decisively to refuse their assent to this motion, because it is a motion the conclusions of which are at variance alike with the practical wishes and desires, with the intelligent opinion, and with the religious convictions of the large majority of the people of this country.”

Mr. Cowper-Temple's whimsical scheme for the delivery of sermons in churches by laymen and Dissenters was also honoured, before it was defeated, by an adverse speech from Mr. Gladstone. No such intervention from above was needed to extinguish for the session the annual Permissive Bill of the Temperance agitators. Sir Wilfrid Lawson had, unfortunately for himself, fixed the second reading of his Bill within a few days after contested elections at Bath and Gloucester. In both cities the Ministerial candidates had coquetted with the advocates of the Permissive Bill, while their opponents had more prudently thrown in their fortunes with the publicans. The result proved that the power of the Temperance party bore but a small proportion to the loudness of its clamour, and the debate in the House of Commons illustrated the effect of the lesson which had been taught. Lord Claud Hamilton, Sir D. Wedderburn, and Mr. Mundella supported the motion; but member after member sprang up on both sides of the House with emulous eagerness to repudiate the suspicion of complicity with the Permissive faction. Mr. Osborne delivered a powerful and humorous argument against vexatious interference; and Mr. Bruce formally announced the Ministerial determination to oppose the measure. A majority of four to one in a full House represented not only the opinion of members, but the fixed determination of the constituencies. The habitual failure of theoretical schemes of reform was subject to an exception of primary importance. Mr. Gladstone had caused the rejection by a large majority of a motion by Sir C. Dilke in favour of electoral redistribution; and he had, not without asperity, refused to give facilities to Mr. Fawcett for moving an Address for a Commission on the state of the Representation. Although it was known that Mr. Gladstone himself was not personally opposed to a further extension of the suffrage, friends and opponents assumed that he thought it inexpedient to introduce for the present any new constitutional change. Almost at the close of the session Mr. Trevelyan obtained an opportunity of moving a resolution in favour of the extension of Household Suffrage to Counties. The motion would in itself, at such a period of the session, have possessed no importance; but when Mr. Forster rose to speak in favour of the change, it was seen that the Government had made the equalization of the suffrage an open question, and a deeper impression was pro-

duced when Mr. Forster quoted a letter from Mr. Gladstone in support of this change. Mr. Trevelyan, with good reason, professed himself fully satisfied with the effect of his motion, and the announcement of the Minister was at once recognized as an intimation that the political enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer is to be tendered as a main issue to the constituencies at the impending general election.

When the Army Estimates for the current year were issued, it appeared that the net charge was 13,231,400*l.*, and this is a decrease of 408,000*l.* upon the sum asked for last year. The total number of men is now 128,968, a net decrease of 4681. The items of increase are on divine service, 1500*l.*; administration of military law, 600*l.*; wages and control establishment, 9300*l.*; provisions, forage, fuel, and transport, 196,400*l.*; and under the heading of "administration of the army," 3700*l.* The items of decrease are 165,500*l.* in staff and regimental pay, 300*l.* in medical establishments, 147,900*l.* in militia pay and allowances, 800*l.* in yeomanry cavalry, 42,900*l.* in volunteer corps, 1300*l.* in the army reserve force, 8600*l.* in clothing establishments, 125,800*l.* in manufactures and repairs, 77,000*l.* in works and buildings, 5500*l.* in military education, and 17,300*l.* in miscellaneous services.

In introducing the Estimates Mr. Cardwell said:—"It has been necessary to ask for more than 400,000*l.* on account of the rise in prices of fuel, clothing, provisions, &c., and but for this abnormal dearness the savings of the year would have been doubled; in fact, for the last two years they would have amounted to close upon 2,000,000*l.*," which Mr. Cardwell asserted showed no diminution in his desire for economy. This year's estimates were only a million and a quarter over the lowest year since the Crimean war. Half a million of this has been swallowed up by increased prices and pay, and more than the three-quarters remaining had been devoted to the highly-trained corps. Commenting on an amendment which Mr. W. Fowler had placed on the paper to reduce the number of men by 10,000, Mr. Cardwell explained minutely how, since the 20,000 men were added to the army on the outbreak of the Franco-German war, nearly 12,000 men have already been reduced—viz., nearly 9000 from the British establishment, 1102 from the Colonial establishment, and two regiments of Madras infantry returned from China and Japan to the Madras establishment. The remainder of the 20,000 men are more than accounted for by the additions to the Engineers, Artillery, Cavalry, Army Service Corps, and Army Hospital Corps. In drawing up this year's estimates, Mr. Cardwell said the leading principle followed was to make the reductions in those corps only where long training was not required, and in which the reserves were ready. Thus the Guards had been reduced to 750 rank and file in a battalion, and the seventy infantry battalions had been reduced to 520 rank and file, with the exception of the first ten on the roster for foreign or colonial service. The reserves for the year Mr. Cardwell stated at 62,719, of whom 7973 belong

to the army reserves, and 31,522 to the militia reserves (both liable to service at home and abroad). Adding to this the 125,000 regulars, Mr. Cardwell asserted that, considering the strength of foreign nations, the manifold duties the British army had to perform, and our obligations to our colonies, this force could not fairly be called excessive. Passing to the auxiliary forces, Mr. Cardwell stated the militia (including the reserves) at 129,000 men; yeomanry, 15,000; volunteers, 160,750; first army reserve, 10,000; second army reserve, 25,000;—making a grand total of 462,754 regulars, reserves, and auxiliary forces, of whom 416,838 are at home. On the question of recruiting, Mr. Cardwell admitted that there had been a falling off in the year, though there had been a considerable increase during the last four months. There had also been a large number of desertions, but he accounted for both of these incidents by the state of the labour market, and by the regularly recurring fact that an increase in the number of desertions always followed a sudden addition to the army. As to the quality of the recruits, Mr. Cardwell said it was most satisfactory, and referred to the report of the inspector-general of recruiting. Though the militia was 10,000 men below its number, some 30,000 had been enrolled this year, and 4392 men had gone from the militia into the line. The improvement in the militia and the value to the officers of the improved training were very marked, and the force had attracted the favourable notice of the foreign officers at the autumn manœuvres. With regard to the volunteers, though there was a diminution in the actual numbers, the condition of the force was most satisfactory, and the new regulations had increased the proportion of efficient and extra-efficient. Mr. Cardwell next explained at length the further arrangements for carrying out the system of “local centres” and “linked battalions.” Hereafter the two battalions, one at home and one abroad, will for all military purposes form but one regiment, and the privates, non-commissioned officers, and sub-lieutenants will be interchangeable. The colonel of the brigade at each local centre will have charge of the training and instruction of the reserves and auxiliary forces within his district, and after March 15, 1874, each colonel will be able to supply all the men under his command with their personal equipment, and the general of the district, in like manner, will be able to supply camp equipment for his command without the necessity of communicating with the War Office in London. Touching on the much-discussed question of a Chief of the Staff, Mr. Cardwell announced that a general officer would be immediately attached to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, at a salary of 1200*l.* a year, who will have charge of the “Collective Intelligence Department,” and who will be responsible for supplying the Commander-in-Chief with any information, topographical, statistical, &c., which he may require. He explained next in detail the operations of the Purchase Commissioners, showing that they have spent somewhere about 170,000*l.* less than has been voted for them, at the same time

maintaining that every case had been considered which came within the equity of the Act. The names which were on the Commander-in-Chief's list when the Act was brought in being now exhausted, the competitive examinations for commissions would commence at once, and after the next training every militia regiment of six companies would receive a commission, supposing there was an officer in the regiment fit for it. A complicated plan for improving the position of the soldier in regard to pay and allowances was described minutely, the general result of which is that by revising the regulations as to stoppages for rations, &c., no man of the regulars and militia is to receive less than a shilling a day. The whole cost of this will be 197,000*l.*, but the actual addition to the Estimates will only be 110,000*l.* Finally, Mr. Cardwell related what has been done by the department in the way of experimenting with gun-cotton, manufacturing big guns, &c., the 35-ton gun being described as a great success; and mentioned also that the obnoxious fortieth section was this year to be left out of the Mutiny Act.

The Navy Estimates of the year show that the total amount required for the service of the year 1873-4 is 9,872,725*l.*, or a net increase of 340,576*l.* over the vote for the last financial year.

The total increase is 477,006*l.*, which is distributed over the following items:—Admiralty offices, 1216*l.*; scientific branch, 13,913*l.*; dockyards and naval yards at home and abroad, 136,097*l.*; victualling yards at home and abroad, 2591*l.*; medical establishments at home and abroad, 2288*l.*; naval stores, 143,870*l.*; steam machinery and ships built by contract, 132,250*l.*; half-pay, 28,836*l.*; military pensions and allowances, 4905*l.*; army department (conveyance of troops), 11,040*l.*

The total decrease is 136,430*l.*, and occurs under the following heads:—Wages to seamen and marines, 44,261*l.*; victuals and clothing for ditto, 26,550*l.*; Coastguard service, Royal Naval Coast Volunteers, and Royal Naval Reserve, 6925*l.*; marine divisions, 45*l.*; new works, building, machinery and repairs, 33,873*l.*; martial law and law charges, 30*l.*; miscellaneous services, 12,009*l.*; civil pensions and allowances, 12,737*l.*

The number of seamen and boys in the Navy and the Coastguard service is given at 46,000, and marines 14,000, making a total force of 60,000, against 61,000 last year.

An interesting episode of the session was the announcement of the intended marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh and the only daughter of the Czar of Russia. It fell to Mr. Gladstone to propose an annual grant of 10,000*l.*, to be settled on the Duke and the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia during the life of his Royal Highness, with a provision of 6000*l.* a year to the Grand Duchess in the event of her surviving her husband. As Parliament voted an annuity of 15,000*l.* to the Duke of Edinburgh on his coming of age, the new grant will raise the amount of his allowance to 25,000*l.* a year—a provision which, said Mr. Gladstone, "while



it does not err on the side of parsimony, certainly does not err on the side of excess." Mr. Gladstone referred to the circumstance that this was a marriage of affection, and solemnly expressed his trust that the day had gone by when royal personages connected with this country were required to enter into matrimonial engagements "without the consecrating element of personal attachment," which, he went on to say, was "the solemn basis on which this union was founded." The proposal of the Government, which was seconded by Mr. Ward Hunt, was warmly received in the House of Commons; but Mr. P. A. Taylor gave notice that he would oppose the second reading of the Bill which was to give effect to the resolution. On his carrying this intention into effect, eighteen members voted with him:—Mr. Mellor, Sir E. Buckley, Mr. J. White, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir C. Dilke, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. Crum-Ewing, Mr. Dixon, Mr. R. Shaw, Sir David Wedderburn, Mr. T. B. Potter, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Carter, Mr. A. H. Brown, Mr. Miller (Edinburgh), Mr. Muntz, and Mr. Rylands. Of these Mr. Mellor was the only Conservative. The tellers were Mr. Taylor and Mr. Anderson. The minority was made up of fourteen English and four Scotch members.

In the House of Lords, the address to the Queen was moved by Lord Granville, and seconded by the Marquis of Salisbury, in the absence of the Duke of Richmond. "Your lordships have," said Lord Granville, "as well as the other House of Parliament and the country at large, always evinced a lively satisfaction in anything calculated to promote the happiness of her Majesty; and your lordships must feel all the more pleasure in returning a humble answer in response to the communication from her Majesty, because of the fact that, in reference to the marriages of their children, the Queen and the Prince Consort always proceeded on the principle that they should be marriages of mutual affection. (Hear.) I believe I need hardly mention how young the Duke of Edinburgh was when he first conceived the hope of this union; and, my lords, the basis on which the negotiations for this marriage were conducted by her Majesty and the Emperor of Russia was that of the proposed union being one arising from affection. (Hear.) Formerly much importance was attached to marriages made with political objects; but your lordships are aware that such unions have but rarely resulted in accomplishing the political objects for which they were intended. No doubt it is for the interest of both Russia and England that the two countries should be on good terms, and there have not been wanting proofs of the desire of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia to maintain friendly relations with this nation. (Hear, hear.) It is therefore, my lords, a fortunate circumstance that in this instance all the circumstances combine to render the marriage one on which we can sincerely offer our congratulations to her Majesty. With these few remarks, my lords, I beg to move the address." (Hear, hear.)

The Marquis of Salisbury said, "My lords, in the absence of my

noble friend the Duke of Richmond, I beg to second the address moved by the noble earl, and which I am sure will be acceded to most cordially by your lordships' House. Whatever gives pleasure to her Majesty must give pleasure to all classes of a people by whom she is so revered. The Duke of Edinburgh is well known by his talents, his popular qualities, and his connexion with a popular profession, and no doubt his happiness will afford satisfaction to her Majesty's subjects. Of course it is impossible not to concur with what the noble earl said as to matrimonial alliances not affecting now, in the way they did in the past, the policy of this country. Indeed, they never could be relied on as the means of putting an end to war; but I am not so certain that they may not be the means of conducing to peace. (Hear, hear.) In that view I think this marriage is a circumstance for no slight congratulation that our Royal House will now be connected with the Scandinavian, Slavonian, and Teutonic dynasties. I believe that by reason of the motives which have brought about this marriage—namely, those of affection—and also by reason of motives of political policy, the proposed alliance is worthy of all felicitation, and therefore I heartily second the motion." (Hear, hear.)

The House of Lords has not illustrated this session by any greater legislative activity than the other House. Lord Cairns, by mooted the question of Privilege in connexion with the Judicature Bill, roused it to a somewhat dangerous animation; but, on the other hand, till reminded from without, the Peers appeared scarcely aware of the loss of intellectual vigour they had sustained by the deaths of the greatest scientific lawyer of the generation and the most popular and sympathetic of prelates.<sup>1</sup> The House has, like the Commons, not been wholly exempt from little schemes for patching up real or imaginary defects in the Constitution. Lord Redesdale's motion for conferring official Life Peerages on three or four legal dignitaries was justly regarded as inadequate; but the debate indicated a disposition to regard favourably a larger scheme for the modification of the hereditary character of the Peerage. A Bill, introduced by Lord Russell, for the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland and for the declaratory enactment of the propositions contained in the Oath of Abjuration, was received with the conventional respect which was due to the position of the veteran mover. The only achievement of the Upper House, except in the matters of the Judicature Bill and the Rating Bill, has been confined to the rejection of some of the schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Mr. Crawford and some of his City colleagues appealed to a less favourable tribunal than the Lords, on behalf of the Corporation of London, against the scheme for the reconstitution of Emmanuel Hospital. To defend the proposal of the Committee was especially congenial to Mr. Gladstone, whose former speech on Charitable Endowments is still remembered as one of his most brilliant efforts. In a powerful argument he confuted the member for the City

<sup>1</sup> Lord Westbury and Bishop Wilberforce.



and his allied Aldermen, at the possible risk of losing two or three seats at the next election.

Although his Administration may no longer enjoy the popularity or the influence of its vigorous prime, Mr. Gladstone's superiority in debate has never been more conspicuous than in the past session. Mr. Disraeli, his great competitor, has scarcely cared to indulge in serious discussion, except when he published a neutral or negative programme of policy at the close of the Ministerial crisis. Mr. Gladstone's first exposition of the Irish University Bill suspended for some days the hostility which afterwards proved irresistible, and his reply was a masterly performance. To the higher qualities which always characterized his speeches, Mr. Gladstone has lately added the statesmanlike art of saying in apt words as little as possible where official reticence is more convenient than unseasonable candour. Among the occasions for the display of tact and judgment by the Minister were the debates which arose on the "Alabama" damages and the Treaty of Washington. The first night of the session was almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of questions which have, happily, ceased to possess practical importance. The subject was revived by a motion of Mr. Hardy's, in condemnation of the three rules which afterwards served as a foundation for the Geneva award; and it appeared that Mr. Gladstone had, by a singular oversight, believed that the rules had, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, been already communicated to Foreign Powers. In the course of the discussion it clearly appeared that the communication could not be made without appropriate comments; and it is not improbable that, by the joint consent of the contracting Governments, the notice may be indefinitely postponed.

The most effective critics of the shortcomings of the Government have been found on the Liberal benches. Mr. Vernon Harcourt has taken a prominent part in debate, not always to the satisfaction of his political leaders. An unsuccessful skirmish with Mr. Ayrton at the beginning of the session had no effect in checking his activity. Mr. Gladstone disarmed his criticisms on Public Expenditure by granting a Committee on the entire Civil Service Estimates; and Mr. Harcourt gave a qualified support to the Irish University Bill. On many other occasions he asserted his independence, and on more than one incidental question, such as the constitution of the Committee on the Irish Education Board, he obtained a majority against the Government. Mr. Fawcett has proved himself both a formidable opponent and an able supporter of the Government. His speech was one of the most powerful attacks on the Irish University Bill; and his vindication of Mr. Forster's amendment of the Education Act produced a decisive effect. Mr. Fawcett may claim the almost exclusive merit of abolishing University tests in Ireland. Sir John Lubbock, as a steadier supporter of the Government than Mr. Harcourt or Mr. Fawcett, was, just before the close of the session, naturally selected to mitigate a vote of censure into an expression of "regret."

In the details of administration the Government Departments have been very unfortunate. The Irish Education Commissioners had dismissed a parish priest from the management of a National School on the ground that he had been suspended by his superiors, although it was known that he disputed both the validity of the suspension and the jurisdiction of the Prelate who pronounced the sentence, and also that the dispute was a subject of litigation in a Court of Justice. A motion of Mr. Bouverie's for a censure on the Commissioners would have been carried if the Government had not granted a Select Committee; and the Secretary for Ireland afterwards subjected the Commissioners to a courteous reproof. Another Select Committee was granted to investigate a strange miscarriage of the Treasury in concluding an agreement for the carriage of the Zanzibar Mails on extravagant terms. It appeared that the Company which had taken the contract had previously undertaken the same service for a much smaller payment, as part of a bargain which included a profitable arrangement for the service on the West Coast of Africa. The Cape Contract was afterwards abandoned, in consequence of objections urged by the colonists; and Mr. Lowe then thought it equitable to increase the payment for the carriage of the Zanzibar Mails. The transaction, though it involved no question of bad faith, was indefensible; and it appeared that the official statement of the case which ought to have been laid on the table of the House of Commons had been entirely neglected.

Mr. Lowe had entered into a contract for the conveyance of this projected mail-service at a charge of 11,000*l.* more than it could have been obtained for, as appeared from a despatch of Lord Kimberley which suddenly started up in the discussion, and of which neither Mr. Lowe nor any one else in the Ministry had ever heard, though Mr. Holms knew all about it. This gentleman it was who opposed the motion for the approval by the House of the contract; and, always incisive, was now scathing by the power of facts, as well as by his more than insinuations of jobbery. The House caught up the spirit of the amendment, Liberal members in numbers were ready to support it by speech and vote, and consternation was palpable on the Treasury bench. The Prime Minister exerted himself obviously to get some one to speak for Mr. Lowe, who was in peril; but Mr. Childers, who once showed symptoms of an intention to support him, did not rise; and then Mr. Monsell, who, being Postmaster-General, had never heard of this mail contract, was called to Mr. Gladstone's side, and evidently requested to speak, but was not more able to do so. Discomfiture was present; defeat was imminent; and so Mr. Lowe asked for an adjournment of the debate, in order that he might examine the despatch of Lord Kimberley which had been so suddenly introduced. Mr. Disraeli demanded a hostile vote against the Administration, but when Mr. Bouverie came forward and showed that, by the rules of the House, a debate which would turn on the contents of a document which

was not on the table, must be adjourned, the Liberal revolts returned to their allegiance, and the Government was saved by a large majority; but the Zanzibar contract was doomed, and the damaging effect of the discussion remained.

A Select Committee was appointed to consider the subject, and in accordance with their report a new contract was made and ratified with the same Company, but on terms more favourable to the public. A still graver irregularity in the conduct of the Treasury and several other Departments was exposed in the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts. Mr. Scudamore, Assistant-Secretary of the Post Office, had applied to the extension of the telegraphic system a sum of nearly 1,000,000*l.*, arising partly from Post Office receipts and partly from Savings' Bank deposits. The whole amount belonging to revenue ought to have been from day to day paid over to the Consolidated Fund; and the sums belonging to the Savings' Banks ought at once to have been transferred to the National Debt Commissioners. It appeared that the Assistant Secretary of the Post Office had never communicated to his responsible chief, the Postmaster-General, the illegal application of the money, and that he had been improperly allowed to correspond directly with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Lowe's attention had been repeatedly drawn to the subject by Mr. Scudamore himself, although the magnitude of the misappropriation was never suspected. Mr. Monsell made no attempt to assert his authority; and the National Debt Commissioners neglected to inquire into the cause of the smallness of their receipts from the Post Office. After the publication of the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts, Mr. Cross, an able member of the Opposition, proposed a vote of censure on the Treasury and the Post Office in terms which were not too strong for the occasion. The Government was, according to precedent, justified in diverting the attack by an amendment, which Sir John Lubbock was induced to propose, almost identical, except in its source, with Mr. Cross's resolution. One of the principal objections which the selected apologist of the Government urged against the motion was that it was in some respects too mildly expressed. Sir John Lubbock censured the abuses which had occurred even more severely than Mr. Cross; nor, indeed, was there any difference of opinion on the merits of the case. Mr. Monsell's meekness almost disarmed the irritation of the House; but Mr. Lowe's defence was not favourably received. Eventually the House determined by a majority of two to one, not that the various Departments involved were blameless, but that the deserved vote of censure should be expressed in the language selected by the mouth-piece of the inculpated Ministers. As Mr. Osborne epigrammatically remarked, the contest was between a decaying Government and a worn-out Opposition. Just before the close of the session, the Government, or rather the Premier, with whose name that Government must always be emphatically identified, found an eloquent defender in the Lord Chancellor, who, at the

annual Mansion House dinner, returned thanks for the Ministry in the absence of his chief, Mr. Gladstone.

“No one,” he said, “can pursue so fearlessly and so uncompromisingly the course which he deems to be right without provoking much free-spoken opposition, though I do not think real enmity; but of this I am sure, that when posterity comes to pass judgment upon the transactions of this Government and of its head, it will acknowledge that the destinies of this country were never presided over by a man either of greater intellectual power, of greater private virtue, or of a more disinterested public spirit.” The Lord Chancellor continued: “I shall not detain you, my lords and gentlemen, by referring to those achievements of the past years of this administration during which I had not the honour to be enrolled among its members. Perhaps on that account I might be entitled to speak somewhat more freely than those who had that honour. All I would say is this, that, whatever opinions may be entertained upon one measure or another measure, at least it will be hereafter acknowledged that during the tenure of office by this Government great questions have been grappled with in a masterly manner, and many difficult subjects have been so treated as to be removed for ever from the range of public controversy. As to the present session, which happily approaches its end, it has had its ups and downs, and perhaps I may be relying with more confidence and satisfaction than is right upon measures in relation to which I have myself been called upon to bear a considerable part; but I venture to think that it will not hereafter be thought a small achievement to have united together all the higher Courts of Justice of this kingdom, to have produced the power of economizing and distributing, without regard to artificial distinctions, the whole judicial power of the country, and to have put an end to that strange dualism between law and equity which has been productive of interminable vexation and expense to those suitors who were bandied about from one court of the country to another. I believe, my lords and gentlemen, that in this great work—I do not say it is the only work, but I am sure it is a very great work—of the present session, you have laid the foundation of other and further improvements, of further beneficial changes in those parts of our law which still require to be changed; and on some of these subjects I venture to think some beginning, at all events, which will hereafter bear fruit, has been also made during the present session. I refer particularly to the laws relating to the transfer of land. Passing from our domestic administration, I cannot but think the country will be prepared to acknowledge that some considerable events have happened during the present year, and under the present Government, which will be looked upon with satisfaction and approved by the nation. We have made a great step towards the suppression of the East African slave-trade. (Cheers.) We interfered in the first instance in a manner which showed we had no disposition or inclination to press by the mere force of our power upon indepen-



dent governments, however insignificant; but when those independent governments manifested a disposition to trifle with the obligations of treaties and with the interests of humanity and mankind, then we showed that this country was not to be trifled with (Cheers), and we obtained those concessions immediately on showing the determination we felt (Cheers), and which, I trust, will enable us to take every necessary measure to put an end to that curse of mankind. (Cheers.) Another event of no slight importance has occurred during the present year, crowning the many advances which have been made in China towards more perfect relations between Great Britain and that country—relations in which the commercial interests of this city are most deeply concerned. We have, for the first time, been admitted upon terms of equality to an audience with the ruler of that great empire, and there is an end for ever to those distinctions which have led to more wars than one, of superiority on the part of that Oriental Government over all the rest of mankind. There is another event, my Lord Mayor, to which I may refer, in which you have taken a prominent part. We have witnessed during the present year the visit of a great Oriental Sovereign to this country, and I cannot but think that the nation has been satisfied with the manner in which it was represented on that occasion in all the arrangements made by the Government. That potentate I believe left this country deeply impressed with its power, deeply impressed with its wealth, deeply impressed with its civilization; but most of all impressed with the effects of liberty and Constitutional Government on the people among whom he moved. Here he saw in our streets the whole population of London, day after day, thronging to receive and greet him, without the least trace or sign of disorder, without the least necessity for the presence of the military or any other kind of repression—intelligence and freedom producing their best fruits in popular self-respect and popular self-control. (Cheers.) He has left our shores, I believe, with a deep conviction—yet I heartily think not more deep than true—of the real solidity and greatness of the power of England (Cheers); and I am proud, my Lord Mayor and citizens of London, to acknowledge in this assembly, that to yourself and the citizens of London no inconsiderable share of that impression is justly due.” (Cheers.)

The latter portion of this speech referred to the visit of the Shah of Persia, which was made the occasion for an amount of popular excitement never exceeded, even in a country prone to such excitements, and a series of public fêtes of singular splendour and completeness. The Eastern Sovereign, whose visit was mainly connected with a concession which he had negotiated with the famous capitalist, Baron Reuter, by which the latter was expected to become practically the master of the resources of Persia for the purpose of making railways, collecting customs, and carrying out various improvements, was for the time the popular idol. The details of his doings are described in another portion of this volume.

Immediately after the close of the session, the public were startled by the intelligence of ministerial changes of a sweeping and unusual character, amounting to an entire reconstruction of the cabinet. Disagreements between the ministers were rife when the House dissolved. Open differences of opinion existed between Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton, and Mr. Baxter resigned the Secretaryship of the Treasury in consequence of difficulties with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These internal quarrels demanded readjustment, and the country, as evidenced by repeated Conservative victories at elections, also demanded either that or something else. The first step was to remove Mr. Lowe from the Treasury, and install him at the Home Office; and Mr. Gladstone attached the duties of the office to himself, and became Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer in one. He had precedents for the course, but they are of ancient date. Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, Mr. Pitt, and (for a few months) Mr. Canning and Sir Robert Peel, all had experience of the double duty. Urgent private affairs induced Lord Ripon and Mr. Childers to follow Mr. Baxter into retirement, Mr. Childers leaving a vacant place for Mr. Bright, who re-entered the Cabinet, and took the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Bruce received a peerage—and became Lord Ripon's successor as President of the Council. To lighten the Premier's new duties, Mr. Dodson took the post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Arthur Peel the Parliamentary Secretaryship; and Lord F. Cavendish joined the Board to aid Mr. Dodson, with precedence over the junior Lords. In addition to these changes it was subsequently decided that Mr. Ayrton should quit the office of First Commissioner of Works, in which capacity, rightly or wrongly, he had played so large a part in attaching to the Government its present unpopularity, and take up the Judge-Advocate-Generalship; and at the same time Mr. Mon-sell withdrew from the office of Postmaster-General, filled some months later by Dr. Lyon Playfair, a prominent independent among the Liberal members, and on more than one occasion an unsparing and dangerous critic of the Government policy. The same was true in an even greater degree of Mr. Vernon Harcourt, who before the close of the year became Solicitor-General, while the higher office of Attorney-General fell to another and very distinguished and able independent, Mr. Henry James. These last promotions were in consequence of the acceptance of the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas by Sir John Coleridge, and of the Mastership of the Rolls by Sir George Jessel, who had been Attorney and Solicitor-General respectively. The premature and unexpected death of Sir William Bovill, whose appointment dated from the short Conservative reign, opened the way to Sir John Coleridge's appointment.

The most popular, as the most important, of these changes was undoubtedly the return to office of Mr. John Bright, whose long illness had caused general sympathy, and who was now regarded with eyes and feelings curiously different from those with which but



a short time before he had been looked upon, when he was treated as a dangerous agitator and demagogue. In office he had shown himself singularly moderate, and on more than one occasion lately he had markedly separated himself from the more advanced votaries of the movement. None the less he was still a very popular man in the country, and likely to prove a tower of strength for the Government. At Birmingham 17,000 people assembled to congratulate and to hear him; and in a speech of upwards of an hour he first reviewed the measures passed by the present Government, the Irish Church Bill, the Irish Land Bill, the abolition of purchase in the army—in connexion with which he expressed a hope that the “corruption market” in the Established Church, namely, the sale of livings, might soon be abolished—the Ballot, and the Education Act.

On this latter subject the right hon. gentleman spoke at some length. He reminded his hearers that he took no part in the preparation of that Act, and knew nothing of what was going on in the political world during the discussions on the Bill in Parliament, being then too ill to read the debates or even to have them read to him. Then remarking that he was speaking, not as a member of the Cabinet, but as one of the members for Birmingham, Mr. Bright condemned the Education Act, on the grounds that it extended and confirmed the system which it ought to have superseded. It really encouraged denominational education, and it established Boards only where that system did not exist, whereas it should have attempted to establish Boards everywhere, and to bring the denominational schools under their control. The denominational system, Mr. Bright said, in consequence of the parochial organization of the Church, must be said to be a Church system; hence the Nonconformists were aggrieved, and justly aggrieved. With respect to the 25th clause, the right hon. gentleman said, “I do not think the clause was supposed capable of exciting the disapprobation which has arisen on account of it. For myself, I have not publicly, in any public meeting, discussed the subject since it has come before the nation; but I will say what I think with regard to the question of education through the sects. I believe that it is not possible ever to make it truly national or truly good. The fact is—and I think we all feel it—that the public do not take great interest in denominational schools. The Church cares nothing for Dissent, and with regard to this question, Dissent cares just as little for the Church. The people regard these schools as church schools and chapel schools. They do not regard them as public and national schools, and as supporting a great system in which the whole people unite for a great and national object. Then, again, with regard to the School Boards, I do not know that the Government of that day were responsible for the mode of electing School Boards. It was not certainly in the original memorandum of the Bill which I was permitted to see; but the mode of electing appears to me about the worst for purposes of general and national education that could possibly have been designed. When a contest comes for a School

Board, the real question of education seems hardly ever thought of. It is a squabble between church and chapel and secularist, and I do not know how many else. When the School Board meets, there are the priest, the parson, and the minister, and their partisans; but there is no free breeze of public opinion passing through them. It is rather an unwholesome atmosphere of what I would call sectarian exclusiveness, and sometimes of bigotry, in which nothing can thrive. Now with regard to one or two points which have been much discussed, particularly that point of the 25th clause. Whatever is said about it in the country, I believe that there are many worthy and honourable men of the opposite side of the House to that on which I sit who would be very glad to have some arrangement come to with regard to that clause, because, so long as this remains a matter of dispute, it is obvious that whatever good can be got out of what I call an insufficient measure, and therefore one not calculated to yield much good, it is desirable for every party that something more like harmony should be introduced into the public action in the great education question; and therefore, expressing only my own opinion, I say that I believe there is a mode—and a simple and a just mode—by which everything may be done (and, if done, doing harm to nobody) that is now proposed to be done under the 25th clause—and it is the repeal of the clause. But, with regard to the great question which lies behind it, of whether we are on the right track of good sound education for our children under the denominational system or not, that must be left to further proof, for I admit that multitudes differ with me and with you; but I cannot but believe that further experience and something like failure will before long force upon Parliament and the country a general reconsideration of the question.”

After a defence of the Government in reference to the Ashantee War and the Alabama matter, Mr. Bright continued: “Looking at the past, whom should you trust? I am not about to compare rival Ministers. I shall not certainly compare the First Minister, the leader of the present administration, with the writer of the Bath letter (Mr. Disraeli). I would rather compare parties than rival ministries. Suppose now next year, when we have a general election, that the result throughout the United Kingdom should be to continue a large majority of the Liberal party, what will be the result?—should be? Why, during the currency of the coming Parliament another chapter of great and noble measures will be added to the Parliamentary history of the time. Our policy is known. Not every particular measure, not every particular clause, but I mean that the policy of the Liberal party is known, it is before the public, it is not concealed, it is no mystery. But what is the policy of the Opposition? Why, we were told the other day that the leader of the Opposition was ‘in a state of strict seclusion.’ And but for that strange and unfortunate epistolary outburst we should have had no idea of the desperate state of mind in which he has been. But still, if we ask for the policy of the Opposition, all

is dark, dark, impenetrably dark, and all that we know is that nothing can be known. I beg pardon, though, I am wrong in that. We know that according to the Opposition all the work of the past five years, and if you like, of the past forty years, is evil; but as to the future, you will see it when it comes. Now, let me tell you this, that that great statesmanship which consists in silence and secrecy is not original, it is a mere copy of thirty or forty years ago. I recollect the time very well; there was a great fever and mania of speculation, and everybody went into everything. They generally came out with nothing. I recollect quite well the advertisement of a great Sunflower Company; and if anybody had proposed so unsubstantial a speculation as the equinoctial line, people would have taken shares in that. Now, at that time there was a very ingenious fellow; if I could remember his name I would immortalize him. He was a very ingenious fellow, and he put out a prospectus. He was what they call a promoter of a great company, which was to have great capital, and a great number of shares, and great profits. All this was to work a great invention—everything was great about it—but what it was was a great secret; indeed, it was so profound a secret that until all the money was paid in nobody was to know what it was. Now, that is the Conservative policy at this moment. They have a policy which they offer for the coming elections, but it is a profound secret. When you have all given your votes and returned a Conservative majority, perhaps they will tell you what it is.”

After referring to a remark made by the Emperor Napoleon to Mr. Cobden, that “in England you make reforms, in France we make revolutions,” Mr. Bright concluded as follows:—“I believe that there is not a thoughtful statesman in any civilized country in the world who would not join with the Emperor in expressing his admiration of the manner in which the people of this country for the last forty years have worked out such substantial reforms in our legislation; and our own experience brings us to the same conclusion. Those men are in error who tell you nothing has been done. Those men are not less in error who say that what has been done is evil, and that it is evil to do any more. What you should do is to act upon the principles and the rules of past years, steadily advancing in favour of questions which the public has thoroughly discussed, which it thoroughly comprehends, and which Parliament can honestly and conscientiously put into law. For my share, looking back for these forty years, I feel some sense of content; but it does not in the least degree lessen, it rather adds to and strengthens, my hope for the future. The history of the last forty years of this country—judge it fairly—speak of its legislation, which is mainly a history of the conquests of freedom. It will be a grand volume that tells the story; and your name and mine, if I mistake not, will be found on some of its pages. For me the final chapter is now writing. It may be already written. But for you, this great constituency, there is a perpetual youth and a perpetual

future. I pray Heaven that in the years to come, and when my voice is hushed, you may be granted strength, and moderation, and wisdom to influence the councils of your country by righteous means to none other than to noble and to righteous ends."

No changes, however, are apparently able to turn the popular tide in favour of the Government, who, during the whole of the year, as in those that preceded it, suffered repeated defeats at the poll.

The following list shows the number of seats held by members of the administration which the Government has lost since the general election.

November, 1869.—Glasgow University.—Mr. Gordon (Conservative) returned, vice Lord Advocate Moncrieff, appointed Lord Justice Clerk.

February, 1870.—Southwark.—Colonel Beresford (Conservative) returned, vice Right Hon. H. A. Layard, First Commissioner of Works, appointed Ambassador to Madrid.

April, 1871.—Durham City.—Mr. Wharton (Conservative) returned, vice Right Hon. J. R. Davidson, Judge Advocate, deceased.

September, 1871.—Truro.—Colonel Hogg (Conservative) returned, vice Hon. J. C. Vivian, appointed Permanent instead of Political Under-Secretary for War.

November, 1871.—Plymouth.—Mr. Bates (Conservative) returned, vice Sir R. P. Collier, Attorney-General, appointed a Judge.

November, 1872.—Londonderry.—Mr. C. E. Lewis (Conservative) returned, vice Mr. Dowse, Irish Solicitor-General, appointed an Irish Judge.

August, 1873.—Shaftesbury.—Mr. Fane Bennett (Conservative) returned, vice Hon. G. G. Glyn, Political Secretary of the Treasury, on becoming Lord Wolverton.

September, 1873.—Renfrewshire.—Colonel Campbell (Conservative) returned, vice Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, Home Secretary, created Lord Aberdare.

September, 1873.—Dover.—Mr. Barnett (Conservative) returned, vice Sir G. Jessel, Solicitor-General, appointed Master of the Rolls.

Besides their losses, Hull, Greenwich, Dundee, East Staffordshire, Exeter, and Huntingdon returned Conservatives in the course of the present year; the vacancies filled having in most instances been created by Liberal members. Against this current of failure the Liberals had only to set victories at Bath and Taunton; and in neither of these places could they count a seat gained. The return of Captain Hayter, at Bath, was partly due to an extraordinary proceeding on the part of the Conservative chief, who alienated many, even of his own party, by addressing, in the heat of the election, the following extraordinary letter to Lord Grey de Wilton, who had expressed to him his confidence in another Conservative success:—

"My dear Grey,—I am much obliged to you for your Bath news. It is most interesting. It is rare a constituency has the opportunity



of not only leading but sustaining public opinion at a critical period. That has been the high fortune of the people of Bath, and they have proved themselves worthy of it by the spirit and constancy they have shown. I cannot doubt they will continue their patriotic course by supporting Mr. Forsyth, an able and accomplished man, who will do honour to those who send him to Parliament. For nearly five years the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied this state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditable, and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy, and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering.—Ever yours sincerely, B. DISRAELI."

The spirit and tone of this letter call for no comment, as it carried with it its own condemnation and its own punishment. The Conservatives committed another great mistake in opposing the re-election of Sir Henry James at Taunton, on his appointment as Solicitor (afterwards Attorney) General; breaking, in so doing, the recognized rule of courtesy by which a public man in his position, of whatever party, is left undisturbed in the possession of honour and distinction deservedly won—never more deservedly than in the present case. Nor did the conduct of the election make things better; for while the admirable tact and temper displayed throughout the contest by Sir Henry James placed him higher than ever in general opinion, the tactics of his opponents were marked by characteristics so directly opposite as to meet with great reprobation from the best men even of their own party. He carried his election, and the next step in a proceeding consistent throughout was to lodge a petition against his return, which was pending when the year closed.

The boldest defence of the much-blamed policy of the Government was undertaken by Mr. Lowe, at the Cutlers' Feast, at Sheffield. "When," said he, "nearly five years ago her Majesty's Government took office, they came to a resolution that they would not be mere drawers of salary and distributors of patronage; but that, if they remained in office at all, they would make their tenure of power . . . memorable in the history of this country. They took a survey of different political questions, and they came to resolutions the most daring, perhaps—I will not say the most extravagant—that any set of middle-aged and elderly gentlemen had ever before arrived at. (Laughter.) They determined they would solve, if they were soluble by their means, and by the aid of the majority which had brought them into power, the leading difficulties that beset the path of the politician; that they would shrink from no difficulty, they would avoid no unpopularity or obloquy, but would grapple with, and, if possible, surmount all the leading difficulties then seen on the political horizon. Their programme was an audacious, almost



an extravagant programme; but the strangest part of it was that, with the exception of higher education in Ireland, they had realized the whole of it. Every single thing they had undertaken to do, to his surprise, and no doubt their infinite astonishment, they had realized it all within the past five years. It appeared to him a mere dream when he paused and looked back at it; but they had done all the things they had set their heart upon, and they believed they had done their duty by the country. But, on the other hand, he was bound to say that, although they had done this work, they had not received that reward which they had expected to receive. (Laughter.) He did not try to cast blame on any one. No doubt there were many reasons which might account for it. There was such a thing as sameness. People got weary of seeing the same people in the same places for a long time, though by a recent shuffle of the cards, perhaps that had been obviated a little." (A laugh.)

Referring to himself, Mr. Lowe said he had, as they were aware, within the last two or three months been the object of about as much written and spoken abuse as ever had been showered on one man, and he had had no opportunity of making any explanation. In the programme to which he had referred two parts had been allotted to him. One was the introduction of competition in the civil service—that had been done as they knew; the other was to enforce economy. They were aware that the duty of the Treasury was to enforce economy, and it was its privilege to make things as disagreeable as possible to the great spending departments in enforcing that economy. When he succeeded to that office he took a step which at once brought him into notice. It was no doubt true he did not feel within himself any of that admirable genius for finance which they had seen in Mr. Pitt, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Gladstone. He knew himself too well that he had none of that power, but he had read in the Latin Grammar that economy was a great revenue. He felt that the task of watching over the revenue was open to him, and to that task he devoted himself. The first thing he did was to issue an order to the Treasury that no new expenditure would be allowed without his opinion being taken upon it. (Cheers and laughter.) That was not so before. It was supposed that it was only the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to busy himself with matters of high finance, leaving questions of expenditure to be dealt with by an inferior official, called the Secretary of the Treasury. Now, it appeared to him that that arrangement was a very bad one for the public service, and he resolved that it should not exist any longer; but great pressure was brought to bear upon him. There was the pressure of deputations, and, worse still, of the House of Commons, which, instead of protecting the revenue, was its most powerful assailant. He thought, if the Government really was in earnest, he would not be doing what was right if he left the expenditure without protection in the hands of an official of inferior rank, who had not the weight of a Cabinet Minister. Such a person as the Secretary of

the Treasury could only carry his own weight, and he (Mr. Lowe) thought the Government could not do less than give its weight to those whose duty it was to enforce economy, and therefore it was in an evil hour he had taken upon himself the duty of protecting the revenue, instead of leaving it to be done by an inferior official. Personally he had no reason to rejoice in it. It had multiplied his unpopularity by any figure they chose to suggest. It had turned the whole press—at all events all the London press—against him. He could not recommend any man who valued his own peace and comfort to follow his example in the future. It certainly had not tended to promote his self-satisfaction. He, however, must not be misunderstood. The dissatisfaction came from the outside. He had nothing to complain of or contend against with regard to his own colleagues. The House of Commons might be divided into two parts—the economists and the spendthrifts, and it might be thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had nothing to do but to play off the one against the other. But it was not so. When the spendthrifts were to the fore, unfortunately the economists were not to be found, and when the economists were in advance the spendthrifts were judiciously silent. (Laughter.) Most of them opposed extravagance in the abstract, but were in favour of it in the concrete. (Laughter.) He had to contend then, not only against the House of Commons, but against the metropolitan press, which recently constituted itself in regard to the purchase of land on the Thames Embankment a provincial press. He never could see his way to allowing London to dip into the public purse to the extent of 40,000%. He had prevented that, but at what an expense to his own character? Why, his character had been almost ruined. (Laughter.) Take another instance, the increase of the pay of the clerks at the outports—a proposal which happened to have been advanced by members representing the outports. (Laughter.) What did they resort to when they found he would not yield? They stopped the supplies. He must say it was a relief to him that he should be involved in this no more. He should say no more now about his own case, for it was a pitiable one. (Laughter.)

“It was my good fortune” (continued Mr. Lowe), “when I took charge of the finances, to find myself in this position. The expenditure exceeded the revenue at the end of the year by the sum of 513,000%. That was not a promising position to start with; but by drawing the payment of revenue back I contrived to create a surplus of three millions and a quarter, out of which I took off the corn duties and the insurance on fires. So that I got out of that pretty well. During the last four years I have been able to take off twelve millions of taxes; but I ask you if you had been paying three millions extra for taxes, as you would have done if the expenditure had not been watched over, how much of these twelve millions would have been remitted? But the expenditure has diminished, and the consequence is that the revenue of this country having increased during the period that I had charge of the

finances by a sum of twelve millions a year, every farthing of that twelve millions a year has gone into the pockets of the people, and not one sixpence of it has gone to increase the public expenditure. Nor, gentlemen, is that all. You have now—with the exception of Exchequer Bills, which are kept for the purpose of convenience—no unfunded debt at all; for although I have been obliged to increase the debt ten millions in order to pay for telegraphs, I have diminished the debt during four years by twenty-six millions. Even that is not all. I was called upon in 1870 to provide two millions on account of the war in Europe, and, as you know, in the present year I have been called upon to pay the sum of 1,600,000*l.*, the one-half of the 'Alabama' indemnity, and making altogether 3,600,000*l.* So prosperous have been the finances during this period, that I have paid off the whole sum of 3,600,000*l.* without borrowing a sixpence or imposing a tax on you at all. That is the answer which I have to give to those who have been so liberal in criticizing. Can it be said, in exercising this strict economy in your public service, that anything has been shirked, or that anything which ought to have been done has been neglected? Look at the army. In 1859 the army numbered 84,000 men. Now it numbers 98,000, being an increase of 14,000, and this is amendment with this great reduction in the expenditure. If you look at the fine arts, I have spent 8000*l.* in buying Sir Robert Peel's pictures, and 50,000*l.* in splendid collections of antiquity for the British Museum; so far from my having been stingy, I consider that these payments have been liberal in the extreme. I have been told that everything I have done has been mismanaged, and that the office I have vacated had broken down. I can only say I am proud of the position in which I have left your finances, and I trust many more Chancellors of the Exchequer will be able to give a similar account of receipts."

In conclusion, Mr. Lowe said he had only further to state that the time could not be far distant when it would be settled whether the Government would retain power or give place to those who opposed them step by step. They were not tenacious of office. They had laboured for five years, and it was a small matter whether they retained power or not; it was not for him to say whether it was a small matter for the people. If the decision of the country should be against them, they would retire into private life at peace with their own consciences, knowing that they had done their best for the country; they had left in the statute-book and in the history of the country records which calumny could not permanently distort, nor envy, with all its efforts, obliterate. (Cheers.)

## CHAPTER IV.

The Money-Market—Bank rate of Discount—Railway Accidents—Board of Trade Circular—Ministerial Crisis and Scandal in Canada—The Ashantee War—Circumstances and History of the Gold Coast Dependencies—Impending Famine in Bengal—The Russians and Khiva—Negotiations.

THERE is nothing of marked interest in our domestic history to be recorded after the close of the session. The year proved, to the end, generally prosperous and tranquil. Frequent derangements of the Money-Market, produced by external causes, passed over without disastrous results. The enormous payments made by France to Germany on account of the indemnity produced little disturbance; but the German demand for the establishment of a gold coinage sometimes caused inconvenient pressure. The reaction from a period of excessive speculation produced serious embarrassment on the Stock Exchanges of Berlin and Frankfort, and at Vienna the difficulty amounted to a panic. In the autumn a still graver crisis commenced in the United States with the failure of more than one bank which had commanded general confidence. The immediate cause of stoppage was the investment in railway construction of an undue proportion of capital, and the immediate consequences were alarming. For a short time all the banks virtually suspended payment, except in the form of certified checks. The moderation and prudence of the commercial community, and the intrinsic soundness of the banks themselves, facilitated an early resumption of payments, and the financial crisis was, apparently, at an end; but every kind of enterprise was seriously discouraged, and the interruption of trade and the diminution of the demand for labour threatened to cause much distress during the winter. The effect of foreign disturbances in England was indicated by rapid changes in the value of money, but timely vigilance on all occasions provided against impending scarcity. The bank rate of discount was reduced early in the year from 5 per cent. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . In May it rose to 5, and in June to 6 and 7 per cent. At the end of August the rate was 3 per cent.; in September and October it rose again to 7 per cent., and in November to 9, from which it has since fallen to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . Trade in general continued moderately active, though the rate of increase was diminished.

A very unpleasant feature of the year was the increased frequency of railway accidents, which have arrived at such a measure of excess as to constitute a national scandal. Mr. Chichester Fortescue, the President of the Board of Trade, thought himself bound to emerge from the usual official reserve by addressing a circular to the directors of our numerous railway companies, calling their attention to the Report of Captain Tyler upon the accidents which took place on railways in the year 1872, the number of which was greatly in

excess of that of the previous year ; and to offer some remarks as to what appeared to be the leading causes of this unsatisfactory state of things, which he suggested were clearly attributable to omissions or neglects which the managing body were, or ought to be, competent to remedy if they thought proper. It was further intimated that if the warning thus given should not meet with the attention it was entitled to demand, the Government would “reserve their own liberty to consider at any time the expediency of legislation upon any part of this important subject.”

It appears that there have been reported to the Board of Trade as having been killed in 1872, 1145 persons, and injured, 3038, by accidents on railways ; of whom 127 killed and 1462 injured were passengers, and the remainder, 1018 killed and 1576 injured, were officers or servants of the railway companies, or trespassers, or other persons who met with accidents under various circumstances. There is too much reason to apprehend, however, that these returns, appalling as they are, are far from meeting the real truth of the case. A report on railway accidents by the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh, recently issued, points out that from investigations made by them, the return of “killed” only includes those who die on the spot, whilst of those returned “injured” many died of their injuries in infirmaries or elsewhere. The returns from infirmaries in Scotland alone give thirty-five actual deaths occurring in them ; whilst the reports of the railway companies give only thirteen, being only 37 per cent. of the real number ; and the Committee argue that if a similar inaccuracy were rectified in the official returns throughout the rest of the United Kingdom it would result in adding 128 to the return of deaths. This, also, is exclusive of deaths from injuries occurring elsewhere than in infirmaries ; the general result, according to the calculation of the Committee, being to bring up the number of deaths from railway accidents in 1872 from 1145 to 1370, a number which they fear “would still fall short of the truth.” Upon other grounds there is reason to believe that the returns of death and injury amongst the servants of the companies have, through defective returns, or the total omission of reports on the subject, fallen far short of the actual casualties ; an error, however, which, as far as deaths are concerned, will probably be remedied in future, under the provisions of the new Act, which render it imperative upon coroners to report to the Board of Trade all inquests held upon railway servants dying from accidents.

The London and North-Eastern Railway has the unenviable distinction of heading the accident list, having increased from 22 in 1871 to 36 in 1872 ; the London and North-Western coming next with 35 in 1872, against 21 in 1871 ; and Lancashire and Yorkshire with 31 for 1872, against 21 for 1871 ; the summary of results being that out of 238 train accidents in 1872, 108 have occurred on these three lines, and of these 108 accidents no less than 76 were occasioned by “negligence, want of care, or mistakes of officers or servants” of the companies named. A fruitful cause of accidents of



the latter class is found apparently in that inherent vice of railway management, unpunctuality. Mr. Chichester Fortescue puts the case under this head very plainly and forcibly. In addition to the inconvenience and loss occasioned to passengers by this unpardonable offence, "the service of the line is disarranged, the chances of accidents are multiplied, the trains are forced, in order to make up for the lost time, to travel at excessive speed through complicated stations, or under any other circumstances where such travelling may be equally dangerous." In a word, the whole bustle of railway working, particularly at crowded junctions, resolves itself into a matter of chance, which the bewildered officials and servants are so well aware of, and habituated to, that in constantly-recurring hazardous predicaments, they resign themselves, scrambling through the business as well as time and means will allow, to leave the issue to the "chapter of accidents," as they have always been accustomed to do. As might naturally be expected, the threatening circular of Mr. Chichester Fortescue did not escape remark from some of the railway companies; but, unfortunately, what they have advanced in reply very little affects the arguments contained in it, if, indeed, it does not confirm them.

Upon the whole, it must, we apprehend, be admitted that the state of affairs in the management of our railway system is so unsatisfactory, and so threatening, that it cannot much longer be left entirely to the wisdom, practical efficiency, or conscientiousness of those who at present have the management of it.

The year has not added many marked incidents to the history of our Colonial Empire. The elastic connexion of the Imperial Government with the larger colonies has of late years been seldom liable to a strain; but a ministerial change in the dominion of Canada has been watched with painful interest. The chief founder of the great Northern Federation, a statesman whose tenure of office had been unprecedented in duration on the American continent, has been compelled to retire from office, with his colleagues, in consequence of charges which gravely affected the political character of the ministers, although their personal honour was unimpeached. The Canadian Government had for some time past contemplated the construction of a Pacific railway to unite the Eastern and Western Provinces; and, in consideration of the concessions made by Sir John Macdonald on behalf of Canada during the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, the English Government had guaranteed a portion of the cost. By two Acts of 1872 the Canadian Parliament incorporated two companies, giving them power to contract with the Government, for the construction of the railway. A strong feeling existed against the participation in the enterprise of American speculators, who might, as it was supposed, be influenced by their interest in rival railways. Sir Hugh Allan, the richest capitalist in the Dominion, was required to separate himself from his American partners; and he ultimately obtained the concession on behalf of a body of adventurers distinct from both the incorporated companies. That the terms of the bar-

gain were not onerous to the Dominion seems to be proved by the subsequent failure of the undertakers to raise the necessary capital in the English Money-Market. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues appear to have guarded with fidelity the public interests committed to their charge; but they, unfortunately, allowed Sir Hugh Allan, during the negotiations for the railway, to advance them large sums of money, to be employed in a general election. An inquiry by a Committee of the Canadian House of Commons failed through the disallowance at home, on technical, but sufficient grounds, of an Act authorizing the examination of witnesses on oath. Those of the members of the Committee who belonged to the Opposition refused to serve on a Royal Commission, and their places were consequently supplied by substitutes of high judicial character. It soon appeared that the main facts were scarcely disputed, for the inculpatcd ministers acknowledged the receipt of money from Sir Hugh Allan, and it was rightly held in Canada and in England that it was an immaterial issue whether they had given valuable consideration in exchange. The receipt of money for party purposes from an applicant for a public contract was wholly indefensible; and after some hesitation the ministers found it necessary to resign their offices. Lord Dufferin, as Governor-General, was for a while exposed to a share of the vituperation which was launched with colonial vehemence on his ministers; but, by this time, all parties in Canada are probably satisfied that, in acting by the advice of his ministers so long as they remained in office, the Governor-General acted in strict accordance with Constitutional principle.

The duties of the Colonial Office range from the supervision of relations which are almost federal or diplomatic to the defence of remote dependencies, of which the very existence is scarcely remembered until they involve the country in unexpected and undesired conflicts.

In the course of the summer of 1873 the general tranquillity of our colonial possessions was interrupted by the breaking out of hostilities between the administrators of our possessions and dependencies on the Gold Coast and the King of Ashantee or "Shantee."

The brief account which we subjoin of the circumstances and history of these dependencies is chiefly taken from Sir Charles Adderley's volume on Colonial Policy, and from the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1871, to which must be added the small volume entitled "Fanti and Ashanti," just published by Captains Brackenbury and Wilson. The tract of African coast thus denominated lies in nearly latitude  $5^{\circ}$  North, and between the meridians of  $5^{\circ}$  West and  $1^{\circ}$  East from London. It is notorious for its fierce extremes of tropical climate and liability to tropical diseases. For seven months of the year the rains are violent, with little intermission. For five, from November to April, dry weather prevails; the "Harmattan," or continental northerly wind, popularly called "The Doctor," succeeds, and a healthy season accompanies it. Of the prevalent "fever" at the coast, we extract the following graphical description from recent newspaper "correspondence," describing the

experiences of a traveller who had adventured into the interior from Cape Coast Castle :—

“A native gives up his hut—one of more pretension than its neighbours—and the hot and tired traveller enters. Within an hour he is down with fever; his head throbs; his skin is dry and burning; his body feels as though it had been beaten with sticks; he is as sick as a Calais boat could make him in a mid-winter gale; for a couple of days the fever holds him fast—now better, now worse—but every time he lifts himself from his wretched bed a little weaker—everything about him seems negatived by this poison—drink ceases to satisfy thirst—sleep becomes a time of terror, for long, long dreams of endless toil crowd upon him as he lies, while still the presence of pain is unfelt. At last the fever leaves him for a time; then comes the moment for the quinine—ten, twenty, thirty grains are taken in a few hours, and after four or five days he rises, weak as though twenty days of English illness had passed over him, while voice and limb falter at their work, and all wish for food seems to have vanished for ever. This, in a few words, is West African fever, when it comes on in the bush—few men can stand many attacks of it, if they follow closely upon one another—and the strength which four or five days is sufficient to pull down is not rebuilt again for a month or more.”

The reason why so uninviting a region, producing nothing of substantial value except a certain amount of gold dust, attracted the enterprise of European nations, especially the Netherlands and England, is to be found in the exigencies of the African slave-trade. The neighbouring country swarmed with a defenceless black population, and access by sea was easy. When the slave-trade was abolished, the establishments erected for it still remained, while the legitimate trade, which it was hoped to foster instead of that which public opinion condemned, was trifling. On this coast and its neighbouring tracts, the Ivory Coast (west) and Benin (east), four European powers—England, France, Denmark, the United Provinces—had at an early date established factories, for the purpose of trade with the interior. These factories were necessarily fortified posts, and became estimated as possessions of the several mother countries, while various tribes of negroes in the interior submitted more or less to a condition of dependency on them. Our relations with the Gold Coast having been from the year 1672 carried on by Companies, were in 1821 transferred to the Colonial Government established at Sierra Leone, 10° to the westward. In a year or two afterwards Sir Charles MacCarthy, our Governor, became involved in a serious, and for some time disastrous, war with the King of Ashantee. This sovereign, ruler over a populous region lying immediately at the back (northward) of our dependencies, has, it is supposed, 300,000 or 400,000 subjects, among the most energetic and warlike of negro men; his capital, Coomassie, is reputed to number 30,000 inhabitants, and his country is believed to be rich in gold dust. It is reported also to be fertile and productive

in other respects, and it is an undulating tract of soil, comparatively free from the extreme unhealthiness of the coast. But it is wholly inland, and without access to the sea, except through the intervention of twenty tribes or powers; and as the Ashantees fully partake of the general propensity for trade which belongs to the negro races, this privation seems to be severely felt among them.

The immediate cause of hostilities between the King and ourselves, in 1822, was the oppression which he exercised towards the Fantees, an inferior and scattered race, dwelling nearer the coast, and within what is termed our "Protectorate," which appears to extend over six larger and several smaller tribes, occupying the region betwixt those forts and the Ashantee country.

"The territory actually under occupation at the present time," says Colonel Ord, in his Report laid before the Select Committee of 1865, "consists, in addition to the coast, of the Fort of Dixcove, in the Ashantee country; of Cape Coast Castle, and Annamahoe Fort, in the Fantee; Winnebah, in the Agoonah country; and of Accra, in the district of the same name. Immediately in the rear of the 300 miles of coast along which these forts are situate, and extending to a distance of about eighty miles inland, is a country inhabited by a number of native tribes, the principal of whom are the Wassaws, Denkeras, Akims, Assins, and Fantees, the whole of whom, with the exception of a small number residing immediately in rear of some of the Dutch posts, are included in what is termed the "Protectorate." To the eastward of the settlements is situated the powerful and barbarous kingdom of Dahomey, and to the north of the Protectorate extends the equally powerful and barbarous kingdom of Ashantee. The protected tribes thus form a complete barrier between the colony and these two warlike and dangerous bodies of savages.

"The history of the Protectorate is so little understood that it may be as well to give an outline of the circumstances which led to its establishment. At the beginning of the last century the Ashantees, who are supposed to have come from the interior and to have been compelled to move southward by a pressure from thence, attacked and subdued some of the more powerful of the tribes who now form the northern part of the Protectorate. Moving steadily onwards, about 1760 they had extended their conquests so far south as to excite some apprehension in the minds of the European settlers on the coast; and in 1800 had forcibly subdued the whole country from the sea-board of the Assine river on the west to the mouth of the Volta on the east, excepting only a small crescent embracing the Fantees, and a few other small tribes situated immediately in rear of the settlements.

"Emboldened by the success which had hitherto attended their progress, and encouraged no doubt by the hope of acquiring, or at least sharing the benefits which they soon found resulted from a closer contact with Europeans, the Ashantees, at the commencement



of the present century, attacked the Fantees and the remaining unconquered tribes, whom the settlers, with a selfish but mistaken regard for their own interest, left to their fate. In 1807 the Ashantees were masters of the whole country, and had even attacked and taken one of the European settlements. With the British they came once into collision, but were repulsed, and their further aggressions were averted by an engagement on the part of the authorities not to assist the Fantees. During the next few years so bitter was the yoke imposed on the conquered nations, that several of them combined and revolted against it, but without success; the Ashantees not only maintained their hold over the country, but even threatened Cape Coast, whose safety was only purchased by discreditable concessions. This state of things lasted until 1817, the unhappy Fantees continuing to suffer the greatest oppression at the hands of their conquerors, when it was thought by the authorities at Cape Coast advisable to attempt to negotiate with the Ashantees, with the view of establishing peace on a secure footing and promoting the prosecution of lawful trade. The mission which was sent was much struck, in passing through Assin and Fantee, with the traces of desolation which the Ashantees had everywhere left behind: 'Not a vestige of cultivation was to be seen, and heaps of ruined villages appeared on every side, round which the miserable natives stalked with the gaunt and sullen aspect of famine and despair.'

"The result of this mission was the conclusion of a treaty by which the Fantees, who were now reduced to the position of tributaries of Ashantee, were placed under a sort of protectorate of the British, it being stipulated that the King should not engage in hostilities against them, even in case of their aggression, without previous reference to the Governor of Cape Coast. This treaty did not produce the benefits which had been anticipated; the slave-trade progressed, to the injury of legitimate commerce, and induced a general state of lawlessness and disregard of life and property throughout the country. A fresh treaty was concluded with the Ashantees in 1819, which was disavowed by the local authorities, and in 1822 the Imperial Government, having once more assumed the control of the forts and settlements, placed them under the jurisdiction of Sierra Leone, and sent out Sir Charles MacCarthy as Governor-in-Chief.

"Sir Charles MacCarthy, on his arrival, found our relations with the Ashantees in so unsatisfactory a state that he appears to have felt that there was no way of establishing peace but by the sword. War was soon declared, and in January, 1824, Sir C. MacCarthy and the force under his orders were destroyed by an invading army of Ashantees. Cape Coast Castle was then invested, and, but for a panic amongst the invaders, might have been captured; late in the year the whole power of the settlement, with aid from home, being brought to bear on them, the Ashantees were completely defeated and driven from the country.



"An unanimous spirit of resistance to the Ashantees was now aroused in every tribe, from the Asinee to the Volta, but several years elapsed before the efforts of the British authorities succeeded in placing matters on a satisfactory footing. In 1831, however, the exertions of the able, energetic, and resolute Mr. Maclean, then Governor of the settlements, were rewarded with success. Convinced of the hopelessness of expecting that peace could be maintained so long as the Fantees and other tribes remained subject to the exactions and oppressions of their former rulers, and yet foreseeing at the same time the dangers which must result if so large a body of natives, composed of different tribes and having different interests and views, were left to carry on their affairs without the control or guidance of any superior power; believing moreover that the influence of such a superior and civilized power would help to work valuable reforms among the most turbulent and lawless of them, he conceived the idea of compelling from the King of Ashantee an acknowledgment of their independence, and by the influence over them which our interference on their behalf had obtained for us, of inducing them to band themselves together under our guidance and control for protection against the common enemy. These important objects were at length secured by the signing of a treaty, on April 27, 1831, between the Governor, the Ashantees, and the Fantee and other tribes then in alliance with us, and during the next twelve years the results of this arrangement under the administration of Governor Maclean are detailed in the report of the Committee of 1842: 'There was exercised a very wholesome influence over a coast not much less than 150 miles in extent, and to a considerable distance inland, preventing within that range external slave-trade, maintaining peace and security, and exercising a useful though irregular jurisdiction along the neighbouring tribes, and much mitigating, and in some cases extinguishing, some of the most atrocious practices which prevailed among them unchecked before.'"

The following curious account of this war, in which the unfortunate Governor Sir Charles MacCarthy fell, was given by a relation of the present king, detained in custody at Sierra Leone, to a correspondent of the *Times*, of July 29 last:—

"Sai Cudjoe died at a very great age, and was succeeded by Sai Quamina, the fifth of the Ashantee kings. Sai Quamina occupied the throne but a very short time. He was dethroned by a conspiracy of his nobles, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Sai Tootoo Quamina, who commenced his reign about 1800.

"During this reign the first war with the English occurred. After some fruitless negotiations, Sir Charles MacCarthy, the then Governor of Cape Coast Castle, marched in the year 1824 with a strong force to attack the Ashantee troops. He was met at Esmaeow by the Ashantee army, which had crossed the Prah to meet them. Sir Charles MacCarthy underrated the strength of the Ashantee forces, and, hearing the hum of the approaching army, ordered his band to

strike up 'God save the Queen,' thinking the sound of the National Anthem would terrify the enemy. He was soon undeceived. A severe battle ensued. The English troops and their native allies were utterly routed. Sir Charles MacCarthy and nearly all the European officers with him lost their lives, their heads were cut off, and while their headless trunks were left to rot on the field of battle, their skulls were carried in triumph to Commassie, where they are still kept. On high festivals the King of the Ashantees drinks from a cup fashioned from the skull of the unfortunate Sir Charles MacCarthy, which is preserved in the Bantammah at Commassie with the crown and other treasures belonging to the king.

"Sai Tootoo Quamina died about the very day that his troops gained the great victory of Esmacow, and was succeeded by his brother Sai Ockoto.

"Cape Coast was besieged by the Ashantees, and, although repulsed, they ravaged the entire country of the Fantees, and held them in complete subjection until, a force having been again collected, the battle of Doodowah was fought on the 26th of August, 1826. The Ashantees were at the beginning of the battle seized with a sudden and unaccountable panic, and fled. They suffered considerable loss and retired from the Fantees' country.

The employment of Congreve rockets for the first time, we are told, in African warfare, "struck dismay into the ranks of the enemy, and gave confidence to the allies; and in the result the Ashantee army was completely destroyed."

The Ashantees were thus finally repulsed, and our Fantee Protectorate resumed; but it was again abandoned, and practically left in the hands of a committee of merchants in London, whose agent, Mr. Maclean, already mentioned, became (says Sir Charles Adderley) "well known in West African history." He was, perhaps, the ablest and most energetic European ever employed by us in that region, but is better known to the literary world in general as the husband of the unfortunate poetess, Letitia Landon (L. E. L.), whose melancholy death at Cape Coast Castle excited at the time so much interest. In the year 1843 the Crown resumed the Gold Coast forts, and by subsequent proceedings assumed "what is called indefinitely a Protectorate" over the neighbouring tribes lying between them and the Ashantees. Under the colonial administration of Lord Grey (1847—1851) attempts were made to utilize and consolidate our vague dominion, to introduce some tincture of English law and usages chiefly through the appointment of a judicial assessor to act in conjunction with the chief of tribes, and to levy, through the instrumentality of the chief, a poll-tax for purposes of government; but it cannot be said that these well-meant efforts met with much success.

Our schemes of government were naturally much impeded by the intervention of the scattered possessions of two powers, Denmark and Holland; those of France, abandoned in 1870, lay farther to

the eastward, intermingled with our own. Thanks to the mutual jealousy of merchants, the several stations lay close to each other, an English fort almost always flanked by a Dutch and Danish. Denmark disposed of her possessions to us, in 1850, for a trifling sum of money, but those of Holland remained, and it was out of the question for us to pursue our favourite scheme of raising a revenue along the coast by customs duties so long as the Dutch, whose notions of policy on that subject were different from ours, refused to adopt the same tariff. The impossibility of levying duties, and want of Dutch co-operation, led us, in 1847, to avail ourselves of their readiness to make such exchanges of stations as should put their more easterly forts into our possession, and our more westerly into theirs. But this arrangement was still extremely imperfect, and Mr. Winwood Reade (*"African Sketch Book"*) thus describes the curious intermixture of British and English forts on this coast previous to 1867-68:—

"Beginning at the west, Apollonia was English; then came Axim, which was Dutch; then Dix Cove, which was English. Bartrie, Secondee, and Chama were Dutch; but between Chama and Elmina was Commendas, which was English. Annamahoe, just beyond Cape Coast, was English; but the next fort was Dutch; and finally, at Accra half the town was English and half Dutch. Each had its own fort and its own landing-place—and so within a town of moderate size were two distinct systems of custom-house regulations, and two distinct methods of governing the natives."

It was obviously, on the face of it, and according to ordinary considerations, a great political advantage, if we were to maintain our dominion on the coast at all, to acquire from the Dutch on reasonable terms the sovereignty of those possessions and the exercise of those local protectorates which interfered thus vexatiously with our own. And when, in 1871, we concluded a treaty with Holland, whereby that power abandoned all sovereignty on the Gold Coast, and received in exchange our consent to its pursuing an independent course of policy on the coast of Sumatra, in the Indian Archipelago, no voice here, so far as we are aware, was raised against the policy of at least the first half of the bargain. And yet it has so turned out, as if in mockery of our supposed wisdom, that this transaction has produced already results of a character so injurious that any amount of ultimate success can with difficulty compensate for the loss and suffering in which it must involve us. The reason of our failure (local politics apart) has been a very simple one. We omitted to take into consideration the effects which the Dutch surrender would have on the interests and feelings of the natives of the coast, and in particular of the King and people of Ashantee.

The Dutch, who had held Elmina (the most important town, if such it may be called, on the coast, and close to our own head station at Cape Coast Castle), were the protectors of a tribe closely allied to

the Ashantees. That tribe has now the same right to our protection (under the terms of the treaty) which it had to that of Holland. So long as the Dutch held Elmina the King of Ashantee, through the means of this intervening tribe, had practically access to the coast, and could derive supplies of such articles as he wished without passing through an English custom-house. The King also received an annual stipend from the Dutch. This our Colonial Office offered to double; but it seems that his Majesty persisted in regarding the Dutch payment as a tribute, while we carefully guarded ourselves against any such supposition. It was, indeed, says the author of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, "an old tradition of the country before the cession that the Dutch were friendly to the Ashantees and traded with them, whilst the English protected the Fantees, their enemies. This probably means that the Ashantees drew their supplies through the Dutch factories free of duty, while the Fantees submitted to our duties for the sake of our protection. Hence a Dutch and an English party existed all along the Gold Coast, and in one of the tribes there was a Dutch king and an English king, who one day came to fisticuffs in the presence of the British administrator. . . . The King of Elmina, counselled by the Ashantees, had declared he could not live under the British flag. The majority of the Elminas, however, resolved that no opposition should be offered to the transfer, and deposed their king because he had allowed himself to be persuaded to resist it by an Ashantee prince." Without taking our readers farther into the intricacies of negro politics, cause enough, we imagine, has been given to account for the outbreak of the Ashantee war. A fierce and warlike people, headed by chiefs of similar disposition, and for more than a generation untaught to dread the superiority of British arms, and having the utmost contempt for the Fantees and other inferior and demoralized tribes along the coast, would no longer submit to the restraints imposed by a policy which—partly in fact, but much more in their apprehension—tended to sever them from their trading connexion with the world beyond the sea, as well as to deprive them of their supremacy over their neighbours. "Suddenly," says Sir Charles Adderley, in a letter to the *Times*, "and to the confessed surprise of all, 1873 opened with an Ashantee invasion, about the causes of which and the numbers of which everybody was in the dark. It by no means seems to have been the *dénouement* of a long-concealed calculation on the part of the Ashantee King, now finding our defence reduced within his compass. War was certainly always brewing, but such a calculated occasion is no more characteristic of savages than it turned out to be real in itself. There was treachery at Elmina on the part of the Dutch faction; there was a mistaken imposition of an oath of allegiance wholly incompatible with our assumed relations; there was a refusal by our merchants to resume certain old brokerage payments with the resumption of trade; there was an unlucky speech to the chiefs, of which I wish to say nothing—any or all of which circumstances



may have precipitated war, the fourth Ashantee war in my recollection."

In February of this year three Ashantee armies, the centre one of 12,000 men, invaded the protected country, making straight upon Cape Coast Castle. "They found the people without unity, without arms, and without a leader." On the 5th of June the Ashantees totally routed the Fantee army at Jooquah, and advanced to Efflatu, a village twelve miles from Cape Coast Castle.

The administration of British Government at Cape Coast Castle was at this time in the hands of Colonel Harley, subject to the control of Governor Pope Hennessy at Sierra Leone. To meet the threatened hostilities of the Ashantees his force consisted only of a few hundred coloured troops of the West India regiments, and such assistance as might be procured by arming our allies, the Fantees, and a more warlike race, the Houssas. A detachment of marines arrived at Cape Coast Castle early in June.

On June 13 the Ashantees were repulsed in an attack on the Castle of Elmina by the British force, chiefly of seamen and marines, under command of Colonel Festing. To punish the disaffected inhabitants, the town was bombarded and partly burnt. Later in the day, an Ashantee force, about 4000 strong, advanced and attacked the opposite or garden quarter of the town. They penetrated into the garden, and were then attacked by Colonel Festing, at the head of the Marines, the Houssas, and a detachment of the 2nd West India Regiment, in all about 400. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Ashantees showed great bravery, advancing under a very heavy fire up to within less than 150 yards of the troops. As the ground afforded no cover to them, they could not stand in the open before the fire of the "Sniders," and were repulsed with severe loss. After they were driven out of the garden they were pursued along by the salt marsh, and suffered severely. Two Dutch flags were captured from them.

After this defeat the Ashantees then retired to their camp, and made no further movement of importance. The defences of the settlements were strengthened by the erection of two redoubts, Napoleon and Abbaye, six or seven miles distant from Cape Coast and Elmina. The Home Government finally resolved to make war in such a manner that the Ashantees would never invade our protectorate again. The military road to Coomassie was commenced by a volunteer, Lieutenant Gordon, 98th Highlanders, who, while the Ashantee army was close to Cape Coast, struck boldly into the interior, and, in spite of the heavy rains, made a road for a considerable distance. During Colonel Harley's administration certain other officers had volunteered for the Gold Coast in order to organize native troops. Captain Glover was sent out as Commissioner to the Eastern Districts of the Gold Coast, where he hoped to raise a considerable army. Finally, Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Administrator of the Gold Coast and Commander-in-Chief of the troops in the African settlements. He left England on



September 12 with a brilliant staff and a number of selected officers, who were to levy and drill the native allies. Two regiments were held in readiness, but were not to be sent out unless the general should find that they were absolutely necessary for the expedition.

Shortly after these events, on August 14, an attempt made to effect a "friendly and pacific" reconnaissance in the river Prah, of which the banks were inhabited by friends to the Ashantees, cost us some lives and a severe wound to our gallant leader, Commodore Commerill. The "town" of Chamah was burnt by way of retribution and to strike terror. Sir Garnet Wolseley, sent from home to take the general command, shortly afterwards arrived.

Sir Garnet Wolseley left Liverpool on the 12th of September with his staff, and addressed "a body of native chiefs" and so-called kings on the Gold Coast on October 4th. But kings, it appears, count for so little in Western Africa that sixteen of them figure in the estimates of a proposed Fantee confederacy at 50% apiece, or, in all, 800% a year. On the 5th and 6th of November the Ashantees attacked a British position at Abrakrampa in considerable force, but were repulsed. On this, as on all occasions of conflict, it was evident, in the first place, that these warlike savages had in no degree degenerated from those of a former generation, who had terrified the whole coast into submission; in the next place, that our black allies were cowardly and worthless, except some of the Houssas, while these were almost useless from their aversion to discipline; lastly, that notwithstanding these unfortunate circumstances on our side, it was impossible for the enemy to withstand the arms of precision wielded by our men. But the cost of this unhappy warfare—inglorious but for the patriotic self-devotion with which its dangers were encountered—was such as to cause much unavailing regret. Among many Englishmen and officers who were sacrificed, the death of Captain Eardley Wilmot—who fell in action with the Ashantees—and Lieutenant Charteris, eldest son of Lord Elcho, who perished a victim to the climate, caused profound regret among a large circle of friends.

The season for more active operations on the part of Europeans began in December, to last until March. By the last accounts received this year the Ashantees were in full retreat across the river Prah, which intervenes between the coast and Coomassie, and Sir Garnet Wolseley preparing to execute the long-projected march on the capital by the middle of January. The following extract from the newspaper correspondence of the last week of the year may serve to illustrate the enormous difficulty which attends on operations only to be executed by such native assistance as can be procured in this region. The writer is speaking of the preparations for advancing inland into the heart of the Ashantee country, across the Prah river:—

"Though Captain Glover has had to deal with incomparably the

best tribes of the Protectorate, the attempt has failed, in consequence of native sloth and native procrastination. To the expedition, as a whole, the result has been most unfortunate. No one here believes that, had it been possible to employ the Akims and the other tribes against the retreating Ashantees, anything of an orderly Ashantee army could have recrossed the Prah. But every allowance must be made for men who have struggled manfully, and to whom failure is the worst punishment the future has in store for them. Captain Glover is himself bitterly disappointed. He and his officers had started with the firm belief that they would, as they put it, 'present arms to Sir Garnet as he entered Coomassie.' The consciousness of failure is, of course, proportionately hard to bear. At present the only point towards which every effort is bent has been the accumulation of means of transport. The women have perhaps, on the whole, furnished the largest and most constant supply. As fast as tribes have been sent in by the officers commissioned to the native kings, all but the more warlike, who number very few, have been draughted into the Control Department. But as fast as fresh men are poured in, more desert. The country is so densely overgrown that it is impossible rapidly to catch those who make off. As soon as the men have made as much money as they care to get at the time, or the women as much as will buy them the clothes they want, they make off. The moment the men think they run any risk, they drop their loads and run. The difficulties in such a country are enormous, for the two horns of the dilemma are these: if you employ Europeans to look after them, those Europeans must be all day out in the sun, and suffer seriously; if you don't employ European officers, nothing is done. They are curious people, however. A remark in one of the English papers we have lately received suggests an explanation that one may give you of what must have struck many at home as most curious, and which certainly at the time sorely puzzled us. You will have observed that in their original speech to Sir Garnet Wolseley, on his arrival here, the natives compared him to *Sir C. MacCarthy*. To those of us who heard it, the expression was the more startling, because it had been privately reported beforehand that they were in the greatest delight with what Sir Garnet had said to them, and, by way of doing him the highest honour they could in giving him, according to their custom, some name out of their past history, had selected that of Governor Maclean. Now Maclean was avowedly the brilliant Governor here who kept order at small cost, and under whom the colony most flourished. Of MacCarthy all that could be said was that he fought most bravely, but perished with his army. We thought at the moment that it must have been said by a mere slip, and many an 'absit omen' passed our lips. But, strangely enough, we heard afterwards that at the great meeting at Accra, under Captain Glover, the one oath by which all the great chiefs swore allegiance to her Majesty was by 'Sir C. MacCarthy's day,' or 'Sir C. MacCarthy's coat.' An explanation still more strange was, how-

ever, added. 'Because he who swears this oath and breaks it, says that Sir C. MacCarthy died in vain for his country.' Clearly not the brilliantly successful man; but the man who struggled to the utmost for them, and failed, is the one who has impressed the imagination of these people. One would be half inclined to suspect some missionary influence at work; but, in the first place, the oath is avowedly a kind of heathen one. It is just where the missionaries have least penetrated that the oath is in full force. Moreover, it is curious that the Ashantees themselves are said to carry about with them Sir C. MacCarthy's bones, as one of the strongest fetishes they have."

An impending calamity of a different kind is causing serious anxiety, as the year closes, both in India and in England. The failure of the summer and autumn rains has destroyed or reduced the rice crops of a large part of Bengal and Behar to an extent which renders extreme scarcity certain, and famine, if it is not averted by adequate measures of relief, only too probable. A dense population, living on the cheapest and simplest kind of food, has no resources within its own reach when the ordinary provision fails through an unfavourable season. In the great famine of a century ago the deaths from starvation were counted by millions, and the sufferings of Orissa in 1866 are still fresh in recollection. On the present occasion timely warning has been given of the danger, and the highest authorities on Indian affairs have had ample opportunity of suggesting and discussing the necessary measures. Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is well known as one of the most vigorous of administrators, and the indefatigable industry and prudence of Lord Northbrook command general confidence. The Duke of Argyll has, on behalf of the Home Government, approved by anticipation any expenditure which the Viceroy may deem necessary for saving human life. In a late address to the Municipality of Agra, Lord Northbrook expressed a hope that it would be possible to prevent any loss of life; and there is, at least, reason to hope that no practicable measure of relief will be neglected. The Viceroy has sanctioned the request of the Lieutenant-Governor for the purchase of large quantities of rice, relief works on a great scale have been already commenced, and it is thought that the most secluded districts may be reached by railway, by road, or by water communication. Before the calamity of famine became imminent, the condition of India was tranquil and generally prosperous.

Although our empire in India was exempt during the course of this year from frontier war and from political disturbances, considerable uneasiness was felt by those who regard the progress of Russia in Central Asia as threatening to British dominion by the hostilities which took place this year between Russia and the Khard of Khiva, ending in the complete submission of the latter to the Russian arms.

The great Asiatic river Oxus, rising in the mountains, part of

the great Himalaya chain, in the largest acceptation, which borders on Afghanistan and on Cabul, pursues a course of a thousand miles north-westward, having its present discharge in the sea of Aral. Formerly its waters reached the Caspian. The old channel is well known, and various schemes have been contemplated for restoring it. Like the Indus and the Helmund, which flow from the same mountains, and like the Nile in Africa, it may be termed emphatically a river of the desert. After leaving the hill country of its sources, it runs through a vast plain, which has no means of fertilization except what it derives from its waters and those of a few scanty tributaries. Where irrigation is practicable, the soil is of great fertility, and in these oases the three Uzbek Khanates—Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva, in this order proceeding from east to west—have been from very ancient times established. Of these, Samarkand was practically incorporated, in 1865, in the new Russian province of Turkistan. Bokhara remained nominally independent, although subject to Russian influences. Khiva alone existed, until 1873, as a distinct power; the least important, in point of extent and population, of the Khanates, but occupying a geographical position of great consequence, and inhabited by a people in some respects advanced beyond their Turcoman kindred. The cultivated part of the Khiva territory extends along the last 100 miles of the course of the Oxus, to the town of Kungrad, near its mouth, in the sea of Aral, or rather in the marshes adjoining that sea. All this portion of it is carefully irrigated from the waters of the great river. Vambéry, the Hungarian traveller, who visited it a few years ago, speaks in the most enthusiastic terms of the fertility of the abundantly watered soil, and the admirable quality of its fruit and vegetables; above all, the incomparable melons, objects of desire over all central Asia, from Russia to Pekin. The Uzbeks of Khiva are rated by the same author as higher than their brethren of the other Khanates in some of the qualities of civilization. "At the first sight, however, the Khivan Uzbek betrays the mixture of his blood with the Iran elements, for he has a beard, always to be regarded in the Turanis as a foreign peculiarity; but his complexion and form of countenance indicate very often genuine Tartar origin. Even in the traits of his character, the Khivan Uzbek is preferable to his relatives in the other races. He is honest and open-hearted, has the savage nature of the nomads that surround him without the refined cunning of European civilization. He ranks next to the pure Osmanli of Turkey, and it may be said of both that something may still be made out of them." The capital town, Khiva, is an insignificant place. "Picture to yourself," says Vambéry, "three or four thousand mud-houses standing in different directions in the most irregular manner, with uneven and unwashed walls, and fancy these surrounded by a wall ten feet high, also made of mud, and you have a conception of Khiva."

Captain James Abbott, who visited Khiva on a British mission more than thirty years ago, thus describes the aspect of the city



and neighbourhood :—" After riding a couple of miles the town of Khiva appeared on our right, and we entered a country laid out in gardens and dwellings of the gentry. The houses have all one character, being an enclosure of lofty clay walls, flanked by ornamental towers at the angles, which give them the appearance of castles. The walls, built with great regularity of rammed clay, are generally fluted, an effect given them perhaps by the bundles of straight branches, between which the clay is supported whilst soft and bearing the process of ramming. The gardens are surrounded by very low walls of similar construction, allowing the eye to command many estates from a single point of view. The trees are a species of elm, wide and very shadowy, the poplar, and the plane-tree. The appearance of the country is pleasing, but it is too flat for beauty. The men wore the Uzbek attire. The complexion of the women was very ruddy, showing more red than white. Their countenance too round or square for beauty, and their shapes (unless indeed they owe the effect to their apparel) clumsy in the extreme. Their eyes are dark, long, and ill-opened; the brow delicately pencilled. They are accounted beauties in a region where fair complexions are at a premium."

The winter climate of Khiva is described by the same writer (and others) as excessively severe, following a summer usually of tropical heat. "In England nothing is known like the chill of a Khiva winter. In the shade the snow always lays feathery and granulated, incompressible into masses, so that snowballs could not be formed. But the sun now shone cheerily through the cutting air, lighting in its passage myriads of minute particles of mist, small as the motes in the sunbeam, and invisible like them, excepting in the brightest light; which the intense chill of the air was continually freezing, and which, falling in an unceasing shower of light, gave a spectacle to the atmosphere that savoured of enchantment. This effect I have observed only at Khiva."

Besides a million of subjects of Uzbek race, inhabiting the thickly-peopled region towards the mouth of the Oxus, agricultural and prosperous, unless when visited by the frequent accident of civil or foreign wars, the Khan exercises a dominion more or less complete over a great number of Turcoman nomad tribes, wandering over the deserts between the Caspian Sea and that of Aral, whose number is estimated by Vambéry at a million more.

It is to the predatory habits of these uncontrollable though necessary allies that Khiva has owed, at least in the first instance, most of the collisions which have taken place between her and her overpowering Russian neighbour, whatever other causes we may think proper to assign to the policy of the latter.

A few words will suffice to show in what manner the relations between Russia and the Khanate of Khiva affect—or are supposed to affect—the stability of our Anglo-Indian Empire. A glance at the map will suffice to show that the connexion between them is extremely indirect. Masters of Bokhara and Samarkand, and irre-



sistible along the whole right bank of the Oxus, from its entrance on the great plain to its mouth in the sea of Aral, the Russians are in close proximity to the great elevated region of Chinese Turkestan, over which, as is now known, practicable though arduous routes may be found to Kashmir and Cabul. Khiva lies, on the other hand, far to the north-west, a long way out of any rationally supposable line of march from Russia to India; but, isolated as its position was, it formed a constant embarrassment to the invading power by threatening its communications in rear and flank. Besides, the conquest of Khiva was necessary to complete the subjugation of the coasts of the Caspian sea, and establish a permanent menace on the northern flank of Persia. Nor was it without prospective advantages to Russian commerce, which were perhaps more immediately effectual than any other cause in stimulating the enterprise.

In January of this year Count Schouvalow, "a statesman enjoying the confidence of the Emperor of Russia," was despatched to England to give some explanations respecting the intended expedition to Khiva, and other points of Russian policy in Asia concerning which English jealousy was apprehended. As regards the first subject, with which we are now concerned, the following is the statement of the mission made by Earl Granville in a despatch to her Majesty's minister at St. Petersburg:—

"With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four battalions and a half. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva.

"Count Schouvalow repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject, and he gave me most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter.

"With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvalow; the people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes, as it would appear, like England in India and France in Algeria, more so than was desired by the central Governments; that the Clarendon and Gortchakow arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with great delay as to its final settlement; that it was with the

object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th of October."

The details of the Khivan expedition belong to the foreign portion of our history, in which we have to deal with some events more stirring than those which have characterized the year at home.

## FOREIGN HISTORY.

### CHAPTER I.

#### FRANCE.

Death of Napoleon III.—Bonapartists—Royalists—*Jour d'Expiation*—M. Thiers and the Committee of Thirty—Propositions of Tallon, Decazes, &c.—Speech of Thiers before Committee—Broglie Report—Letter of the Comte de Chambord to the Bishop of Orleans—Discussion in the Assembly on the Report—Speech of Thiers, March 4th—Bill passed—Treaty of Evacuation—Prince Napoleon's Petition—Question of the Lyons Contracts—Suppression of Central Municipality at Lyons—Quarrel in the Assembly, and resignation of M. de Grévy—Paris Elections—M. de Barodet—M. Rauc elected for Lyons—Ministerial changes—Constitutional Bills—Interpellation by the Right—Debate of May 24th—Defeat of the Government—Resignation of M. Thiers—Marshal MacMahon President of the Republic.

THE year 1873 had reached its ninth day only—it was but three days since the Assembly had met after its Christmas recess—when the telegraphic wires flashed from Chiselhurst to Versailles the news that the ex-Emperor, Napoleon III., was no more. Just after the deputies had arrived by the mid-day train, M. Barthélemy de St. Hilaire appeared in the Salle des Pas Perdus, and announced the message which had been received at the Ministry of the Interior. It was said that the first despatch had been intended for M. Rouher, and had reached M. de Goulard's hands by mistake. "*C'est affreux, c'est affreux!*" cried the Bonapartist leader when the fact was proclaimed, and immediately, with the rest of his party, he quitted the Chamber. That evening many of them crossed the Channel, and pressed to pay their last homage to the remains of the once mighty potentate. The illness of Napoleon III. has been detailed in another portion of our volume. Unable longer to endure the cruel sufferings to which the malady he had borne about for years had subjected him—sufferings which had tended to cripple his energies during the closing years of the Empire, which had added to his weight of woe at Sedan, and had made the ignominious repose of Chiselhurst at last acceptable to him—he had called in the aid of surgery under new and hazardous conditions, and in spite of the skill of the best operators had sunk, after a few days of increased agony.

We cannot better represent the state of public feeling in France on this event than by quoting the opinions of some of the journals on different sides of politics.

The *Pays* said :—"Let us rise. The Emperor is dead. Those who regretted that he had not fallen on the field of battle on the 1st of September, 1870, may rejoice, for his death is a consequence of Sedan. And you, Bonapartists, dry your tears, repress your sobs, and upstanding let us close our ranks around his son, repeating the old cry of the former French Monarchy—'The Emperor is dead; long live the Empire!' It is well known that we have never sought for or desired the Imperial restoration until the country had been completely liberated from foreign occupation. Now, as about that period the Prince will enter into his twentieth year, and be at the age which qualifies him for a soldier, it appears to us that he may well be an Emperor."

The *Liberté* said :—"It is all over. The legend of the great Emperor himself disappears. The child who weeps to-day beside the deathbed of his father has around him only a few devoted but powerless friends. He has no army, no *noblesse*, no clergy, nor any of the institutions which constituted the ancient monarchy, and which insured for it an existence during fourteen centuries. Let the Bonapartists consider well the situation in which they are placed by the unexpected death of the Emperor, and let their leaders decide whether the modest part of citizen of the Republic would not be preferable to that of a pretender in exile."

The *Journal de Paris* said :—"Heaven forbid that we should choose the present moment to write in a tone of insult, or even of bitterness, of the memory of the late Emperor. Compassion at this time throws into the shade every other feeling. It is not the man himself who is to be blamed for the faults which have been committed and the incalculable misfortunes which have followed from them. Personally he had great qualities. Those who knew him bear witness to the fact. He was generous and affable. On more than one subject he had liberal ideas, and more especially liberal aspirations. He was better than his Government. The true culprit was the system—that system of which his birth made him the representative, and to which there seems to be attached a kind of historical fatalism. We do not know what is in store for us in the future, but we know what the past has given us; and we cannot forget that, having had two returns of the Empire, and two Emperors differing very essentially from each other, we have had three invasions."

The *Gazette de France* said :—"The Emperor is dead, and with the Emperor the last traces of the Empire. We will not on this occasion recall the political actions of Napoleon III. For twenty years we have opposed him, and it would be necessary for us to take up day by day the history of a rule which, with the aid of Personal Government, has contrived, in opposition to the desires and interests of France, to establish the unity of Italy and of Germany, and to destroy the temporal power of the Holy See."

The *Français* said :—"The man of our times who has undergone the most striking vicissitudes of fortune is no more. He has not

long survived his reverses. His mind was a strange compound of vague reminiscences and vague aspirations. He was at once a fatalist and a sceptic. He had a constitution which was Italian and yet Dutch. It may be asked if this phlegmatic utopist ever put to himself questions which no one ever asked him openly. Did he ever know exactly whether here below he discharged a mission or played a part? We shall afterwards reply to these questions. They have a serious interest for contemporary history."

We will add a few extracts from a *feuilleton* of the *Temps*, in which Madame Georges Sand eloquently sketched the character of the Emperor:—"This man has been styled chimerical, and the phrase is correct if by it is meant a brain nourished with chimeras, and still more accurate if it implies a being whose character is a riddle, the elements of which cannot be harmonized. For my own part, I shall give only the impression which he produced upon my mind. In the days of Ham, by his correspondence and other writings, he showed himself a young man without energy, dominated by a powerful dream, a dream conceived in infancy and kept alive by those who surrounded him, and to whose influence he submitted with the resignation of lassitude. Without real instruction, he showed great intelligence, and had the rudiments and even the flashes of genius, rather literary than philosophic, rather philosophic than political. Failing health, vitality tottering, unequal, and at times suspended by the reflux of emotions and stifled pain; yet no bitterness, no rancour, very little anger; too contemplative to be passionate; amiable, loving, made to be loved in private life; disinterested with regard to himself—see what formidable contrasts—capable of the greatest political crimes, because his notion of the rights of humanity differs from ours. . . . The Napoleonic Legend and the apprehensions of a Republic destitute of strength or union served the cause of the Empire, despite its own shameless proceedings. The Empire was proclaimed, I cannot say founded—its representative himself sapped its basis by accepting the tarnished shield which was offered him. Born an honest man, he procured himself to be carried in triumph by ambitious men who were devoid of all scruple. All that there was of impure in the French nation went to work for him, and rendered him a sharer in responsibility for all the wrongs committed or to be committed. And then he believed himself to be great and strong. He undertook great things which could not be carried out. A man with faulty principles, he governed a nation which was lacking in principles, and which accepted an ideal of romantic prosperity in the place of true civilization, success and chance in the place of right and justice. It was, therefore, by sentiment alone that it could be led, and he understood that fact at one instant when he wished to save Italy. He had not sufficient confidence in its results, and fell at the first act. From that time his star began to pale, and he saw it no more. Perhaps he ceased to believe in it. Perhaps this member of the *illuminati* had become a sceptic. His understanding could not survive such a



transformation. He began to die during the Mexican war. France had accepted him too thoroughly—like him, it had become sceptical; it shared his decadence while hastening it. France found itself disorganized, anarchical, and devoid of self-consciousness. It cursed him to excess when it found itself lost; implacable rage preventing it from perceiving that it had been too dilatory to be dignified. . . . He had as a private individual some good qualities. I have had an opportunity of perceiving in him truly sincere and generous characteristics. He had also a dream of French grandeur which did not belong to a sound understanding, but which was yet not that of a second-rate mind. Of a truth, France would be too much disgraced if she had submitted for twenty years to the will of a driveller working in his own interest. . . . The fact is that she took this meteor for a star; this silent dreamer for an astute politician. Then when she saw him succumb under disasters which she should have foreseen and prevented, she took him for a coward. He was no coward; he had a cool courage; and I believe that he did not cling to life. He felt himself crushed; the illusion of his *rôle* was gone; perhaps he was weary of himself.”

After the funeral at Chiselhurst, it was agreed in the councils of the assembled leaders of the party that the Empress and the Prince Napoleon should undertake the political guardianship of the Prince Imperial. “There will be no manifesto,” it was said, “no proclamation. The policy of the deceased Emperor will be carried out by the first Prince of his blood and by the heroic widow who closed his eyes and received his last words. . . . The young Prince will not bear the name of Napoleon IV. excepting in the hearts of his faithful adherents. He will call himself Prince Louis Napoleon, as his father did before France, by her eight millions of votes, set on his head the imperial crown.”

Meanwhile across the Channel the Imperialists affected to be no way disheartened by the loss of their chief. One Emperor was dead, they said, but another had begun to reign. Napoleon IV. would be eighteen years old next year, the age fixed for his majority. No Regency need be nominated for him, for so long no doubt it might take to bring his Empire into readiness for his rule; but the time would surely come. Imperialism was a vital institution; it was *la monarchie moderne*, the only effective mode of government for France. Had not the death of Cæsar assured the Empire of Augustus?

Such confident boastings, however, found no echo for the present in the mass of the population. On the two other monarchical parties, the Legitimists and Orleanists, Napoleon's death had the effect of inclining them to approximation. A Fusion became again the talk of the day. Every supposed sign or utterance on the part of the leaders was eagerly noted.

The attempts which, ever since the first meeting of the Assembly at Bordeaux, had been made to bring about this mode of settling the rival claims of the two Bourbon houses had been rudely checked

in January, 1872, by the Comte de Chambord's letter, announcing his inflexible adhesion to the White Flag of his ancestors and all that it symbolized. The visit which it had been nearly settled the Comte de Paris should pay to his cousin at Frohsdorf was again postponed, and renewed negotiations still led to no result, owing to the uncompromising attitude insisted upon by the representative of the Capets. But now the Emperor's death made a change in the political horizon; and when the 21st of January came round—the day observed by Royalists of the old type in solemn commemoration of Louis XVI.'s martyrdom—a scene of no small significance was enacted at the Chapelle Expiatoire in the Rue d'Anjou. To persuade the Orleans Princes to be present was no easy task on the part of their supporters. Had not their ancestor, Philippe Egalité, been mainly instrumental in the deed of regicide? The Duc d'Aumale especially wished to compromise by attending a commemorative religious service at Chantilly instead; but the Duc de Nemours overruled his objection, and the sons of Louis Philippe knelt before the monument of the royal victim, joining in the service of penitential deprecation for the deed committed eighty years before. Especially was the tearful devotion noted of the Princess Blanche, daughter of the Duc de Nemours. The Duc d'Aumale, it was said, hesitated and trembled as he wrote his name on the Chapel register.

Scarcely had the mourners for the *monarchie vieille* dried their eyes, when funereal groups were seen traversing the streets of many-minded Paris, bearing crape bands and bouquets of violets in token of sorrow for the departed representative of the *monarchie moderne*. It was on the 22nd of January, the day after the service in the Rue d'Anjou, that prayers were offered in ten churches of the metropolis for the repose of the soul of Napoleon III. From six to eight thousand persons were computed to have taken part in these services, the chief concourse being at the Church of St. Augustin. No disturbance or agitation was created.

To take up the thread of working politics, we must now turn to the proceedings of the Committee of Thirty, which formed the main subject of public interest up to the 12th of March, when the last clause of the Bill having reference to the new Constitution, as agreed upon by the Committee and M. Thiers, was carried in the Assembly. The transactions that led up to this final vote exhibited a notable game of *finesse* between the two contracting parties; the public, amused at first, got thoroughly weary, after a while, of the petty circumventions by which the President and the Majority alternately tried to outwit each other. Originally appointed to prepare a new Constitution for the French Republic, the Committee was careful above all things not to assume the Republic itself to be anything more than a provisional form of Government, based upon that visionary arrangement, the "Pact of Bordeaux," and to take careful heed that in any new regulations requisite to be made for carrying on the actual functions of Government more satisfactorily,

the question of the possible introduction of monarchy at any future time should be left open. Meanwhile, they concentrated their efforts on keeping under control the personal power of the able statesman who for the time represented the chief executive authority. They determined that the victory they had gained over M. Thiers in December, 1872, should not prove fruitless; that he should be debarred from acting otherwise than in harmony with the opinions of the existing majority both in the Assembly and the Committee, and from coquetting with the Radical sections whose interests had in his last message betrayed him into the affirmation of the Republic as the accepted form of Government for the country.

Two questions stood for primary settlement: the relation in which the President should henceforth stand to the Assembly—in current phrase the *modus vivendi*—and the creation of a Second Chamber. Thiers wished mainly to secure the Second Chamber, which he believed, besides being a Conservative institution, would have afforded a strong holdfast to his personal authority: the Committee, on the other hand, desired to postpone the consideration of that question, and decide first how to bind the President's hands and restrict the freedom of his tongue before other matters were proceeded with. What constituted the difficulty of their task was that it was necessary to gain the consent of Thiers himself to any measure they might devise. Now, Thiers was adroit enough to tax their utmost efforts. His object was, while seeming pliant and persuadable, and being in real truth indisposed to come to any rupture with the Right, of whose politics he was less afraid than of those of the Extreme Left, still to prevent the formation of any knot by which his liberty of action might be tied. He had an indomitable trust in his own ability to play the game of *bascule*, and a great belief in the merits of compromise. What he dreaded above all things was a point-blank collision between the forces of Conservatism and Revolution by which France was ultimately divided, and this especially before such time as his paramount object—the complete evacuation of the French territory by its German invaders—should have been carried out. And so this period of history has but a futile tale to tell of proposed constitutional settlements that ended in nothing. Thiers, while seeming to adopt the recommendation of the Committee, would suggest apparently trifling alterations which just had the effect of undoing all their restrictive power: and when the solution of the riddle seemed really to have been hit upon, it was found that the work had to be done over again. Penelope of old did not keep her suitors at bay more adroitly by the repeated demolition of her web, than Thiers for a while baffled the Committee of Thirty by his manipulations of the *modus vivendi*. It will be enough here to indicate some of the more marked stages or incidents in this game of check and counter-check.

On the 13th of January two projects were before the Committee ;

one framed by their own first Sub-Committee, the other by a private deputy, M. Eugène Tallon. The Bill prepared by the Sub-Committee placed the Presidential relation first in order of consideration, and the Second Chamber afterwards; that of M. Tallon reversed the process. But the *modus vivendi* was the immediately important point in both. The Sub-Committee required that the President should ordinarily communicate with the Chamber by messages read from the Tribune by a Minister, but allowed him to participate in a debate when he should have previously by message announced his intention of so doing; that then, the discussion in which he desired to take part should be suspended till the following day, when, after his speech should have been delivered, the discussion should be again prorogued, and the division take place in his absence. M. Tallon's scheme allowed of the President's intervention in a debate without the formality of a previous message. Again, the Sub-Committee made hampering provisions respecting the President's right of veto; the *projet Tallon* gave it more scope and freedom. On all accounts, Thiers preferred the Tallon mode of arrangement, and declared himself ready to accept it with certain modifications; at the same time suggesting to the Committee that a satisfactory solution might be arrived at by combining the two schemes. For a few days the *projet Tallon* was talked of and lauded as the palladium of France, the basis of a Constitution which was to inaugurate a new era of content and prosperity. But before the week was out, a change had come over the vision. M. Thiers had declared himself willing to concede the point of not taking part in a debate till he had announced by message his intention so to do. He was astute enough to see that in certain contingencies this concession might turn to his advantage. But some politicians of the Right saw it too; and in order the more effectually to restrain the oratorical powers they so much dreaded, they proposed by their mouth-piece, the Duc Decazes, that the President's participation in debate should apply to Bills only, and not to "interpellations," which last should be addressed to ministers only, and by them be answered without the intervention of their chief. This was a more dangerous thrust, but it involved consequences, especially in the event of questions concerning foreign policy, which even to the Majority seemed preposterous; and when the Duc Decazes' amendment was accepted, it was agreed to reserve for the moment the point whether the President should not be allowed to speak "on a certain category of interpellations." This, again, was felt to be a vague and unsatisfactory mode of postponing the difficulty; and a few days later sundry solutions were before the Committee. Those of M. Broët and M. Delacour went most to the point. M. Broët devised an elaborate machinery for regulating the appearances of the dreaded orator in the Assembly. M. Delacour suggested that the President should be entitled to speak in debates on interpellations when the interpellation should relate to measures which had been discussed in the Council of Ministers, and countersigned by the

Vice-President of the Council. Now, as the right of the President to appoint his own Vice-President was left untouched, the precaution of that functionary's counter-signature went for little, and Thiers naturally preferred a compromise founded on this project to one founded on the project Broët. He objected, however, very strongly to another clause in the Presidential limitations, which provided that after he had spoken in the Assembly, the sitting should be forthwith suspended, and the debate be subsequently carried on without his participation. After exposing the inconveniences of such an arrangement in an interview with the Committee on the 5th of March, he made the following animated peroration:—

“I ask you,” he said, “to reconsider your scheme. If you refuse me this, if you wish to condemn me to remain silent in the Prefecture of Versailles while the supreme destinies of the country are being decided; if you question my right of being heard, if you wish to stop my mouth, and make a puppet of me, never, never will I consent to it, for by consenting I should dishonour myself. If I belonged to those noble families who have done so much for the country, I might, indeed, stoop to this and accept the rôle of Constitutional King; but I, a *petit bourgeois*, who by dint of study and labour have arrived at being what I am, I could not, I repeat, accept the change of functions which you propose to me without humiliation and without real shame. No, no, I will go again before the Assembly. It will hear me; it will believe me; it will do me justice, and so will the country. I wish to be able to fulfil freely the obligations which I have contracted towards the country. I wish to be able to do my duty, and I will not let my hands be tied. Believe me, gentlemen, it is not the power which you have left me that the country will ask you to account for.”

Thiers's speech gave satisfaction to the politicians of the Left, who repeated the *petit bourgeois* phrase with acclamation. On the other hand, it excited the susceptibilities of the Majority, whose peace of mind was not increased when a day or two later M. Dufaure, the Minister of Justice, proposed to substitute for the wording of the 4th Article of the Committee's Constitutional proposals, the following clause:—

“Special laws shall be prepared without delay (*dans un bref délai*), relative—1, to the composition and mode of election of the Assembly which will replace the present Assembly; 2, to the composition, mode of election, and attributes of the Second Chamber; and, 3, to the organization of the Executive power during the period intervening between the dissolution of the present Assembly and the constitution of the two new Assemblies succeeding it.”

The expression *dans un bref délai* seemed to point at a near dissolution of the Assembly. The idea of investing the Executive with extraordinary powers in the interval between that event and the election of a new Assembly, implied the continuation of Thiers's



personal authority in a mode very distasteful to the members of the Right. Their aim was to prolong the existence of the present Representative body till its successor should have been elected ; thus to retain through the dangerous period of the elections the influence they had already acquired. They therefore resolved that the proposition Dufaure should be rejected ; and finally they handed over to the Duc de Broglie, as selected Reporter, a series of resolutions embodying their own conclusions, upon which he forthwith proceeded to frame his Report.

The Resolutions were as follows :—

“ Preamble.—The National Assembly, preserving in its integrity the constituent power which belongs to it, but wishing to introduce ameliorations with regard to the functions discharged by the public powers, decrees—

“ Article 1.—Article 1 of the law of the 31st of August, 1871, is modified as follows :—The President of the Republic communicates with the Assembly by messages, which are read from the Tribune by one of the Ministers ; nevertheless, he shall be heard by the Assembly in the discussion of laws when he shall consider it necessary, after having given notice of his intention by a message. The discussion, during which the President of the Republic shall speak, is suspended after the message has been received, and the President shall be heard next day, unless it be decided by special vote that he shall be heard on the same day. The sitting is closed after he has been heard, and the discussion is terminated on the subject of his speech. Discussion takes place in the absence of the President of the Republic.

“ Article 2.—The President of the Republic promulgates *lois d'urgence* in three days, and those which are *non urgentes* in a month after the vote of the Assembly. During the delay of three days, when a law which does not require to be read three times is dealt with, the President of the Republic shall have the right to demand, by a *message motivé*, a new discussion. With regard to the laws which require to undergo the formality of three readings, the President shall have the right, after the second, to require that the Order of the Day for the third shall not be fixed until after the expiration of two months.

“ Article 3.—When the interpellations addressed to Ministers or petitions sent to the Assembly relate to foreign affairs, the President of the Republic is to be heard ; when these interpellations or these petitions shall relate to home affairs the Minister shall alone reply with reference to the acts which concern them. Nevertheless, if by a special deliberation communicated to the Assembly the Council of Ministers declare that the questions raised are connected with the general policy of the Government, and thus involve the responsibility of the President of the Republic, the President shall have the right to be heard in the manner laid down by Article 1. After this communication the Assembly will fix the day for discussion.

“ Article 4.—The Commission on Public Powers remains entrusted

with preparing and ultimately presenting to the Assembly a proposition by which the institution of a Second Chamber will be provided for, which will not enter on the discharge of its functions until the separation of the present Assembly. The scheme of electoral law prepared by the Commission shall, after it has terminated its work, be sent to the Commission of Public Powers, which will revise it if it is not consistent with the law referring to the Second Chamber."

On the 18th of February the Report was communicated to M. Thiers. Then came a fresh and unexpected reversal of the political tables. In lieu of the clause framed by the Sub-Committee, and inserted in the Report, another was suggested on behalf of Government, which was substantially the rejected Dufaure proposition over again, though couched in softer language. "The National Assembly," it was said, "declares that it will not separate until it has provided for the organization and working of a Second Chamber, and for a new modified electoral law, and for the transmission of powers. The Government will present to the Assembly laws in conformity with this declaration." The clause was accepted. The Committee, it seemed, had surrendered unconditionally to M. Thiers.

This proceeding occasioned no small surprise to the public, wearied as people were growing of the rivalry of cunning between the President and the Committee. The explanation of it was to be found in the differences which were at this time growing up between the two sections of the Conservative Majority, the Right and Right Centre.

For a time the hopes of a fusion between the two Houses of their allegiance had kept these fractions together. It was a letter addressed by the Comte de Chambord to the Bishop of Orleans on Feb. 8th, which destroyed for the present the fair prospect, and separated the moderate Monarchists from the ranks of the uncompromising Legitimists. The impracticable Prince, in reply to the prelate's pressing intervention in behalf of a fusion, declared in substance that he would make no sacrifice and submit to no condition; that he was resolved to maintain his "Flag" and all that his Flag symbolized. Any union with his cousins of the House of Orleans could only be based on their accepting the hereditary principle. He had learnt with pleasure their appearance at the service of the Chapelle Expiatoire on Jan. 21, "for," said he, "in appearing there to pray publicly in that monument consecrated to the memory of the Martyr King, they must have felt the full influence of a place so propitious to great teaching and generous inspirations. I have, then, neither sacrifices to make nor conditions to receive. I expect little from the ability of man, and much from the justice of God. When I am too bitterly tried, a glance at the Vatican reanimates my courage and strengthens my hopes. It is at this school of the illustrious captive that one acquires the spirit of firmness, resignation, and peace—of that peace which is assured to every one who takes his conscience as his guide, and Pius IX. as his model."

When the Duc de Broglie's Report was read in the Assembly on the 21st of February, the conflict between the Right and Right Centre declared itself. All the passages in which the Duke eulogized the services rendered by M. Thiers to the country were interrupted by the Ultras with scorn and laughter; and one of their number, M. Hervé de Saisy, went so far as openly to accuse the Committee of servility and base submission.

The Report gave a short retrospect of the circumstances under which the Commission of Thirty had originated, adduced the reasons which, in the opinion of the Right, required the limitations laid on the President in his intercourse with the Assembly, and described the various plans and amendments which had been suggested or adopted during the deliberations which had just come to a close. Discussion upon the details of the Constitutional Project now offered to the Assembly was adjourned for a week. The deputies went home to meditate and arrange their tactics; the Legitimists of the Extreme Right making contemptuous puns about the "Imbroglia" of the Duc de Broglie; the moderate Monarchists seeing in it a very tolerable compromise till better days should come for urging the claims of the modest House of Orleans; the Bonapartists hailing the prospect of an appeal to the nation within no long time; the Left desiring to graft on it a more explicit declaration of the Republic. On the 28th, the second day of the general discussion, the Project was attacked, forcibly but temperately, by Gambetta. What, in real truth, asked the Radical leader, was the character of the institutions which it was now proposed to create? Were they Monarchical, or were they Republican? The Report had distinctly reserved the constituent powers of the Assembly; it could not, therefore, be in virtue of those powers that the Assembly was now called upon to create a Second Chamber, to modify the electoral law, &c. In virtue of what, then? Into what Monarchical trap were Republicans being led? The opposite fear was expressed by General du Temple of the Extreme Right. Into what Republican trap, he desired to know, were Monarchists being led?

"We take up our ground," replied the Duc de Broglie, "upon the great interests of the nation, without attempting to solve the question of Monarchy *versus* Republic. The definitive solution of that question would lead to discord. We have said that the Assembly will provide for the requirements of Government before Dissolution. A Second Chamber is compatible with any *régime*. The electoral law will not be an attack upon universal suffrage, but will establish guarantees for its sincerity. The question of the form of Government is reserved; there is no equivocation upon this point."

So far the position remained unchanged; and Government might have succeeded in hurrying the Bill through this its first critical stage without committing the President to a declaration for or against the definitive Republic, had it not been for the inter-

position of two members of the respective extremes, M. de Brisson of the Left, and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Bisaccia of the Right, who both rose to oppose the closing of the general discussion, in order to give the Government an opportunity of declaring its position on the fundamental question. Thus driven to a point, the President had but to accept the challenge. He still wavered, however, as to the precise line he should adopt; and the following day he tantalized the eager expectants in the Assembly by getting M. Dufaure to make the Government speech, instead of himself ascending the Tribune.

M. Dufaure continued in the old strain. The Government, he said, would express no definite constitutional faith, inasmuch as such a confession was neither necessary nor expedient. He sheltered himself and his chief under the Pact of Bordeaux, and the *de facto* Provisional Republic; explaining the late Republican speeches of Thiers as no way relating to the present or the immediate future. Finally, he urged the Assembly to continue the existing truce. When the division took place, it was resolved, by 499 votes against 200, to continue the discussion on the *Projet*.

On Tuesday, March 4, the leader himself came to the front. The speech delivered by Thiers on this occasion was said at the time to have been one of the most remarkable that had ever been addressed to that divided audience, the National Assembly of France.

He began by accepting the full responsibility of M. Dufaure's utterance; an announcement which was cheered by the Right and Right Centre. It was quite true, as his Minister had said, that the Bordeaux Compact was still in force. That Compact was founded on a truce between all parties. It found the Republic in being, and pledged the Right and the Left equally to hold their favourite theories in reserve, and maintain the *status quo*. "For some," he said, "it meant certainty in the present, for others liberty in the future. To me it meant that I should govern as the loyal chief of a Republic, and should adhere strictly to the conditions of the Pact. If you think that the time has not come to act as a constituent body, you will say so, and we will make you acquainted with our opinion frankly and sincerely. As President of the Republic, I consider myself entitled to recommend the Republic; but the time has not come for voting titles. Great things must be accomplished. The consciences of numerous and devoted patriots must not be subjected to undue pressure. If in our Message I spoke of establishing the Republic, it was because, like yourselves, I had the intimate conviction that there was something to be done. You are a constituent body. You say so, and the country, in appointing you, has not made any reservation either as regards the extent of your powers or their duration. Is that a Monarchic idea? Is it illegal to think that you will not dissolve without having given the Republic those institutions which all honest men desire for it?" Then the eloquent orator gave the Assembly an epitome of the history of his administration, contrasting the favourable condition of the country at the

actual moment with the state of affairs when he was called to rule. The institutions he called for now, he said, were Conservative in their nature. He ridiculed the notion that he had too much power in his own hands, and appealed to the concessions he was continually called on to make to the Assembly. "On the contrary," he said, "we have parliamentary rule in excess. The Assembly is all-powerful. It is for that reason that we have asked for some more practical means of governing. I repeat that I accept the proposals of the Commission. I opposed it above all when it attempted to prevent me from speaking. Let it be well understood that what is in question is not the definitive Republic voted by you and by the country, but the Republic as a legal and provisional Government as described and named by you two years ago. I am the President of the Republic, and I promised you to restore intact the powers entrusted to me. I shall not allow it to be interfered with by any interest: but it is an incontestable and undeniable fact that what has been entrusted to me was the Conservative Republic. There are very respectable men who prefer the Monarchy to the Republic; but if we speak as honest men, it must be confessed that it would be very difficult at present to establish a Monarchy. Gentlemen, let us have political as we have religious toleration. Political toleration does not mean the abandonment of faith, just as religious toleration is not apostasy. It is a respect for the opinions of others; it is admitting that a man may serve another form of government than ours without being a bad citizen. Monarchy is impossible, and to proclaim a definitive and immediate Republic is neither necessary nor desirable. Had not the numerous constitutions," he asked, "which had succeeded each other in France since the death of Louis XVI. declared themselves 'definitive,' 'perpetual,' and how long had they endured?" Alluding to his personal position, M. Thiers made an intentional slip of the tongue, which drew down laughter from all sides of the Chamber. He spoke of the possibility of having been obliged to leave the *Palais de la "Pénitence,"* instead of "*Présidence.*"

The speech of Thiers was a great effort, and up to a certain point a great success: the preamble of the Committee's Report was passed by a majority of 338. The effort it had cost the speaker was soon made evident by an attack of illness, which for a few days caused grave apprehension in the public mind. However, the vigorous constitution of the aged statesman battled through his ailment. On the 16th, he was in Paris again, receiving the German Minister, Count Arnim, at the Elysée. Meanwhile, the several clauses of the Committee's Bill were discussed and passed in the Chamber, the only alteration being made in the acceptance of an amendment by M. de Belcastel. This, indeed, was an important amendment, and would probably not have passed had Thiers's health allowed him to fight his own battle in the Assembly. It enacted that the Presidential veto of two months' delay on laws which should have passed that body, should not apply to "Consti-



tutional Bills." Now this provision left it open to the Assembly to pronounce what were Constitutional Bills, and what were not. The President's object in insisting on a right of suspensory veto was to secure to himself the power of counteracting adverse party combinations on all Constitutional questions. M. de Belcastel's amendment left him at their mercy. It was an advantage snatched by the Right; and the Radical papers complained of it indignantly, as an act of bad faith, interfering with the fundamental agreement between the President and the Committee.

The sitting of the 10th was marked by the defeat of another amendment, proposed by M. de Belcastel, to the effect that the Assembly should not dissolve before having liberated the territory, and established definitive institutions. On this occasion, the Marquis de Franclieu, who had organized the notorious Lourdes pilgrimages of the previous year, violently apostrophized M. Thiers, and accused him of being the "evil genius of France," an expression which excited the reprobation of the Chamber in general, and for which the speaker was called to order by M. Grévy. The last clause of the Bill was passed on March 13. The minority against it was composed of the two Extreme parties; and it was remarked that in its progress through the Chamber the measure had lost as many as ninety-one adherents.

The Right were especially dissatisfied at the compromise in which the warlike aspirations with which they began the year seemed for the present to have ended. One card M. Thiers had held in his hand which he had played against them with great success. By failing to come to an agreement with him he told the Commission of Thirty they would have to bear the responsibility of impeding that evacuation of the French territory by the German troops, which, on his part, he was doing his very utmost to accelerate.

At seven o'clock on the evening of March 16, the day on which he had met Count Arnim at the Elysée, Thiers called his ministers together and informed them that he had just put his signature to a Treaty by which it was agreed that the four provinces still occupied by the Germans should be evacuated by the 1st of July. The business had been conducted with as great secrecy as diligence. While the constitutional battle was being fought in the Chamber, telegraphic messages had sped backwards and forwards between Versailles, Paris, and Berlin, bearing the *pros* and *cons* of eager negotiation. The fortress of Belfort had been the great difficulty in the way of satisfactory arrangement. As late as the night of the 14th Thiers had received such unpropitious accounts that he rose from his bed—enfeebled as he then was by his attack of illness—and sent a long despatch to the French Ambassador at Berlin, in which he said he would rather abandon the convention altogether than consent to leave Belfort as a pledge in German hands. But in truth the German authorities were scarcely less desirous than the French to bring matters to a conclusion, and at the last moment it was conceded that Verdun should be substituted for Belfort in the

conditions. This difficulty prevented Thiers from being able to announce the good news on Saturday the 15th, before the sitting of the Assembly that day came to an end; although the German Emperor had graciously hurried on the signature on purpose that he might have the pleasure of congratulating the French Ambassador at Berlin, at whose house he was engaged to attend a concert. On the 17th, however, M. de Rémusat, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, appeared in the Tribune at Versailles with the Treaty in his hand. The terms of the new Convention were these: The fourth milliard of the war indemnity was to be completely paid up on May the 5th, the payment of the fifth milliard to be effected in four equal instalments due respectively on the 5th day of the four following months. The German troops were to evacuate the four departments they at present occupied, within a delay of four weeks after July 1st; keeping, however, in their hands, as a security for the payment of the two instalments due after their departure, Verdun and the neighbouring districts until September the 5th, the last date of liquidation.

The announcement of this Treaty was received by the Assembly with vehement applause and cries of "*Vive la France!*" "*Vive la République!*" It was voted without a dissentient voice. M. Christophle, who had lately attained the party position of leader of the Left Centre, proposed a resolution to the effect that M. Thiers had "deserved well of the country,"—a resolution which, after some skirmishing from the Right, was accepted. In the evening the saloons of the President were crowded with congratulating Ambassadors and other functionaries. The rejoicing among the excitable Parisians was extreme. They seemed to consider that they had somehow gained a triumph over the Germans. General L'Admirault, the Military Governor of the City, withdrew the interdict he had laid on those newspapers which, on the previous Saturday, had indulged in indiscreet reflections on the Liberation Treaty. But amidst all the self-glorification of the people, it was observed that the quotations on the Bourse fell lower. A remark of M. Dufaure's, in his speech a few days before on the Constitutional question, to the effect that the departure of the Prussians might possibly be the signal for anarchy—a remark which had made the Assembly very indignant at the moment—seemed after all to be the underlying belief of the moneyed and responsible classes, and the organs of the Extreme parties did not fail to give it countenance. M. de Cassagnac, the editor of the *Pays*, wrote:—

"As for us, we shall await this date (that of the evacuation) with calm and serenity; it is the date of our entry upon a campaign for the return of the Empire, and we shall not miss the rendezvous. So long as the soil was trodden by the foreigner, the Bonapartist party patriotically held aloof, strengthening the Conservative ranks and refusing to offer the slightest opposition to the work of the Government. But as soon as the last German has quitted the soil of France, the truce of parties will come to an end, and we

shall have the right, and it will be our duty, to begin that great legal battle which should, with the assistance of the nation, restore the throne of the Napoleons. The impatience we have suppressed up to this time, the ardour which, in the national interest, we have restrained, we will now give a free rein to, and we shall know no repose until the day when France, restored to herself, shall have spontaneously recalled the heir of the modern monarchy, the representative of popular right, him who is called Napoleon IV." The Radicals were not behindhand with their war cry. "Immediate Dissolution," "Return of the Assembly to Paris," "General Amnesty," "Raising of the State of Siege," "Definitive and Final Proclamation of the Republic,"—all these were so many notes of alarm, every one of which caused the funds to vibrate; and they were all to the morbid imaginations of easily-alarmed Parisians pregnant with disorder. On the other hand, the Conservatives manifested as many signs of uneasiness and anxiety as their financial friends on the Bourse. What with Imperialism on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, and M. Thiers in the middle, their political position seemed scarcely improved by the prospect of the departure of the Germans; and, in order to make it worse, they were at this moment very quarrelsomely disposed among themselves.

But, whatever dangers might loom in the future, for the venerable President himself the occasion could not fail to be one of triumphant satisfaction—of felicitation well deserved. Amid all the weary contention of partisan warfare he had kept his eye steadily fixed on the paramount object of getting the French soil freed from the tread of the foreign invader. Marvellous were the energy, patience and adroitness he had displayed. Not less marvellous had the resources of the country proved to be. The world had shuddered at the crushing terms when the German victor required five milliard of francs to be wrung from prostrate France before the expiration of the year 1875. Two years short of that term behold the nation paying the fine readily, enthusiastically, without fear of bankruptcy or national beggary. Frenchmen might well be proud of the vigorous elasticity of their resources, and of the *petit bourgeois* who had brought those resources so effectually to bear.

On the 29th of March, the National Assembly was called on to discuss the conclusions of the Report on the petition of Prince Napoleon against his expulsion from the French territory in September, 1872. The Report maintained, in contravention to the position which Government had assumed in the matter, that the sentence of *déchéance* pronounced in March, 1871, against Napoleon III. and his dynasty, did not of itself involve the banishment of the members of the family from French territory; it pointed out that, after the downfall of Napoleon I., of Charles X., and of Louis Philippe, it had been considered necessary to pass special laws of expulsion against the Princes of each House. The position of Government, indeed, was not strong, and M. Dufaure was hardly successful in defending it. However, when the Committee proposed, as a peace-

making resolution hardly to be construed into any censure on the authorities, that "The National Assembly, reserving the principles exposed in the Report, passes to the Order of the Day," the Minister of Justice refused to accept the evasion, and demanded the Order of the Day *pur et simple*. This brought up M. Dupeyre, the Reporter of the Committee, a Toulouse barrister of Legitimist tendencies, who had lately won distinction as an orator in the Assembly. He made a vigorous speech, which elicited much applause from the Right, and vituperation from the Left, and was concluded amid frantic attempts from the President of the Assembly to maintain order. Dufaure, reascending the Tribune, protested that the Government had believed itself to be acting within its rights; but to remove all doubts and provide security for the future, he then and there brought in a Bill prohibiting the members of the Imperial family from entering or residing in France without special authorization. He at the same time reiterated his demand for the Order of the Day, implying non-recognition of the Committee's Report. Amidst continued uproar the question was put to the vote, and the Government obtained a majority of fifty-six.

It was not a magnificent triumph; and it was dashed by the unexpected defection from the Government ranks, of the Right Centre, that fraction of the Assembly which M. Thiers had been of late especially assiduous to conciliate, and to which he owed the successful issue of his negotiations with the Committee of Thirty. But the fact was that the temporary separation of interest between the Right and Right Centre which had displayed itself in the matter of the so-called "Imbroglia," or Report of the Duc de Broglie, was giving way before considerations of a more far-reaching character, involving the fundamental issues between Right and Left. Prince Napoleon, meanwhile, made capital out of the adverse vote of the Assembly by appealing to his constituents in Corsica as a persecuted representative of the Bonapartes. He protested against the act of his expulsion, declared that the country had never been more unhappy, more oppressed than it was under the present *régime*; and after dexterously marking himself off from complicity with *all* the acts of his late cousin, played out the trumps of Napoleonism as thus:—

"We are proscribed," he said, "because we are feared. Napoleon twice saved France. Outside the Bonapartist party there exist only two minorities; one wishing for order without democracy, the other for democracy without order. Whatever may be done, the name of Napoleon cannot be banished from the hearts of the people." In conclusion, he made a declaration in favour of universal suffrage.

We have now to follow the windings of a current which was destined to influence very potently and directly the main stream of politics. At the close of January there was fought at Versailles a fierce Parliamentary battle on what at the time seemed a minor and

incidental question, namely, the validity of the War Contracts entered into by the city of Lyons at the time of the war with Germany. The responsibility for these contracts lay upon the "Committee of Public Safety," then in office at Lyons, and presided over by M. Challemel Lacour, whom Gambetta had appointed Prefect of the Rhone and Extraordinary Commissioner of the Republic. Application having been made to the State by different contractors for the payment of several large sums of money, the National Assembly appointed a Committee to inquire into the contracts. The Committee reported, through the Count de Ségur, that the city of Lyons having entered into these contracts, many of which were highly needless and absurd, without consulting the Central Government of the country, the State could not now be made responsible for them. This Report brought M. de Challemel Lacour himself to the Tribune on the 30th of January, to defend his own conduct and that of the Committee of Public Safety over which he had presided. He made his defence with some ability and success, showing that many of the criticisms contained in the Report were frivolous, and that much allowance must be made for extravagance and want of judgment in contracts made under the pressure of such public excitement as prevailed at the epoch in question. But all the good impression he was making was suddenly effaced by the intervention in the debate of the old Legitimist Deputy, M. Carayon Latour, who described how, in those days of public anarchy, he and his regiment of Mobiles arriving at a village where the mayor had hoisted the Red Flag, ordered it to be pulled down; how, thereupon, the mayor had complained to M. Challemel Lacour, and how that gentleman, acting as Prefect, had sent orders to have M. Latour and his Mobiles shot. M. Latour, having escaped the direful fate on that occasion, certainly seemed now to be returning the intended compliment. The shot he thus fired at M. Challemel Lacour shivered that gentleman's speech to atoms, and delighted the benches of the Right as much as it incensed those of the Left. And now the debate at once assumed the character of party virulence. Assertions and denials were bandied about from side to side. On the 3rd of February M. Chaurand proposed a motion for the abolition of the existing Municipal Constitution of Lyons, and the substitution of a new one founded on the model of that of Paris. The motion was voted "urgent," and referred to the Committee on Decentralization.

In accordance with the Report of the Committee a Bill was brought before the Assembly on the 24th of March, proposing the immediate suppression of the Central Municipality at Lyons, and the maintenance of the existing Municipal Council, with a division of the city into six *arrondissements*, each to have a mayor appointed by the Government: the President of the Municipal Council to be elected by the Council, and the Prefect of Lyons to have powers analogous to those of the Prefect of the Seine. An alternative Bill was proposed by Government, which went less far than that of



the Committee, and proposed to maintain the Central Mayoralty. The debate ended on the 4th of April in the rejection of the Government measure and the adoption of that of the Committee. Meanwhile its progress gave rise to important incidents. In the course of argument M. le Royer, a member of the Left, characterized the conclusions of the Report as mere "trumpery" (*bagage*). "Withdraw your expression," cried the Marquis de Gramont from the benches of the Right. "You are very susceptible, gentlemen," said Le Royer, "and before setting down the expression as offensive, you will do well to make sure whether the term *bagage* is not employed in a perfectly admissible sense. I appeal to the Committee, and refer M. de Gramont to the same." "*C'est un impertinence*," exclaimed De Gramont; and forthwith Le Royer demanded that he should be called to order. The Marquis insisted. "The word *bagage* is an impertinence!" he declared. Then M. Grévy from his presidential post called him to order; but De Gramont ascended the Tribune, bearded the Chair, and refused to withdraw the word he had used unless Le Royer on his part withdrew the word *bagage*. Great was the excitement when M. Grévy exclaimed, "If I do not fulfil the office of President to your satisfaction, you must say so. I endeavour to respect justice; and if I do not meet with justice in return, I shall know what to do." Saying this, he put on his hat and walked out of the Theatre. The meeting broke up in much confusion, and when it reassembled for the next day's sitting, the Vice-President read out a letter from M. Grévy, conveying his resignation. On a vote being ordered for a new President of the Chamber, a majority of 118 declared Grévy re-elected. But the majority was not large enough to satisfy the outraged functionary. In vain a deputation from the Left and a personal application from Thiers himself endeavoured to shake his resolution. He declared that the recent political changes made it impossible for him to occupy impartially the post he had hitherto filled. And thus the forces of the Right beheld the first-fruit of their lately-inaugurated warlike policy. The loss of M. Grévy from the presidential chair of the Assembly was one which wise men might well have deplored. He had filled his post since the first meeting of the Assembly with great credit and ability. Though his leanings were to the Left, no party could justly complain of unbecoming preferences shown by him. He had behaved with temper and dignity amid scenes where all temper and dignity seemed to have been forgotten by others. The tinkling of his bell, and his shouts of "*Silence, Messieurs, s'il vous plait!*" had resounded steadily on through many a storm which would have put less sturdy helmsmen to flight. But the balance of parties was now shifting. He could hold his place no more; and his removal was no insignificant warning for Thiers himself, especially when he found himself unable to carry the candidate whom he wished to place in the vacant post. That candidate was M. Martel, a member of the Left, whose popularity with his party, however, was lessened by the circumstance

that he was President of the Committee of Pardons, and consequently implicated in the sentences against the Communists. The Right set up as their candidate M. Buffet, quondam Minister of Finance in the latter days of the Empire, a politician somewhat noted for the sternness and obstinacy of his temper. His election by 304 voices, nineteen more than his opponent, was indubitably a Government defeat, though something might be ascribed to the divided feeling about Martel within the Republican ranks.

And now the Government was destined to receive a rude blow from the opposite quarter. Its conduct with reference to the Lyons Municipality had greatly irritated the Left, and the irritation was increased by a remark thrown out by M. de Ciouard, the Minister of the Interior, in the course of the debate, to the effect that he wished that not only Lyons, but all the other great cities of France, could be equally brought under subjection to the central authority of the nation. The municipal councillors of Lyons, whom it was intended to keep in their offices, resigned one after another in indignation. The mayor, M. Barodet, deprived by the new law of his functions, became a partisan martyr at once. Indeed, his dismissal was neither a wise nor a merited step. He and the Municipal Council together had kept Lyons, amid all the vagaries of Red Republicanism, faithful to the allegiance of the undivided Republic, and had prevented the Commune from acquiring the lead in that democratic city, as it had done in Paris. It was only the enmity of the Right that could have driven M. Thiers into dismissing and degrading him now, and an opportunity of revenge for the Radicals was at hand. Eight elections to seats in the Assembly were pending for the 27th of April. Among them was an election for Paris. The candidate put forward by Government was M. de Rémusat, who, though Minister for Foreign Affairs, happened to have no seat in the Chamber. The Radicals resolved that Barodet should oppose him. The interest concentrated on this Paris election was greater than had been known in any similar case since the inauguration of the Republic; all France watched it with passionate excitement. Not that the programmes of the two candidates differed widely from each other: both, in their electoral addresses, intimated that the time for provisional institutions was past; that the Republic must now be recognized and consolidated, and that upon the basis of universal suffrage. The only point in which M. Barodet went farther than M. de Rémusat was in insisting on the necessity of a general election as the preliminary to a complete settlement of the future constitution of France, and upon his present nomination as implying the opinion of his supporters, that such general election should be held without delay. In short, while De Rémusat hesitated to affirm that the Republic could not be honestly proclaimed by the present Assembly with its existing majority, Barodet declared there was no safety but in appealing to the nation for a new one, and that he opposed the difference between them.

The election was conducted with a general ardour of manifesta-

tion unwonted of late in Parisian contests of the kind. Committees were formed in the interest of each candidate. Advertisements in the public journals, and placards on street walls, proclaimed the one subject that was filling all minds. The *Mairies* were haunted by applicants for voting tickets. The "State of Siege," under which the city technically existed, might almost have been forgotten in the freedom with which party meetings were held everywhere. At a late moment the Conservatives brought forward a third candidate, Colonel Stoffel. Their doing so was the result of a combination between the Legitimists and Imperialists; but his chance was never worth appreciation. The probabilities were supposed by the outside world to be in favour of the Government candidate. When the eventful day came, however, Barodet polled 18,000 more votes than his two opponents combined. The numbers stood thus:—Barodet, 180,146; De Rémusat, 135,407; Stoffel, 27,088. The number of electors who abstained from voting was calculated at 115,000, an insignificant number as compared with the abstentions on occasion of the contest between Vautrain and Victor Hugo in January, 1872.

The first effect of the Government defeat on the public mind was seen in a rapid fall on the Bourse. The Conservative papers sounded a note of wild alarm, and conjured up the red spectre of Communism before the imagination of their readers. It was rumoured, indeed, that Barodet's success was due partly to the reactionists themselves, many of whom voted for him in the hope of getting the Government into trouble, and precipitating a crisis which might eventuate in bringing their own party into power. For M. Thiers, the rejection of the minister whose candidature he had not without anxious hesitation resolved to put forward, proved that Paris the Irreconcilable was not disposed at the present juncture to give in her adhesion to his general policy; that the amount of favour he had shown to the Left had not sufficed to tame it into fellowship with the footsteps of a Conservative Republic. The Lyons Municipality Bill, indeed, had been a concession on the President's part to the politics of the Right, which Paris was not likely to condone; Paris, herself the victim of a similar fate in having her privileges of self-government abridged, was eager to avenge her sister in misfortune. As for M. Barodet, he seemed desirous, by the moderation of his tone in the hour of victory, to allay any panic his election might have excited. "My contest," he said, "was not one of combat; Paris supported it, and made it triumph because it understood that it was much less a question of opposing the Government than of enlightening it. I shall apply myself to prove on all occasions that the spirit of concord and union has found in me one more representative; and thus I hope I shall justify your confidence."

On the same day with the election for Paris, nine provincial elections were held, in nearly all of which the Republican party proved victorious. The election for Lyons itself, together with

three others, stood over for the 11th of May; and the Radicals, to mark still more strongly their indignation at the new Municipal law, set up as their candidate for the outraged city, M. Arthur Ranc, that noted ex-member of the Commune, who had so narrowly escaped prosecution when his comrades were put to flight or brought to justice in 1871, and whose political standing-point was as far in advance of that of M. Barodet as M. Barodet's was of that of a steady-going member of the Left Centre. Ranc came in triumphantly, as did all the other Republican candidates save one. It could no longer be doubted that the conditions of public opinion throughout the country had undergone a total change since the election of the present Assembly.

"The opinions thus expressed," says a contemporary English journal, "do not belong to one district of France, or one order of men . . . . It is not the hot-blooded South against the calculating Normans or Picards, it is not townspeople against rurals, or the lawless disciples of atheistic and revolutionary teachers against the well-disciplined army of the faithful. We find country electors, who are generally supposed to be good Catholics, and who are more remarkable for a hard griping economy than for revolutionary instincts, joining to choose these advanced Liberal candidates, whose mission it is to 'enlighten' the Government."

The Assembly had adjourned on the 7th of April for the Easter vacation, with the prevailing anticipation of a general election to be held in the autumn, but without any apprehension on the part of the Conservatives of special dangers for the next few weeks. The fourteen local elections rudely disturbed their security. A speech delivered by M. Jules Simon at the Sorbonne on the 19th, declaring that all M. Thiers had accomplished for the country had been effected in the teeth of an obstructive majority, added exasperation to their misgivings. M. Simon became at once the object of attack by the newspaper organs of the Right. The Left was not less sparing in their assaults on M. de Goulard, whose expressions in the Lyons debate were an offence not to be forgiven. Party politics were acquiring on both sides a tinge of exasperation which foreshadowed that the reign of practical compromise was drawing to an end.

The interval before the next meeting of the Assembly was prolonged until the 19th of May. M. Buffet was re-elected to the presidential chair. On the day previous to the opening of the Chamber, it was announced that M. Thiers had effected a reconstruction of his Cabinet. In the increasing difficulties of his position, he was determined to make yet another venture in the game of *l'ascade*—to make a sacrifice to the Right, and at the same time a corresponding sacrifice to the Left. The two obnoxious ministers, M. Simon and M. de Goulard, were removed; their places being supplied by M. Casimir Perier and M. Waddington, both members of the Central benches; of the Left Centre indeed, but of the Conservative section of the Left Centre, to follow the minute subdivisions by

which political rivalries shaded themselves off in the French Assembly at this time.

Of the same section were MM. de Fourton and Bérenger, who were also appointed to seats in the Cabinet. But it was evident that the circumstances were growing desperate. The Right, in their increasingly warlike temper, refused to see in the sacrifice of M. Simon any compensation for the loss of M. de Goulard. As in the case of the traveller pursued by wolves in Lapland, the surrender of victim after victim only whetted the appetite of the unappeasable foe. It was known that the first measure the President of the Republic was going to lay before the Assembly was the new Constitutional Bill, which, in accordance with his agreement with the Thirty, he had been preparing during the recess; and it was also known that, in order to make up to the Left for the essentially Conservative character of the provisions contained in the Bill, the preamble would explicitly pronounce the Republic to be the chosen form of government for the country. That the utterance which had alarmed the benches of the Right in the Presidential Message of November 13th, 1872, should, after all recent qualifications and evasions, be brought forward for legislative ratification, was abhorrent to all who still cherished the hope of a return to Monarchy; and anxious councils were held as to the course to be pursued. Though, in consequence of the turn taken by events, the deprecated Bill was not at this time destined to become law, it may be well here shortly to explain its nature. First, the preamble stated as a fact that the Republic existed, and was the legal form of government, but went on to say that as its provisional character and imperfect organization rendered it unfit to master the difficulties of the present and future situation, laws were to be passed organizing it for working power, but without any pompous declaration of the Republic as such. When organized, it was said, the Government would vigorously defend order and Conservative Republicanism. The Bill, or Bills—for there were two, one organizing the public powers and the other constituting a Second Chamber—contained sixteen clauses. The Senate was to be the principal pivot round which the new Constitution was to work. Each department was to furnish three senators, elected by universal suffrage from rather narrow categories, to be elected for ten years, but with a partial renewal of the body every five years. The Senate was to share in the legislative duties of the Lower House, and to be invested with the right of dissolving the popular Assembly on the demand of the President. It was to consist of 265 members of not less than thirty-five years of age. The Lower Chamber was to count 537 members, to be elected by arrondissement; the members to be not less than twenty-five years of age; and the Chamber to sit for five years, unless dissolved before its time. The President was to be elected by a congress composed of senators, representatives, and delegates of the general councils, was to hold office for five years, and not to be under forty years old. Another article proposed that



that he was President of the Committee of Pardons, and consequently implicated in the sentences against the Communists. The Right set up as their candidate M. Buffet, quondam Minister of Finance in the latter days of the Empire, a politician somewhat noted for the sternness and obstinacy of his temper. His election by 304 voices, nineteen more than his opponent, was indubitably a Government defeat, though something might be ascribed to the divided feeling about Martel within the Republican ranks.

And now the Government was destined to receive a rude blow from the opposite quarter. Its conduct with reference to the Lyons Municipality had greatly irritated the Left, and the irritation was increased by a remark thrown out by M. de Goulard, the Minister of the Interior, in the course of the debate, to the effect that he wished that not only Lyons, but all the other great cities of France, could be equally brought under subjection to the central authority of the nation. The municipal councillors of Lyons, whom it was intended to keep in their offices, resigned one after another in indignation. The mayor, M. Barodet, deprived by the new law of his functions, became a partisan martyr at once. Indeed, his dismissal was neither a wise nor a merited step. He and the Municipal Council together had kept Lyons, amid all the vagaries of Red Republicanism, faithful to the allegiance of the undivided Republic, and had prevented the Commune from acquiring the lead in that democratic city, as it had done in Paris. It was only the enmity of the Right that could have driven M. Thiers into dismissing and degrading him now, and an opportunity of revenge for the Radicals was at hand. Eight elections to seats in the Assembly were pending for the 27th of April. Among them was an election for Paris. The candidate put forward by Government was M. de Rémusat, who, though Minister for Foreign Affairs, happened to have no seat in the Chamber. The Radicals resolved that Barodet should oppose him. The interest concentrated on this Paris election was greater than had been known in any similar case since the inauguration of the Republic; all France watched it with passionate excitement. Not that the programmes of the two candidates differed widely from each other: both, in their electoral addresses, intimated that the time for provisional institutions was past; that the Republic must now be recognized and consolidated, and that upon the basis of universal suffrage. The only point in which M. Barodet went farther than M. de Rémusat was in insisting on the necessity of a general election as the preliminary to a complete settlement of the future constitution of France, and upon his present nomination as implying the opinion of his supporters, that such general election should be held without delay. In short, while De Rémusat hesitated to affirm that the Republic could not be honestly proclaimed by the present Assembly with its existing majority, Barodet declared there was no safety but in appealing to the nation for a new one; and that constituted the difference between them.

The election was conducted with a general ardour of manifesta-

tion unwonted of late in Parisian contests of the kind. Committees were formed in the interest of each candidate. Advertisements in the public journals, and placards on street walls, proclaimed the one subject that was filling all minds. The *Mairies* were haunted by applicants for voting tickets. The "State of Siege," under which the city technically existed, might almost have been forgotten in the freedom with which party meetings were held everywhere. At a late moment the Conservatives brought forward a third candidate, Colonel Stoffel. Their doing so was the result of a combination between the Legitimists and Imperialists; but his chance was never worth appreciation. The probabilities were supposed by the outside world to be in favour of the Government candidate. When the eventful day came, however, Barodet polled 18,000 more votes than his two opponents combined. The numbers stood thus:—Barodet, 180,146; De Rémusat, 135,407; Stoffel, 27,088. The number of electors who abstained from voting was calculated at 115,000, an insignificant number as compared with the abstentions on occasion of the contest between Vautrain and Victor Hugo in January, 1872.

The first effect of the Government defeat on the public mind was seen in a rapid fall on the Bourse. The Conservative papers sounded a note of wild alarm, and conjured up the red spectre of Communism before the imagination of their readers. It was rumoured, indeed, that Barodet's success was due partly to the reactionists themselves, many of whom voted for him in the hope of getting the Government into trouble, and precipitating a crisis which might eventuate in bringing their own party into power. For M. Thiers, the rejection of the minister whose candidature he had not without anxious hesitation resolved to put forward, proved that Paris the Irreconcilable was not disposed at the present juncture to give in her adhesion to his general policy; that the amount of favour he had shown to the Left had not sufficed to tame it into fellowship with the footsteps of a Conservative Republic. The Lyons Municipality Bill, indeed, had been a concession on the President's part to the politics of the Right, which Paris was not likely to condone; Paris, herself the victim of a similar fate in having her privileges of self-government abridged, was eager to avenge her sister in misfortune. As for M. Barodet, he seemed desirous, by the moderation of his tone in the hour of victory, to allay any panic his election might have excited. "My contest," he said, "was not one of combat; Paris supported it, and made it triumph because it understood that it was much less a question of opposing the Government than of enlightening it. I shall apply myself to prove on all occasions that the spirit of concord and union has found in me one more representative; and thus I hope I shall justify your confidence."

On the same day with the election for Paris, nine provincial elections were held, in nearly all of which the Republican party proved victorious. The election for Lyons itself, together with

three others, stood over for the 11th of May; and the Radicals, to mark still more strongly their indignation at the new Municipal law, set up as their candidate for the outraged city, M. Arthur Ranc, that noted ex-member of the Commune, who had so narrowly escaped prosecution when his comrades were put to flight or brought to justice in 1871, and whose political standing-point was as far in advance of that of M. Barodet as M. Barodet's was of that of a steady-going member of the Left Centre. Ranc came in triumphantly, as did all the other Republican candidates save one. It could no longer be doubted that the conditions of public opinion throughout the country had undergone a total change since the election of the present Assembly.

"The opinions thus expressed," says a contemporary English journal, "do not belong to one district of France, or one order of men . . . . It is not the hot-blooded South against the calculating Normans or Picards, it is not townspeople against rurals, or the lawless disciples of atheistic and revolutionary teachers against the well-disciplined army of the faithful. We find country electors, who are generally supposed to be good Catholics, and who are more remarkable for a hard griping economy than for revolutionary instincts, joining to choose these advanced Liberal candidates, whose mission it is to 'enlighten' the Government."

The Assembly had adjourned on the 7th of April for the Easter vacation, with the prevailing anticipation of a general election to be held in the autumn, but without any apprehension on the part of the Conservatives of special dangers for the next few weeks. The fourteen local elections rudely disturbed their security. A speech delivered by M. Jules Simon at the Sorbonne on the 19th, declaring that all M. Thiers had accomplished for the country had been effected in the teeth of an obstructive majority, added exasperation to their misgivings. M. Simon became at once the object of attack by the newspaper organs of the Right. The Left was not less sparing in their assaults on M. de Goulard, whose expressions in the Lyons debate were an offence not to be forgiven. Party politics were acquiring on both sides a tinge of exasperation which foreshadowed that the reign of practical compromise was drawing to an end.

The interval before the next meeting of the Assembly was prolonged until the 19th of May. M. Buffet was re-elected to the presidential chair. On the day previous to the opening of the Chamber, it was announced that M. Thiers had effected a reconstruction of his Cabinet. In the increasing difficulties of his position, he was determined to make yet another venture in the game of *bascule*—to make a sacrifice to the Right, and at the same time a corresponding sacrifice to the Left. The two obnoxious ministers, M. Simon and M. de Goulard, were removed; their places being supplied by M. Casimir Périer and M. Waddington, both members of the Central benches; of the Left Centre indeed, but of the Conservative section of the Left Centre, to follow the minute subdivisions by

which political rivalries shaded themselves off in the French Assembly at this time.

Of the same section were MM. de Fourton and Béranger, who were also appointed to seats in the Cabinet. But it was evident that the circumstances were growing desperate. The Right, in their increasingly warlike temper, refused to see in the sacrifice of M. Simon any compensation for the loss of M. de Goulard. As in the case of the traveller pursued by wolves in Lapland, the surrender of victim after victim only whetted the appetite of the unappeasable foe. It was known that the first measure the President of the Republic was going to lay before the Assembly was the new Constitutional Bill, which, in accordance with his agreement with the Thirty, he had been preparing during the recess; and it was also known that, in order to make up to the Left for the essentially Conservative character of the provisions contained in the Bill, the preamble would explicitly pronounce the Republic to be the chosen form of government for the country. That the utterance which had alarmed the benches of the Right in the Presidential Message of November 13th, 1872, should, after all recent qualifications and evasions, be brought forward for legislative ratification, was abhorrent to all who still cherished the hope of a return to Monarchy; and anxious councils were held as to the course to be pursued. Though, in consequence of the turn taken by events, the deprecated Bill was not at this time destined to become law, it may be well here shortly to explain its nature. First, the preamble stated as a fact that the Republic existed, and was the legal form of government, but went on to say that as its provisional character and imperfect organization rendered it unfit to master the difficulties of the present and future situation, laws were to be passed organizing it for working power, but without any pompous declaration of the Republic as such. When organized, it was said, the Government would vigorously defend order and Conservative Republicanism. The Bill, or Bills—for there were two, one organizing the public powers and the other constituting a Second Chamber—contained sixteen clauses. The Senate was to be the principal pivot round which the new Constitution was to work. Each department was to furnish three senators, elected by universal suffrage from rather narrow categories, to be elected for ten years, but with a partial renewal of the body every five years. The Senate was to share in the legislative duties of the Lower House, and to be invested with the right of dissolving the popular Assembly on the demand of the President. It was to consist of 265 members of not less than thirty-five years of age. The Lower Chamber was to count 537 members, to be elected by arrondissement; the members to be not less than twenty-five years of age; and the Chamber to sit for five years, unless dissolved before its time. The President was to be elected by a congress composed of senators, representatives, and delegates of the general councils, was to hold office for five years, and not to be under forty years old. Another article proposed that

the present Assembly, before breaking up, should decide that the powers of the President of the Republic should last until the vote of Congress should notify the election of a new President. Such were the general features of the new laws proposed.

To anticipate the Government action was the resolve of the now firmly-united Right and Right Centre. Accordingly, as soon as the first sitting commenced, on the 19th, M. Buffet read out the following Interpellation :—"Considering that the gravity of the political situation requires at the head of affairs a Cabinet whose firmness will reassure the country, the undersigned members ask leave to question the Ministry respecting the modifications which have just arisen in its midst, and the necessity of rendering a resolutely Conservative policy predominant in the government of the country. They request that Friday be fixed for the discussion of this Interpellation."

At the instance of M. Dufaure it was agreed to postpone till the morrow the decision as to the day when the discussion should be taken; but when he proceeded to lay on the table the two expected Government Bills, the Right, in opposition to the Left, refused to allow of their being read. M. Buffet thereupon put the question to the Assembly. The first attempt to take the sense of the House resulted doubtfully; the second time the Right had it their own way, in spite of the angry protests of the Left. Sixty members of the Extreme party on that side of the House then sought to attack the Government policy from their own standing-point, and proposed a Bill protesting against the presentation of the Constitutional laws, and calling for immediate dissolution of the Chamber. But the demand of "urgency" was refused for this Bill by a large majority, and the issue remained between the President of the Republic and the Right.

On the 23rd came on the anxiously-expected debate on the Interpellation. A thousand conflicting rumours were in circulation at the opening of the sitting, as to the tactics about to be pursued by the various parties concerned. It was thought by many that, war-like as the professions of the Right might be, they did not in truth intend to push matters to extremity, but would content themselves with a Cabinet slightly remodelled, and that the President would submit to a good deal of "reconstruction," rather than retire from his post before he should have seen the actual completion of the great work he had set his mind upon—the liberation of the territory.

M. Dufaure, in conformity with Article IV. of the 13th of March, 1873, announced that the Council of Ministers having decided that the present Interpellation was one involving the responsibility of the President of the Republic, the President intended to exercise his right of taking part in the discussion. The Duc de Broglie then expounded the reasons and policy of the Interpellation, and M. Dufaure spoke in defence of the Government. The speech of the Duc de Broglie was earnest and animated. He presented



to the vision of his party the Radicals of the late elections in their most odious light, and he demonstrated to the satisfaction of the majority that the composition of the new Government meant concession to a power hostile to society. The connexion of the Radical chiefs with the Paris Commune, and the tendency of the multitude to justify or look with lenity on the crimes of that usurpation, were dwelt upon with telling effect. The Duke, while disclaiming hostility to the President, declared that the Right was resolved to use the power it possessed in the Assembly to enforce its policy and to save the country. The chief feature of the speech of M. Dufaure was his declaration that the Government was unanimous in holding that the time had come when the Republic must be acknowledged. He frankly stated that this conviction had been forced upon them by the Paris election. M. de Rémusat, a distinguished man of the highest character and great official position, had been defeated by a provincial ex-mayor, utterly unknown in the capital, because the electors were impatient of the provisional system, and desired to express their distrust of the Monarchical parties. The Right had complained that M. de Goulard, its representative in the Cabinet of M. Thiers, had been compelled to resign, as a counterpoise to the sacrifice of M. Jules Simon; but M. de Goulard, however Conservative he might be, was yet Republican, inasmuch as he had agreed with his colleagues in recognizing the necessity of the Republic, and the fitness of at once acknowledging it.

On the following day, May 24th, at half-past nine in the morning, the President of the Republic himself ascended the Tribune. He spoke for two hours without interruption. He vindicated his Government from having been one of party, and expounded the benefits it had conferred on the country in promoting internal reorganization and advancing the liberation of the territory. The difficulty of dealing with conflicting elements had led to his being accused of a double-faced policy; but this charge he indignantly repudiated. The Monarchists might be a majority in the Assembly, but they were not so in the country; and their rule, or that of any other Government than a consolidated Republic, was impossible. The only alternative, he declared, to that wise Conservatism which had known how to steer its course between the two extremes would be a Dictatorship—and he concluded with bitter personal emphasis against the Duc de Broglie, whose father, as well as himself once, had been a noted *doctinaire* of the Liberal school: “If we were reproached yesterday with making ourselves the *protégés* of Radicalism, I can return the compliment to him who said it; he, too, will be a *protégé*: he will be under a ‘protection’ which a former Duc de Broglie would have rejected with horror—he will be the *protégé* of the Empire!”

At two o'clock the Assembly resumed its sitting. The efficacy of the new provision, by which an interval was to elapse between the speech of the President and the continuation of the debate in his absence, was signally proved on this first occasion of its application. The two hours that had passed had allowed the momentary

influence of the speaker to subside, while no reinforcement of sentiment from the capital had had time to reach him. The Right felt themselves in possession of a field from which their most dreaded adversary was exiled, and they made the most of their opportunity. M. Casimir Périer attempted in vain to shake their resolution by appealing to their patriotism as well as to their reason. He assured the Assembly that he was a Conservative; and complained that the new Government was on the point of being condemned without a hearing, and before they had had time to sign a single decree. His speech was loudly cheered by the Left. Next rose M. Ernoul with his Order of the Day, to the effect that the recent changes in the Cabinet were not sufficiently Conservative. Then came the decisive blow. M. Target, on behalf of himself and ten members of the Left Centre, hitherto faithful followers of Thiers, announced the intention of voting with M. Ernoul. The result was that the Order of the Day, "pure and simple," which the Government were willing to accept, was rejected by 362 to 348, and an Order drawn up by M. Ernoul on behalf of the Right was immediately afterwards adopted by 360 to 344—a double defeat being thus inflicted in a few minutes upon the President and his colleagues. M. Baragnon, a Deputy of the Right, at once called upon the Government to declare their intentions, and proposed an evening sitting. In spite of noisy protests from the Left, M. Dufaure accepted the challenge, and a sitting at eight o'clock was ordered. When that hour came all had been arranged. M. Dufaure announced the resignation of the Ministers, and then handed to the President of the Chamber a letter from the President of the Republic himself, announcing that he delivered back to the Assembly the high functions which it had conferred upon him. A motion refusing to receive the resignation of M. Thiers was rejected by 368 votes against 339, and the resignation was accepted. M. Buffet attempted in vain to pronounce a eulogium on the late Chief of the State; and, after a scene of the greatest disorder, a vote was taken that Marshal MacMahon should be invited to accept the Presidency. Only 392 Deputies voted, and of these two only disapproved the motion. M. Buffet then proposed that he and his Vice-Presidents should wait upon the Marshal to inform him of the vote, and, the suggestion being sanctioned, he ceded the Chair during his absence to M. de Goulard, only one week since the colleague of M. Thiers, who was enthusiastically applauded by the Right as he took the place. The Marshal, who was found in company with M. Thiers, at first hesitated to accept the dignity which he had never shown himself forward to seek. He reminded M. Thiers that he had repeatedly, in the course of their frequent and friendly intercourse, volunteered the pledge that he would never supersede him. M. Thiers reminded him, in turn, that he had never uttered a word which could be construed as an acceptance of that pledge. Finally, when M. Buffet appealed to his patriotism, MacMahon yielded, and before night sent to the Assembly a letter formally accepting the trust imposed upon him. The letter ran thus:—

“Gentlemen, I obey the will of the Assembly, the depositary of the national Sovereignty, and accept the functions of President of the Republic. A heavy responsibility is thrust upon my patriotism; but with the aid of God and the devotion of the army, which will always be an army of the law and the supporter of all honest men, we will continue together the work of liberating the territory, and restoring moral order throughout the country; we will maintain internal peace, and the principles upon which society rests. That this shall be the case I pledge my word as an honest man and a soldier.”

The Revolution of May 24th was effected with a celerity which took the victorious party itself by surprise. When the battle opened on the 23rd, they still believed Thiers' position to be too secure in the approbation of the country at large to make any attempt to unseat him either successful or wise. They only professed to aim at the Ministry he had just reconstructed, and to force him to act with one which should be a faithful organ of the majority in the Assembly. So the Ducs Decazes and D'Audiffret Pasquier expressly declared at a meeting of the Right Centre held five days previously; and when they informed the Duc d'Aumale of their intention, the Orleans Prince replied, “I shall vote with you against the Ministry, but not against M. Thiers.” But when the crisis of the fight arrived, it was found that the President placed himself in front of his Ministry, and refused to let the adverse vote strike them over his own head. It was too late to retreat, even had the assailants desired to do so. Then they beat up for recruits. Then it was that Target and his force of the Left Centre turned the scale. Just before the last moment, however, all had seemed likely to be compromised. On Thursday the 22nd, foreseeing that a division might actually be the cause of M. Thiers' fall, some delegates from the Right Centre called on the Duc d'Aumale, and asked him whether, if M. Thiers fell, the Duke would accept the Presidency. After some hesitation the Duke accepted the part imposed upon him as a duty. This acceptance was near imperilling everything. The Bonapartists and Legitimists repelled the idea of the Presidency of an Orleans Prince; and the alliance would have been broken before the battle began had not the Duke, on hearing how matters stood, exclaimed, “I do not wish my name to be a source of discord among the Conservatives;” and, after withdrawing, pledged himself to vote and make his friends vote with the rest of the party.

With the exception of some shouts for Thiers in Versailles, and the cry of “*à bas les Monarchistes*” when the Deputies returned to Paris after their day's work, the change of Government, abrupt and unexpected as it was, passed off without disturbance or outward marks of excitement. The Bourse anticipated in MacMahon the “saviour of society,” and greeted his sway with rising quotations. The consignment of troops and patrols in the capital proved superfluous. Gambetta, in the *République Française*, had given out the watchword for the Radicals: hard as it might be, he said it was

requisite to recognize and proclaim the necessity of remaining within the limits of legal action.

Meantime the defeated statesman maintained a calm demeanour. To some friends who were waiting for him at dinner on the day of his resignation he said, "I fall with my flag in my hand, after having rendered some service, and I give up my place *à ceux qui vont se lancer dans les aventures d'une situation extrêmement grave. Je reprendrai ma place à l'Assemblée. Je tiens surtout au mandat qui me vient de la nation.*"

## CHAPTER II.

New Government—Marshal MacMahon—Interpellation on Circular to Prefects—Prosecution of M. Ranc—Funeral of M. Brousses—Constitutional Bills—Interpellation by M. Jules Favre—Church on Montmartre—Commercial Treaty with England—Termination of the Session—Visit of the Shah—M. Ranc—Evacuation of France by the Germans—Visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf—Clerical reaction—Pilgrimages—Paray-le-Monial—Restoration Project—Negotiation with the Comte de Chambord—Politics of the Left—Provincial Elections—Letter of Comte de Chambord to M. Chesnelong—Meeting of the Assembly—Changarnier's proposition for ten years' prolongation of Presidential powers—Committee's Report—Presidential Message—Debate on the seven years' prolongation, and victory of Government—Ministry remodelled—Interpellation by M. Léon Say—New Committee of Thirty—Bill for appointment of Mayors—"State of Siege"—Provincial Elections—Budget of M. Magne—Trial of Marshal Bazaine—M. Thiers.

On Monday, the 26th of May, the Duc de Broglie read before the National Assembly the following Message from the new President of the Republic:—

"Called to the Presidency by the National Assembly, I have exercised my power by choosing a Ministry taken from your ranks. I am animated by a sentiment of respect for your wishes, and a desire always scrupulously to execute them. I believe the majority invariably constitutes the law in a parliamentary *régime*, and this is still more the case in the present instance, where, by virtue of the existing laws, the First Magistrate of the Republic is the delegate of the Assembly and the delegate of the law. The Assembly had two great tasks to fulfil, the liberation of the territory and the restoration of order in a state of society disturbed by the spirit of revolution. The first of these objects has been pursued amid the unanimity of the national representatives. We can say with truth the redemption of our territory has met with no opponent. It would have been impossible to accomplish it if the country had not lent itself to the task with heroic patience, and it has been ably conducted by a man from whom a disagreement on questions of home policy alone could induce you to separate. I rely upon you to complete this task. The excellent relations which the former Government had established with foreign Powers lead us to adopt

the same line of conduct. We desire the maintenance of peace and the reorganization of the army, which we shall actively persevere in effecting, animated only by a legitimate desire to repair the strength and retain the rank which belong to France. The home policy of the Government will be imbued with a character of social Conservatism. All the laws you have voted possess that characteristic. The Government is resolutely Conservative. We have numerous laws to enact. The bills on the reorganization of the army and municipalities and educational reform are drawn up, and I believe I have selected Ministers who are competent to discuss them. You will discuss the bills which you instructed our predecessor to submit to you and those already before you, and the Government will examine them and give you the result of their careful consideration. But previously to that the Government must act, and must introduce into and impress upon the Administration the spirit of Conservatism, and cause the laws to be respected by appointing agents who will make them respected and themselves respect them. The Government will not fail in this duty, and will defend society against all factions. The post in which you have placed me is that of a sentinel who has to watch over the integrity of your sovereign power."

The Ministry had been announced as follows:—The Duc de Broglie, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Vice-President of the Council; M. Ernoul, Minister of Justice; M. Beulé, of the Interior; M. Magne, of Finance; General Cissey, of War, *ad interim*; MM. Dompierre d'Hornoy, Batbie, Deseilligny, De la Bouillerie, and Pascal, to other posts. Though ostensibly a coalition ministry, composing a Bonapartist representation, the reactionist and "clerical" character of the new Cabinet was not to be mistaken. It was recognized on all sides that the political pilot of the State vessel was the Duc de Broglie, a Constitutional Monarchist by his antecedents, but disposed, as it now seemed, to go nearly the length of the Extreme Right. Marshal MacMahon had truly described his own position as that of a sentinel who had to keep watch and ward over the integrity of the sovereign power claimed by the Assembly. Whatever the majority of the Assembly might decide, that was rightfully law; and the Marshal-President, holding command over the army, was to see that the orders of the majority were carried out; consequently that now, while that majority was distinctly a Conservative one, no Radical counterplots and intrigues should thwart its policy. Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, was sixty-five years of age. A soldier of the Empire, he had never given his mind to political matters: but his character as a trustworthy officer and man of honour, above temptation and above corruption, had won him confidence from all who had needed his services in the late troublous times.

That the Conservative party did not intend their present triumph to pass into inaction was manifest within a very few days of their accession to power, first by the dismissal of some twenty Depart-



mental Prefects and the appointment in their place of functionaries on whom the Right could depend; next by a circular addressed by M. Beulé, as Minister of the Interior, to the Prefects in general, instructing them as follows:—"That which the National Assembly expects before everything from the Government which it has instituted is a personal administration inspired by one thought, directed with precision, and placing itself openly at the head of the Conservatives. The Administration ought in all its grades to be the faithful representative of the restorative policy which alone can re-establish the country which has been so cruelly tried. Do not hesitate to state boldly upon which side are your sympathies. Invite all good citizens to unite, that they may strengthen themselves by the strict practice of the duties of public life. It is only by this firm conduct, and by the energetic maintenance of all Conservative principles, that we shall be enabled to constitute in France a true Governmental majority. From the present time enter into communication with those who are placed under your administration. The frankness of your attitude will suffice to elevate their moral position, to discourage anarchical tendencies, and to insure everywhere respect for the National Assembly and for the law. Let all those who desire to reorganize the country under the Presidency of the illustrious Marshal, whom the depositaries of the National Sovereignty have elected, know for certain that they will be resolutely supported and defended."

This was a strong indication of reactionist intentions on the part of the new rulers; but no specially unfavourable impression was made upon the public mind till, on Tuesday, June 10th, M. Gambetta addressed an Interpellation to the Minister of the Interior, touching the suppression of the *Corsaire* newspaper, and desired to know the authenticity of another circular, a "private" one, addressed confidentially to the Prefects in M. Beulé's name, and having for its object the relations of the Government with the provincial Press. "You are requested urgently," said this second circular, "to send me a report on the Press of your Department. The time has come for reassuming in this direction the authority and influence which an affectation of indifferent neutrality had destroyed. Mention the Conservative newspapers, or those susceptible of becoming such, whatever may be the section to which they belong, their financial position, and the price which they may attach to the friendly assistance of the Administration, the names of their chief editors, their present opinions, and their previous history. If you can converse with them, find out whether they would accept correspondence, and in what manner they would like to have it. We are going to organize an office for telegraphic and autographic news, which will be regularly addressed to you, and of which you will arrange the communications. In proportion to the amount of confidence with which the various newspapers will inspire you, and in order to do so, it will be wise on your part to form a Press department in your Cabinet, which will not be entrusted

to *employés indigènes*, or *indigents*." ("The word," M. Gambetta said, "is indistinctly written.") "Give me your views on these various points. I rely on your tact. There could be no more delicate question, or one which must be dealt with with greater prudence and ability. Increase your connexion with the Press, and make yourself accessible to its representatives."

Noisy interruptions attended the reading of this circular. "If it is genuine," said Gambetta, "it supplies a measure of the extent of the moral disorder which is being organized." The Deputies of the Left were forward to testify their indignation. Turning to the Government benches, Gambetta said—"You have been accused of being the *protégés* of the Empire, but now you are becoming its plagiarists, and even out-Heroding it." M. Beulé somewhat lamely objected to the interpretation put upon certain passages of the circular. He had asked, he said, for a list of the newspapers; it was his duty to ascertain the means at the disposal of public opinion; but he had not intended to take five or six hundred journals into his pay. The Left then brought forward as a motion—"The National Assembly, protesting against the circular of the Minister of the Interior, passes to the Order of the Day." To this M. Baragnon opposed, on behalf of Government, the Order of the Day, "pure and simple;" and, when put to the vote, a majority of 389 against 315 decided in his favour. Still the impression produced by the revelation that had been made was unfavourable; many Deputies voted with the Ministers, in order to save the country from another shock, but with strong disapprobation of the manner in which they had endeavoured to stifle public opinion. At the close of the sitting, M. Pascal, the Under-Secretary, who had had the actual drawing up of the circular, resigned his post; and, with the sacrifice of this scapegoat, the Government was free again to pursue its course.

That course continued to manifest its reactionary tendency. On the 12th of June, M. Buffet communicated to the Assembly two letters he had received, one from the Minister of War and the other from the Commandant of Paris, the object of which was to promote the prosecution of M. Ranc, who, though now a member of the National Assembly, was, said General l'Admirault, justly liable for the acts committed by the Commune of 1871, of which he was a member, being in fact the only person closely connected with the Commune who had hitherto escaped prosecution. A Committee was appointed to consider the request.

M. Ranc, when summoned, declined to present himself before the Committee. He wrote a letter, in which he said:—"I have shown that I do not fly from justice. I have been in Paris for the last two years, and have been elected Municipal Councillor. I have appeared as a witness before the Military Courts, which have pronounced upon the question of my guilt or innocence. I have since been elected Deputy by 90,000 votes, and the Assembly, by confirming the validity of my election, has recognized my complete eligibility. I decline to acknowledge the competency of the Com-

mittee; to admit the judicial authority of the Assembly would be an offence against the integrity of universal suffrage." M. Baragnon presented the Committee's report on the 18th. It was proposed that as M. Ranc had chosen to absent himself from examination, authority should be given to the Governor of Paris to institute a prosecution against him.

A motion, brought forward by the Left, that a previous inquiry should take place, was negatived by a large majority, and the unconditional prosecution was voted. Meanwhile, M. Ranc prudently quitted the soil of France, and by his departure the Government was, at all events, freed from the presence in the Assembly of a dangerous member of the Extreme Left. Another partisan of that section, M. Brousses, representing the Department of the Aube, happened at this time to die; and his funeral, which took place on the 20th, was the occasion of important political excitement, bringing into collision the opinions, moral and religious, of the Extreme parties in the State. The friends of M. Brousses decided, probably in accordance with his own wishes, that the ceremony should be a purely "civil" interment, without any kind of religious form or observance. Now a decree had just been issued by the Prefect of the Rhone, enacting that notifications of deaths to the registrar should be accompanied by a declaration whether the burial would be with or without the participation of the ministers of a religion recognized by the State; that if without, then it must be performed at six a.m. from April to September, and at seven a.m. from October to March; that the funeral procession should select the most unfrequented streets, unless by special authorization from the Prefect. The decree at first hardly obtained credit, but when it appeared at full length in the papers, remarks were made of no flattering nature for Prefect Ducros and for the Government which countenanced him. "What!" exclaims in substance the principal Radical organ, "is this liberty and equality? Families who accept priestly discipline have the privilege of honouring their dead. For them the noonday hour, the spacious, well-inhabited streets, the numerous procession. The Freethinkers, who in Lyons are by far the majority, shall be otherwise disposed of. For their benefit Prefect Ducros has made a special law. At seven on a winter morning—that is to say, in the darkness of night—the children are to carry to the grave, through the narrowest and foulest thoroughfares of the city, the corpses of their parents dead without confession." And the journalist inveighed against "the frightful tyranny of the pretended Parliamentary Liberals, who, after three weeks of power, attack the liberty of civil interment." Papers of far more moderate politics, such as the *Temps*, did not scruple to use the word "persecution" as the only one that properly described such a decree as this. "The days of *dragonnades* are over, material violence is no longer resorted to against misbelievers or unbelievers, but it is sought to deprive them of the benefit of the law by recourse to vexatious administrative details."

When the day appointed for the funeral of the defunct Deputy arrived, according to the usual form on such occasions, a deputation of the Board of the Assembly went to the house where the body lay. Two squadrons of the 8th Cuirassiers, headed by their colonel, paraded on foot as escort. But when the coffin was carried forth from the house in the Rue Neuve, and the total absence of all religious observance and attendance was placed beyond a doubt, the members of the Board, and nearly all the assistants composing the deputation from the Assembly, turned to the left, and took the road back to the theatre, instead of turning to the right and accompanying the body to the cemetery. The two squadrons of Cuirassiers also returned to their quarters. The course adopted was said to have been previously decided upon by the bureau of the Assembly and by the military authorities, but it was not known beforehand, and the sensation caused was strong. In the lobbies of the Assembly the Left and Extreme Left exhaled their displeasure in many vehement words, but they were greatly in the minority, and the protest against the Freethinking demonstration was loudly applauded by the other parties.

The Left, however, made this incident the subject of an Interpellation, which M. le Royer addressed to Government four days afterwards. The general tone of the discussion which ensued was aggressive and irritating, and it was felt that strong passions were at work. M. le Royer in a long speech endeavoured to confine the question to its bearing on liberty of conscience. One of the most effective passages in his discourse was that in which he drew a parallel between Prefect Ducros' recent ordinance and one of the 2nd of April, 1666. "By my birth and baptism," he said, "I am of those whom the great King Louis XIV. thought fit to expel from France on account of their religion." The Chamber was manifestly struck by this declaration. It was interesting to see a descendant of the Protestants, exiled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, standing up, some two centuries later, in defence of freedom of conscience. M. le Royer quoted Article 24 of the set of regulations above referred to, which forbade the members of the "pretended Reformed Religion" to bury their dead at any other hour than at daybreak or at dusk. "Liberty of conscience," he said, "consists not in thought, not in liberty of faith, but it is the possibility of manifesting that faith. You cannot restrain me from thinking what I will, but if you prevent the external manifestation of my internal conviction, if you subject me to an odious or ignominious distinction as a penalty for such manifestation, you rob me of my liberty."

M. Beulé endeavoured to show that there were local reasons for the order of M. Ducros which applied, and could only apply, to Lyons, where a society of Freethinkers had founded a formidable organization, using civil interment as one of their chief means of action. He produced, as was expected, numerous documents in defence of the course followed by the Prefect of Lyons. M. de

Pressensé, in the midst of loud protestations, expressed disapproval of the order, although at the same time he denounced civil interments. Towards the end the discussion became more and more violent and noisy. The Left wished to adjourn till the morrow, the Right to continue the debate. The Government chose among the four or five Orders of the Day, one which was couched in the following terms:—

“Considering that liberty of conscience and of public worship are not in question, and adopting the motives of the Government, the Assembly passes to the Order of the Day.” And upon a division, this Order of the Day was adopted by 423 votes against 174; about 100 members abstained from voting.

Soon afterwards the Government achieved a Parliamentary success on a question of critical importance, as it affected the actual authority of the Assembly. The interpretation given to the character and capacity of that body was threefold, according to the leading divisions of political opinion in the country. The Radicals held that it had been called together in 1871 merely to make peace with the invaders, and, having fulfilled that mission, ought to be dissolved, and give place to a legislature really representing the opinions of the nation. The pronounced Conservatives maintained that, as no limits had been assigned to its powers or duration, it was competent to discuss and resolve all questions that might arise, and to decide for itself on the period of its dissolution. The third party, represented by M. Thiers and the Moderate Left, while admitting the capacity of the Assembly to enact Constitutional Laws, was prepared, nevertheless, to frame these laws on principles not entirely satisfactory to the Conservatives.

On the 2nd of July M. Dufaure moved that the Electoral Bill and the Constitutional Bills prepared by the Government of M. Thiers should be placed on the Order of the Day in the Bureaux. These Bills, he said, could not be allowed to remain in oblivion. It was important to prepare measures which should give society a solid foundation, and bestow upon the Government a name and a guarantee of stability. He anticipated the opposition of the Extreme Left, which denied the constituent power of the Assembly, but the Assembly had always maintained that this power really belonged to it. Gambetta spoke for the Extreme Left, and protested that no Constitution manufactured by the present Legislature would be accepted by his party; that a dissolution and an appeal to the sentiment of the nation by universal suffrage was indispensable.

Against M. Gambetta's views the Duc de Broglie argued with much cogency, affirming that “the Assembly, which did not await his permission to be born, did not require his consent to live.” He held that all the necessary authority was vested in the actual representatives of the people, but he urged that the country needed, before all things, political repose and financial security; and on the part, therefore, of the Government, he supported a counter-proposition, that the Assembly, instead of appointing at once, as was sug-



gested, a kind of Constituent Commission, should do so within the month following its next meeting after the approaching recess. This proposal embraced almost every point most unwelcome to the Opposition. It asserted the unlimited power of the Assembly in defiance of M. Gambetta; it postponed, though not indefinitely, the consideration of Constitutional Laws in spite of M. Thiers; it proclaimed as a national necessity a departure from the policy lately pursued; it implied the indefinite continuance of the present Assembly, and it adjourned all discussion to a period when the influence of a Conservative Administration might have made itself felt among the people. Nevertheless, the vote, involving as it did some reflection on the late Government and a direct censure on Radical agitators, was carried by a considerable majority.

The Opposition at this time, composed of incohesive elements, and not brought into working order by an influential leader—for Thiers absented himself awhile from the Assembly, Grévy gave silent votes, and Gambetta could only lead the Extreme Left—shot their darts somewhat at random. This was evidenced when, on the 21st of July, M. Jules Favre, after various vacillations and postponements, brought forward an Interpellation on the home policy of the Government. Great things had been expected from this movement, and the public anticipated one of the most striking contests of oratory that had yet taken place in the Versailles Theatre. But the debate fell far short of prevailing anticipation. The orator was received at first with an attentive silence unusual in the Assembly. When he attacked the Bonapartists as being under the protection of a Government that was only nominally Republican, and wound up by calling on the Government to state whether it would disavow its protection of the three monarchical parties existing in France, some agitation ensued, but not of a violent description. M. de Broglie's reply was brief, and not a little contemptuous. He flatly refused to answer M. Favre's question; but declared that the intentions of Government were simply to maintain social order, and check all Communistic principles and ideas. The vote resulted in a large majority for Government; it was thought it would have been larger still had M. de Broglie not shown such high-handed indifference to the opinions of the minority. Two days afterwards Ministers were equally fortunate with regard to a Bill brought in by M. Ernoul, Minister of Justice, for enabling the Permanent Committee to authorize prosecutions for any attacks that might be made upon the dignity of the Assembly during the recess now impending. This measure was passed at once, and all amendments rejected.

A more stormy discussion took place on the introduction of a Bill for obtaining a certain portion of ground for the erection of a church on the hill of Montmartre, in compliance with a demand made by the Archbishop of Paris. M. Keller, a member of strong Catholic opinions, who was selected to draw up the report on this subject, alluded to the proposed new temple as an expiatory monu-

ment for the revolutionary crimes of Paris, and proposed that it should be placed under the protection of the "Sacred Heart." It soon became evident, during the debate, that a large portion of the majority was not inclined to go this length. No fewer than seventy of its members proposed an amendment to the effect that the expropriation of land demanded was of "public utility." The Ultramontane members not only failed in their attempt to obtain for the proposed church a distinctive character officially recognized, but the Chamber refused to sanction a paragraph of the report setting forth that the edifice was intended "to call down on France Divine pity and protection." This measure was naturally opposed by the Left, but not in an ardent or scoffing tone. M. de Pressensé, the Protestant pastor, objected to the intermixture of politics and religion, and alluded in a few sharp sentences to the disputed doctrine of the Sacred Heart, which had given rise to so much controversy in the bosom of the Catholic Church. M. Bertauld objected to the measure because it would tend to reconstitute ecclesiastical property, and would undo all that had been done since 1789. He asked how a church which was to be built by private subscription, and which would therefore be the property of the Archbishop of Paris, could be considered of public utility? M. Batbie, who spoke on behalf of the Government, was placed in a rather awkward position, as in former days he had condemned the principle of expropriations. When taunted with his change of views, however, he pleaded submission to the law which had decided against him. The only important statement which he made was to the effect that the Government, while it meant to protect religion, was not "clerical" in its principles.

Amidst the storms and growls of party warfare two measures of real importance were passed this session without serious opposition. One was the Bill for the Reorganization of the Army, the other was the renewal of the Commercial Treaty which the late Emperor had concluded with England in 1860, and which Thiers had superseded by a Convention more in conformity with his own Protectionist predilections—a Convention, however, which had not had time to come into operation. On the 11th of July the Minister of Commerce announced to the Assembly that negotiations were in progress with England and Belgium to return to the former laws "pure and simple," so as to maintain the system of Treaties in force before the fall of the Empire until the end of the year 1876, when, by the expiration of her existing Treaty with Austria, France would be left perfectly unfettered in the control of her tariffs. The new Anglo-French Treaty was signed at Versailles on the 23rd, passed the Assembly a few days afterwards, and became law on the 5th of August. Besides the former Treaty with England, that with Belgium was also revived; and a Bill abolishing the duty on Raw Material, which Thiers had fought so hard to impose the previous year, was likewise passed.

On the 29th of July the Duc de Broglie read the Message from

Marshal MacMahon, proroguing the session. No portion of the Message excited more interest than the following announcement : - " When you reassemble, a great event, impatiently expected, will have been accomplished. The foreign occupation will have ceased. The Eastern Departments, which have so nobly paid their debt to the country, since they were the first victims of the war and the last pledges of peace, will at length be released from the trial they have heroically supported. We shall no longer see on French territory any other than a French army. This inestimable benefit is the common work of the patriotism of all. My predecessor powerfully contributed by successful negotiations to prepare the way for it. You aided him in his task by affording him your support which never failed him, and now a prudent and firm policy, which permits the development of public wealth, will rapidly efface the traces of our disasters."

It was thought by many that the mention here accorded to the late President of the Republic rendered but scant justice to his deserts ; that a more generous tribute might well have been afforded to the statesman by whose sagacity and skill, during a most disastrous crisis, public credit had been restored, the Treasury filled, and financial transactions on a scale of unparalleled magnitude carried through without creating panic or disturbance in any of the European money-markets. In little more than two years after the termination of a crushing invasion and of a formidable insurrection, the cost of which had been in themselves equal to the ransom demanded by the Germans, that ransom had been paid, punctually, zealously. " Something more than mere diplomatic skill," it was remarked at the time, " was requisite to achieve all this ; and a more ample acknowledgment, and a warmer and more generous eulogium should have been put in the mouth of the successor of the man whose great ability and indomitable perseverance enabled him to render his country such signal services." *M. Thiers* might, however, appeal with pride to the popular gratitude which made his name dear to the inhabitants of the provinces he had freed. The inhabitants of Belfort in particular cherished an enthusiastic feeling for one who had struggled so determinedly, and successfully, at the last moment, to save them from the fate of the Alsatians and Lorrainers ; and had no approbation to bestow on the change of Government which had driven him from the helm of State. When the ladies of Mulhouse presented him with a gift on the day of liberation, he said in his speech of thanks that the evidences he received showed him that France was not ungrateful to him ; but that the nation had a right to resume its power, that therefore he had no right to complain. " I am glad," he added, " to obtain the repose of which I am in need."

While the Assembly was still sitting, the sensation-loving Parisians had had the opportunity of regaling themselves with one of those pomps in which they had been wont in happier times to excel. The Shah of Persia, on his departure from London, came to visit the

French capital. However shorn of its former glory, however impoverished and humiliated, Paris was not to be introduced to a foreign and semi-barbarous potentate without something of the splendour and the grace in which her sons at all times had delighted; and it was surprising on this occasion to see what could be done by a populace as well versed as the French in the art of representation. At the Passy station the Persian autocrat was received by Marshal MacMahon and General l'Admirault, and was welcomed by a royal salute from Mont Valérien. The Bois de Boulogne looked better than it had ever done since the war, when he visited it on the 7th July. A state banquet in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles was held in his honour on the 8th; a review at Longchamps on the 10th. On the 13th Paris gave a fête; and yet it was said that, as compared with his reception in England, his reception by the crowd in the French capital was a silent one. The Paris journals turned the fact to the national glorification, asserting that the quiet politeness of the French produced a pleasing impression on the foreign despot's mind after the boisterous roughness of the insulars.

During the period of the Shah's visit an incident occurred which would have afforded even more talk than it did had it not been for the preoccupation of the public mind. This was a duel between M. Ranc and M. Paul de Cassagnac, occasioned by a political onslaught made by the Bonapartist journalist on the ex-member of the Commune after the late proceedings of the Assembly against him. M. Ranc observed that M. de Cassagnac found it easier to abuse him than to give him a sword-thrust. Upon this M. de Cassagnac sent Ranc a challenge. The encounter was announced beforehand with an odd sort of publicity. The adversaries met at Essanges on the Luxembourg frontier, and after a first and second assault, M. Ranc was disabled by injury received in the arm.

The next public mention of the ex-Communist Deputy was when sentence was given on the 13th of October, by the Tribunal directed to pronounce on the charges against him, and he was condemned to death *in contumaciam*, according to the technical phrase where the criminal's absence renders the sentence practically nugatory.

The last instalment of the Indemnity due from France to Germany was paid on the 5th of September. The evacuation of Nancy and of Belfort had taken place on the 1st of August; that of Verdun, the last fortress in pawn, was completed on the 16th of September. At Belfort the joy of the inhabitants was grave, though deep. At Verdun the popular enthusiasm ran over. The Germans, indeed, were not behindhand in the satisfaction with which they greeted the day of their own departure. At seven o'clock in the morning, the handful of men who remained under General von Manteuffel's command assembled on the esplanade of the fortress, where they underwent their last inspection upon French territory. The staff, having ridden round the ranks, drew up in



front of the men ; and then, the word of command " Present arms ! " having been given, General von Manteuffel rose in his saddle, swiftly drew his sword and waved it aloft, shouting, "*Hoch lebe der Kaiser ! Hurrah !*" The cheer was caught up by the men, and the bands bursting forth with the "*Heil dir im Siegerkranz,*" the troops marched down the esplanade and through the Porte de France, out of the little frontier town which had gallantly braved the German cannonade less than three years before. Scarcely had they departed than the tricolour flag was everywhere hoisted, and tricolour rosettes decorated the breasts of the women and the coats of the men. At twelve o'clock the French troops arrived, and were received at the railway station by a crowd of departmental and municipal functionaries. Their march through the town to the citadel resembled a triumphal procession, the streets being lined by an enthusiastic crowd, shouting, "*Vive la République !*" "*Vive l'Armée !*" and "*Vive Thiers !*" and ladies and children presenting them with bouquets of flowers. Bands of music and illuminations enlivened the evening.

It was remarked, however, that very few cries were heard of "*à bas les Prussiens !*" and, on the other hand, the demeanour of the Germans themselves was admirable for its sobriety and self-restraint. Indeed, great praise was due to the representatives of both the nationalities, who for the last two years had been forced into juxtaposition under such trying circumstances. The exciting tales of outrage and cruelty on the part of the invaders, so rife during the progress of the war, had ceased to be bandied about during the occupation, in spite of the freedom enjoyed by the provincial press, and in spite of the popular love of exaggeration. " In fact," it was observed at the time, " there never was a force kept better in hand and more completely restrained from tyranny over the people [than that of the Germans]. On the other hand, the French officials have borne themselves with remarkable judgment and self-control, and have communicated a great measure of these qualities to the people whom they represent. The quick temper of the Gaul has not led him into quarrels, nor has the presence of the invaders prompted him to any revengeful folly. In most places the inhabitants have carried out their resolve to have no communication with the garrison, and the lower classes have often given vent to their feelings against any Frenchman or Frenchwoman who may have forgotten this etiquette of patriotism. But they have kept within their undoubted rights, and given the Germans no pretext for complaint or severity. Among themselves and to the neutral they have been open enough in their denunciations. But they have felt that the first demand on their patriotism was to do nothing which might delay the departure of the enemy ; they held their tongues, and now they have their recompense."

Immediately on the prorogation of the Assembly, an incident took place which proved the turning-point to the political schemes and transactions of the remainder of the year. The circumstances



which led to it are said to have been these. After the overthrow of Thiers' Government on the 24th of May, the Duc d'Aumale became anxious that the existing divisions in the victorious majority should no longer continue to hamper its action; and that above all the Legitimists and Orleanists should unite in a common understanding. He sounded the disposition of his nephew, the Comte de Paris; he estimated the efforts of the partisans of Fusion; and one day, in the presence of one of the most active fusionists and of several members of his family, the Duke exclaimed, "If I were in Paris's place I should start at once for Frohsdorf." These words were immediately reported to the Comte de Paris. "Let my uncle advise me to take the step, and I will take it," replied the Prince. When this reply was reported to the Duke, he said, "I can only give advice when I am asked for it." An occasion was then sought for bringing on an explanation between the uncle and the nephew. It was, it is said, a lady, a friend of the Princes, who, one day seeing them together, abruptly said, "Is it not true, Monsieur le Duc, that you approve the journey of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf?" "*Parfaitement*," answered the Duke. The lady then discreetly retired, leaving the two Princes alone, and the journey was decided upon the next day. "I hope," said the Comte de Paris a few days afterwards, "that, after the severe blow inflicted on my refusal to visit my cousin, justice will be done to the thought which now induces me to undertake the journey."

And to Frohsdorf the Comte de Paris went—his uncle, the Prince de Joinville, accompanying him. The interview between the cousins took place on the 5th of August. It had previously been agreed, by an interchange of notes, what form it should assume, and that no political question should be introduced in the conversation. At nine o'clock in the morning, the grandson of Louis Philippe, who had started from Vienna two hours previously, entered the château of the grandson of Charles the Tenth. The Comte de Chambord received his visitor standing, offered him his hand, then sat down, and made the Comte de Paris follow his example. The action was interpreted as symbolical of his intention to acknowledge his visitor as his heir. The following are said to have been the words then spoken by the Comte de Paris:—

"I have come to pay you a visit which I have long wished to pay you. In my name, and in that of all the members of my family, I come to present to you our respectful homage, not only as the chief of our House, but also as the sole representative of the Monarchical principle in France. I hope that a day may come when the French nation may understand that its safety is in that principle. If ever it expresses the wish to have recourse to the Monarchy, no competition for the throne will arise in our family." Then the Comte de Chambord rose, with tears in his eyes, and embraced the Comte de Paris. The reconciliation of interests was to all appearance complete; and the Monarchical parties in France entered, with the zest arising from united interests, on their schemes for recasting the

temper of the country. In all attempts to carry out Legitimist pretensions, the aid of the Church was indispensable. The possibility of a Henri Cinq presupposed a significant extension of Ultramontane influence.

The signs of the clerical reaction which the Royalist rulers were now bent on enforcing were especially conspicuous in the numerous and carefully-organized processions and pilgrimages taking place all over the country. The clerical journals exulted. "We are returning," wrote *Le Monde*, "we have already returned, not eighty years back, for it is scarcely eighty years back when, following Voltaire, people scarcely believed in God; not 150 years back, for then, owing to Jansenism, they hardly believed in miracles; but to three or four centuries ago—to the time of Christian fervour." The *Union* observed that since the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin of Tours "it seems as if our Catholic Deputies were more directly protected by Mary." A paper called *Le Pèlerin* was started specially to record these movements, and to celebrate the miracles which, according to the stories told, were of frequent occurrence. It related how the Nismes pilgrims, 2600 in number, received from their bishop the pilgrim's cross and accompanied him to Lourdes, where they met 1500 pilgrims from La Roche, and how the 4000 abandoned themselves to transports of love and faith. "The pilgrims," said the organ of these pious people, "relate to us the four miracles *they themselves saw*—the paralytic woman relieved, the lame woman who left her crutches at Lourdes, the deaf and dumb woman who hears and speaks, the blind person who was able to see the procession of the pilgrims with torches." Of the various shrines to which these pilgrimages are made, the most frequented were those of Lourdes, La Salette, and Paray-le-Monial; and many descriptions were given of the various incidents of the journeys, the special manifestations of grace, the admiration the pilgrims inspired as they passed through the towns, with their red crosses over their hearts and their rosaries of large beads, their raptures and ecstasies and hysterics, and the electric shock which would run through them at the cry of "*Vive Notre Dame de Lourdes!*" "*Vive Pie IX.!*" "Everybody envies their happiness," said *Le Pèlerin*; "the perfume of Lourdes is upon them, and men say to each other, 'No, France is not dead, since her faith cannot be killed.'"

In some places the pilgrims carried white flags, and raised cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" At Notre Dame de Liesse, on the 12th of August, a great demonstration was made in favour of the Pope and against Germany. Another Ultramontane ebullition took place on occasion of a pilgrimage of more than 20,000 persons to Veselizes, to inaugurate a statue of the Virgin. Recent miracles were talked of; new cures were reported to have taken place at Lourdes. At Cambrai the Virgin and an angel with a flaming sword had barred the way against the Prussians during the war. The following address to the Pope was numerously signed by pious devotees:—"Most Holy Father,—Rome and France could not be separated. In renewing

the consecration of France to the Virgin Mary, the pilgrims to all our holy places think of their Pontiff and Father. It is because their country has forgotten its mission that it is now humbled, and it is also because it has forgotten its mission that you are a captive. Our crimes are the cause of your sufferings, and our misfortunes are bound up with yours. Your triumph will be our triumph. You alone can show us the road to victory. Continue to enlighten our course by your infallible teaching; direct us in the way marked out by the great and glorious Syllabus; present France to the Immaculate Mary; obtain our conversion and our salvation. The salvation of France is the triumph of the Church. The salvation of France is your deliverance. To you belong our hearts, our minds, the power of our country, the blood of our children. *Ad multos annos vivat.*—August 15, Fête of the Assumption of the Most Holy Virgin.”

Among all the tales of supernatural agency on behalf of religion invented or revived at this time, none attracted so much attention as that of Marie Alacoque, in whose supposed revelation from the Saviour, two hundred years ago, the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus had originated. It was at the nunnery of the Visitation, at Paray-le-Monial, in the department of the Saône et Loire, that Marie Alacoque had received her mystical or, as the vulgar believed, physical communication; it was at Paray-le-Monial that her shrine was consecrated. This special form of devotion was especially urged on at the present time by the ecclesiastical authorities who sought to guide the public mind. The attempt to dedicate the proposed new church on Montmartre to the Sacred Heart, though the Assembly refused to sanction it, had been eagerly pushed on by the clerical party.

The pilgrimages to Paray-le-Monial this summer were numerous and enthusiastic; and not the least remarkable of them was one consisting of English devotees, who, led by sundry ecclesiastics, and previously blessed in London by Archbishop Manning, quitted London on September 2nd, to the number of some three or four hundred; and made their way by Pilgrim Railway Train to the sacred spot. Whatever may have been the belief of the throngs who were encouraged by every device to testify in this way their faith in the sanctions of the Church of Rome and their abhorrence of the Communism which had terrified France two years before, it is certain that the politicians who for the time steered the fortunes of the country used these religious demonstrations as their most powerful ally in that restoration of Legitimate sovereignty upon which their whole purpose was bent. The vision of the Comte de Chambord—*l'enfant du miracle*—upon the throne of his ancestors was taking definite shape before their eyes; the health of “the King” on his 53rd birthday, the 29th of September, was toasted at many a private convivial meeting among the ranks of the initiated; and to bring the desired consummation to pass, the leaders of the Administration did not scruple to embark in intrigues, and spread about false

rumours of compacts and concessions, which it was imagined would facilitate the process of amalgamation between Henri V. and the France of the Pact of Bordeaux. We must endeavour to trace these intrigues.

From the time of the visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf, expectation was on the rack to know what terms had been agreed upon, or suggested with any probability of mutual acceptance, by which Henri Cinq could be reseated on the throne of his ancestors. At a great hunting-party, which met at Chantilly a few weeks later, the political situation was matter of deep consultation among the friends of the House of Orleans, but none of the secrets of the situation were then permitted to transpire. That the good understanding continued to exist between the once rival houses was evident from the visits which the Orleans Princes continued to make to Frohsdorf. The Duc d'Alençon went there shortly after the visit of the Comte de Paris; the Duc de Chartres and the Duc de Nemours followed subsequently. It was understood that the Duc de Montpensier would also have paid his respects in person to the chief of the Bourbons, had not the political difficulties in Spain prevented him. Still the silence of the Comte de Chambord as to the terms on which he was willing to accept the position offered him of candidate for the whole Royalist party, Constitutionalists as well as Legitimists, embarrassed the promoters of the Fusion. The clouds parted for a moment when a letter, dated on the 19th of September, and addressed to a Legitimist nobleman, the Vicomte de Rodez-Benavent, was published ten days later by a Montpellier newspaper. In it the writer complained of the lies circulated by a revolutionary propaganda, and disclaimed any schemes of despotism or religious bigotry, any intention of making war on behalf of the Pope. "To be reduced," he said, "in 1873 to evoking the phantom of the *dîme*, of feudal rights, of religious intolerance, of persecution against brothers separated from us in creed—the phantom (what more need I say?) of a war madly undertaken under impossible conditions, of a government of priests, of the ascendancy of privileged classes! You will admit that things so little serious cannot be seriously answered. . . . Make a point of appealing to all honest people on the footing of the social reconstruction. You know that I am not a Party, and that I will not come back to reign by means of a Party. I need the co-operation of all, and all have need of me. As for the reconciliation which has been so loyally accomplished in the House of France, tell those who are trying to distort that great event, that everything done on the 5th of August was really done for the sole purpose of giving France its proper rank in the dearest interests alike of her prosperity, her glory, and her greatness."

It was considered by impartial opinion, that this letter, inadequate as was the policy it embodied to the demands of Liberal France, still indicated a certain tendency towards concession, a repudiation of reactionary chimeras, a desire more than the writer had yet shown to acquire the position of king, and a consequent anxiety to conci-

liate public opinion. Meanwhile, just before its publication, the Extreme Right had determined to send two Deputies to Frohsdorf, to confer personally with the Prince. These Deputies—MM. Merveilleux Duvignaux and De Sugny—returned from their mission the last week in September, and reported themselves to a meeting of the various Conservative sections, from which Bonapartists only stood aloof. The account given to the public of their interview was as follows:—On the first day, it was stated, the Deputies spoke; they disclaimed all intention of bringing an ultimatum, and directed the Count's attention to the religious question, the Constitution, and the Flag. On the second day the Count spoke upon each point. He thanked the Deputies for not bringing an ultimatum, which he might have found it impossible to do otherwise than reject. His language on the religious question was fairly satisfactory. As to the Constitution, he expressed himself ready to accept the Charter of 1814, "adapted to present circumstances and carefully considered with the Assembly," as the basis of the contract between himself and his subjects; wishing, however, to introduce into it certain ideas of his own with regard to universal suffrage and decentralization. On the question of the Flag his utterances were not very definite; and the delegates could only say that they believed an arrangement could be come to, provided that the Comte de Chambord would declare that it was this Assembly, and not another one, which should make the Monarchy.

The politicians of the Left now began to bestir themselves. A circular, issued by M. Léon Say, President of the Left Centre, explained their position, and summoned a party meeting for the 23rd of October. M. Say stated that the Left Centre had no theoretical repugnance to Constitutional Monarchy based upon the principles of 1789; that the only Government suitable for France was one which, while maintaining Conservative principles, would be farthest removed from being a party Government. He adverted to the fact that the Left Centre had always demanded the organization of the Government in its present form. The reconciliation of the 5th of August did not change its resolution. Orleanism having disappeared, there remained but two parties confronting each other—the Liberal party, offspring of the Revolution of 1789, and the adversaries of that Revolution. M. Say said, in conclusion, "After, as before, the Fusion, we remain convinced of the necessity of voting the Constitutional laws and organizing a Conservative Republic."

At this time M. Thiers returned to Paris from a tour in Switzerland, where he had been warmly received, and a previous visit to Belfort, where the popular acclamation had been unbounded. A letter written by him to the Mayor of Nancy on Sept. 29 was hailed by all the antimonarchical fractions as placing him definitely in the position of leader of their ranks. "Very soon," he said, "we shall be called upon to defend, not alone the Republic which, in my opinion, is the only Government capable of rallying in the name of



the common interest parties now so profoundly divided, which alone can speak to democracy with sufficient authority, and which now, far from troubling France, has appeared only to restore order, the army, finance, credit; to redeem the territory, and, in a word, to heal with one exception all the wounds of the war—we shall have, I say, to defend not only the Republic, but all the rights of France, her civil, political, and religious liberties, her social state, and her principles, which, after being proclaimed in 1789, have become those of the whole world; and, lastly, her flag, under which she is known to the whole universe, under which her soldiers, conquerors or conquered, have covered themselves with glory, but which, dear as it is to our hearts, will not suffice if all the things of which it is the emblem are to be taken away from us; for of these sacred things it is not the image alone, but the reality itself that we must have; and the tricoloured flag, if remaining only to mask the counter-revolution, would be the most odious and revolting of lies.”

The near approach of the time fixed for the opening of the Assembly quickened the activity of parties. The Royalists sent a fresh deputation to the Comte de Chambord, at Salzburg, whither, at this critical moment, he had suddenly betaken himself as though to escape from embarrassing interviews. The spokesman of the deputation was M. Chesnelong, formerly a zealous Bonapartist. When he returned to Paris the last week in October a glowing report was given of the “Concession” which the Legitimist Prince had expressed himself willing to make on his being formally proposed to the Assembly as King of France. It was asserted that he had engaged to maintain liberty of conscience and equality before the law, to admit the right of members of all parties to public employments, to promise universal suffrage, under certain conditions, and the freedom of the press so long as it should not embarrass the order of things to be maintained; the question of the Flag to be reserved for future settlement. The propositions were vague, and were evidently dressed up to give the most favourable representation of what had passed at Salzburg. It was stated, indeed, by the newspaper *La Liberté*, that the Comte de Chambord was so astonished when he read M. Chesnelong’s account of what had passed, that he turned to a friend and said, “*Tu étais là, toi! Est-ce bien là le sens de mes paroles?*” That he did not immediately disavow the utterance ascribed to him was made a reproach against him by some of the opposite party. Could it be that even this generally uncompromising and outspoken prince waited to see whether the elections now in progress testified to the general Royalist reaction in the provinces, of which his adherents boasted, before he put an insurmountable barrier between himself and the throne they coveted for him even more than he coveted it for himself? Unquestionably the result of the elections to four of the vacant seats in the Assembly, which were held on the 12th of October, opened a very unpromising prospect for the heralds of the revived *régime* of Legitimacy. In the Haute Garonne M. de

Rémusat was returned as a moderate but firm Republican against a candidate of the clerical party; in the Nièvre, the Loire, and the Puy de Dôme the Government candidates were alike defeated. "This is the point," says a writer of the moment, "to which things have been brought by five months of the *Gouvernement de Combat*. This is the end of 'moral order,' forced by strong-handed Prefects, and preached by zealous Clericals in every village of the land!" And it was to be remarked, that the Republican victories had not been won in turbulent democratic towns, but in those rural districts which French Conservatism was supposed to have especially made its own. The Right had urged against the alleged Liberalism of the country at large, that when the existing Government had been of that way of thinking it was sure to obtain majorities; that elections not conducted under Republican auspices would surely prove that the heart of the people was Royalist. The conditions were present, for the first time since the 24th of May, and this was the upshot.

The Government meanwhile had not ventured to challenge public opinion on more than four battle-fields. There were still ten vacant seats in the Assembly, to fill up which might seriously imperil the Conservative majority; and these were left for the present unchallenged. But the Restoration prospects were dwelt upon with confident assertion. On the 22nd a meeting was held of Deputies belonging to the Right Centre under the presidency of the Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier, who communicated to it the resolutions which the Fusionist Committee proposed should be submitted to the Assembly. These declared that the national hereditary and constitutional Monarchy was the Government of France; that the Comte de Chambord was called to the throne, with right of succession to the Princes of his family in the direct male line; that the principles of the public law of France were upheld, as well as the right of the national representatives to vote the taxes for each year. Finally, the inviolability of the Sovereign under Ministerial responsibility was assured and the tricolour flag maintained, with "certain modifications," supposed to be its decoration with the Legitimist emblem, the *fleur de lys*.

These resolutions the Duc d'Audiffret Pasquier took upon himself to lay before M. Léon Say, the President of the Left Centre, inviting that party to enter into negotiations with the Right, with a view to union and common action. But the overture failed; M. Léon Say's reply was that the projects of the Right Centre were sufficiently well known through the publicity which had already been given them, and that the members of the party to which he belonged, believing that a Monarchy, under present circumstances, would be in reality a revenge for 1789, were determined not to accept official overtures leading to negotiations which must prove nugatory. The Duke expressed great dissatisfaction at the refusal of M. Léon Say, and observed, in a petulant tone, that if the Restoration were thrown back, the supporters of the Monarchy would at once vote for a dis-

solution, retire from public life, and leave the moderate Republicans to confront the Revolutionists as they might. M. Léon Say rejoined that he was not afraid of those alleged dangers, and that the Left Centre would firmly maintain the attitude it had taken up. His reply was unanimously approved by his party.

The Committee of Nine decided against advising the Permanent Committee to convoke the Assembly earlier than the 5th of November, the day to which it had been already prorogued. Meanwhile, the agitation in the public mind was kept up. Rumours were spread of the existence of a letter from the Comte de Chambord to M. Chesnelong, confirming all that that envoy had said of the result of the interview at Salzburg. Bishop Dupanloup addressed a charge to the clergy of his diocese, requesting them to offer up prayers on behalf of the Monarchical Restoration. Expectation was on the rack for the next utterance of the oracle. At last the Comte de Chambord issued his authentic manifesto. It was a letter addressed to M. Chesnelong, and ran as follows:—

“Salzburg, Oct. 27.

“Sir,—I have preserved so pleasant a recollection of your visit to Salzburg, I have conceived so great an esteem for your noble character, that I do not hesitate to address myself to you as frankly as you came to me. For many long hours you spoke with me of the destinies of our well-beloved country, and I know that on your return you uttered to your colleagues words which will earn you my eternal gratitude. I thank you for having so well understood the anguish of my heart, and for not having concealed the firmness of my decisions. I was not affected when public opinion, carried away by a current which I deplore, alleged that I at last consented to become the Legitimist King of a Revolution. I possessed as my security the testimony of a man of feeling; I resolved to remain silent so long as I was not compelled to make an appeal to your honesty; but as, notwithstanding your efforts, misapprehensions accumulate which tend to obscure my policy, though it is as clear as the day, I owe the whole truth to that country which, however it may misunderstand me, yet believes me sincere, knowing that I have never deceived it, and never will. I am asked now to sacrifice my honour. What can I reply, but that I retract nothing and curtail nothing of my previous declarations? The claims of yesterday give me the measure of what would be exacted of me on the morrow, and I cannot consent to inaugurate a reparative and strong reign by an act of weakness. People sometimes contrast the firmness of Henri V. with the ability of Henri IV. ‘The passionate love which I bear my subjects,’ said Henri IV., ‘makes everything honourable for me that is possible.’ On that point I will concede him nothing; but I should like to know what lesson would have been taught any one imprudent and venturesome enough to persuade him to renounce the standard of Arques and Ivry? You belong, sir, to the province where he came into existence, and you will be, with me, of opinion that he would

speedily have disarmed his interlocutor by saying with his Béarn vigour, 'My friend, take my White Flag; it will always lead you to the path of honour and victory.' I have been accused of not holding the valour of our soldiers in sufficiently high esteem, and this at a moment when I do but aspire to confide to them all that I hold most dear. Is it, then, forgotten that honour is the common patrimony of the House of Bourbon and the French army, and that on that point a misunderstanding is impossible between them? No, I do not ignore any of my country's glories, and God alone, in the depth of my exile, has seen the tears of gratitude I have shed each time that the children of France, whether in good or evil fortune, have shown themselves worthy of her. But we have a great work to accomplish together. I am ready—quite ready—to undertake it when so desired—to-morrow, this evening, this moment. This is why I wish to remain entirely as I am. Enfeebled to-day, I should be powerless to-morrow. The issue at stake is none other than that of reconstructing society, deeply disturbed, upon its natural bases; of energetically ensuring the reign of law and order, of restoring prosperity at home, concluding lasting alliances abroad, and, especially, of not fearing to employ force in the service of order and justice. They speak of conditions! were any required of me by that young Prince whose honest embrace I experienced with so much happiness, and who, listening only to the dictates of his patriotism, came spontaneously to me, bringing me in the name of all his family assurances of peace, devotedness, and reconciliation? They wish for guarantees! were any asked of that Bayard of modern times on that memorable night when they imposed upon his modesty the glorious mission of tranquillizing his country by one of those words of an honest man which reassure the good and make the wicked tremble? I, it is true, have not borne, as he did, the sword of France on twenty battle-fields; but for forty-three years I have preserved intact the sacred deposit of our traditions and our liberties. I have, therefore, a right to reckon upon equal confidence, and I ought to inspire the same sense of security. My personality is nothing; my principle is everything. France will see the end of her trials when she is willing to understand this. I am a necessary pilot, the only one capable of guiding the ship to port, because I have for that a mission of authority. You, sir, are able to do much to remove misunderstandings and prevent weaknesses in the hour of struggle. Your consoling words on leaving Salzburg are ever present to my mind. France cannot perish, for Christ still loves His Franks; and when God has resolved to save a people, He takes care that the sceptre of justice is only put into hands strong enough to hold it."

This letter was read on the 30th of October, at a meeting of the Committee of Nine, held at the house of its president, General Changarnier. M. Chesnelong, who read it, had not proceeded far when he was met by violent exclamations of surprise that a document of so much gravity should have been so long delayed. Why

had not the Count sent his ultimatum sooner? M. Chesnelong paused in his reading, and stated that, in fact, the letter had been received by him on the previous Sunday, but that he had sent it back to the writer, entreating him to modify its tone. The Count had proved inexorable; he merely returned the same manifesto, with an intimation that it would appear in this evening's *Union*. When the reading was finished, an eager debate ensued. Two members of the Right Centre said that the letter rendered all further transactions for the restoration of the Legitimate Monarchy impossible, and proposed that an attempt should be made to place the crown on the head of the Comte de Paris. This suggestion evoked energetic protests from other speakers; and ultimately the resolution arrived at was simply to break off all negotiations with the Comte de Chambord, and to rally the Conservative majority round Marshal MacMahon. "After five months of incessant work and anxiety," exclaimed one of the Committee, "we are now actually further off the end than when we began. Now everything is broken off without hope of ever being resumed. *Tout est rompu et sans espoir de retour.*"

An Orleanist partisan, who had evidently himself been privy to many of the principal transactions, wrote the history of the Salzburg negotiations from his own point of view a few weeks later. His evidence went to show that the Comte de Chambord did really retreat, in an unhandsome manner, from an engagement into which he had entered; that he had promised M. Chesnelong that there should be a Constitution discussed between persons specially authorized to act for him on the one hand and the Assembly on the other; and that he would waive the question of the flag, salute the tricolour when he arrived in France, and would merely reserve to himself the right of proposing at some future time to the Assembly that some alteration in the flag should be made; that M. Chesnelong took the precaution of putting down in writing the results of his conversation with the Count, and before leaving Salzburg got the Count to read over what he had written, and approve it as an accurate statement of what had passed. But scarcely had M. Chesnelong arrived in Paris when dark hints began to appear in certain journals that M. Chesnelong was mistaken, and that the Count had not made the concessions which it was reported he had made; that, in fact, M. Chesnelong's mission had been entirely in vain. The curious thing was that these mysterious assertions appeared not only in the columns of the extreme Legitimist organs, but also in those of a Liberal paper. At first the leaders of the Monarchical movement treated them with contempt. It was sufficient that they had the notes of M. Chesnelong as approved by the Count, and people less well informed might gossip as they pleased. But at length the statements that there was something wrong at Salzburg became so definite and persistent that the confidence of the Orleanists was shaken, and they felt that there was no possibility of going further unless the Count himself should issue a manifesto putting an end to all uncer-



tainty. He did issue such a manifesto, and it was the deathblow of their hopes; and not only did he do this, but he did it in a manner as mortifying and insulting to those who were working for him as possible. He ordered that it should be published in a newspaper before taking care that they should know its contents; and he did it in the shape of a letter to M. Chesnelong, whom he had thrown overboard, and with whose communications the letter was in direct opposition; moreover the letter was so worded that the reader would necessarily think that, if M. Chesnelong had ever reported that the Count was ready to make concessions, he was stating what was wholly untrue.

The Comte de Chambord's letter of October 27 had indeed fallen like a thunderbolt into the ranks of the Monarchists. An unconditional acceptance of him as King was manifestly an impossibility. How to gain time for a more favourable contingency was now the question, and time was pressing; the Assembly was to meet on the 5th of November. A *Provisorium* was the only resource open; and the present ruler of France, the "modern Bayard" as he had been called by the Prince himself, seemed by his loyal disinterested character, and the advantages of his position, eminently calculated to keep things together, and to save France from the grasp of the revolutionary party till such times as royalty could step in. Whether that royalty should prove to be of Legitimist, or Orleanist, or Bonapartist type, might still be conveniently left in the uncertainties of the future. But divergent views were entertained as to the limits which it was desirable to fix beforehand to this *Provisorium*. The Monarchists of the Bourbon sect wished it to be a ten years' term; the Imperialists, now reassuming as a party an importance which had of late fallen from them, would mostly have been better satisfied with five years. Then, again, the question of the Constitutional Laws became important. The Left wished that the prolongation of the Marshal's powers should be dependent on those laws, and objected to delivering themselves over to the "modern Bayard" with hands bound. MacMahon, on the other hand, resisted the imposition of conditions which would have made his position no better than that of the Comte de Chambord himself.

During the few days that remained before the meeting of the Assembly, conferences of the different parties were held. An idea was started by some members of the Right of naming the Comte de Paris Regent of the Kingdom *pour le Roi empêché*; another proposition was to proclaim the Monarchy, albeit no Monarch was forthcoming, and to make MacMahon or the Prince de Joinville as "Lieutenant-General" virtually Dictator. On the 3rd of November, delegates of three groups of the Right presented themselves before the Marshal, and impressed upon him the necessity of consenting to a prolongation of his powers. On the following day M. Casimir Périer had an interview with him, and informed him that the Republicans accepted in principle this solution of the situation, but required that the Assembly should first of all discuss the Constitutional Laws presented by M. Thiers in May.

When the Assembly met on the 5th of November, the Duc de Broglie read a Message from the President, of which the following are the principal passages:—

“When you adjourned for the recess I told you that you could leave Versailles without uneasiness, and that during your absence nothing would occur to disturb the public peace. What I then announced has been realized. On reassembling to-day, you find France at peace. The complete liberation of the territory is an accomplished fact. The foreign army has left the French soil, and our troops have re-entered the evacuated Departments amid the patriotic joy of the populations. The deliverance has been effected without causing trouble at home or awakening distrust abroad. Europe is assured of our firm resolution to maintain peace, and, without fear, sees us again take possession of ourselves. I receive from all Powers testimony of their desire to live with us on friendly terms. At home, public order has been firmly maintained. A vigilant Administration confided to functionaries of different political origin, but all devoted to the cause of order, has strictly applied existing laws. The Administration has everywhere acted in the Conservative spirit which has always been manifested by the great majority of this Assembly, and from which, as far as I am concerned, I shall never depart so long as you entrust the Government to me. It is true that material tranquillity has not prevented agitation of the public mind; as the period of your reassembling approached, party strife has acquired redoubled intensity. This was to be expected. Among the matters which you yourselves pointed out as claiming your attention on the resumption of your labours was the examination of the Constitutional Laws presented by my predecessor. This necessarily again brings forward the question, always reserved hitherto, of the definitive form of Government. You will, perhaps, find it more prudent to maintain in present institutions a character enabling the Government to surround itself, as at present, with all the friends of order without distinction of party. If you think so, permit him whom you elected to an honour which he did not seek to tell you frankly his opinion. To give public peace a sure guarantee, the present Government lacks two essential conditions of which you cannot longer leave it destitute without danger. It has neither sufficient vitality nor authority. With a power that might be changed at any moment it is possible to secure peace to-day, but not safety for the morrow. Every great undertaking is thus rendered impossible, and industry languishes. Stability is wanting in the present Government, and authority also often fails it. It is not sufficiently armed by the laws to discourage the fractious or even to obtain obedience from its own agents. The public press abandons itself with impunity to excesses which would end by corrupting the public mind throughout the country. The Municipalities forget that they are organs of law, and leave the central authority without representatives in many parts of the territory. You will consider these dangers, and will give to society a strong

and durable Executive Power, which will be solicitous for its future, and able to defend it with energy."

The Message was received with eager signs of approbation on one side of the Chamber, and with ironical manifestations on the other. The proposition presented by General Changarnier, as President of the Committee of Nine, was then read, purporting to prolong the powers of the Marshal in their present form for ten years. Next came the presentation, by the Bonapartist group, through Baron Echasseriaux, of a scheme demanding a vote by *Plébiscite* on the three forms of Government—Republic, Empire, and Monarchy. Urgency was demanded for both propositions. M. Dufaure took the opportunity to demand that the prolongation scheme should be considered in connexion with the project of Constitutional Laws introduced last session, and alluded to the agitation caused by the late Royalist intrigues. His speech was loudly applauded by the Left. M. Grévy contended that there was no "urgency" for prolonging the powers of the Marshal before the passing of the Constitutional Laws should have insured the establishment of a complete Government; he declared that the said prolongation of powers beyond their proper term would be an illegal and revolutionary vote, and demanded, as M. Dufaure had done, that the proposition of prolongation, and the discussion of the Constitutional Laws, should be entrusted to the same Committee. M. Rouher, the Duc de Broglie, and others also spoke; and the struggle was chiefly concentrated on this last demand, when, in the midst of the debate, M. Prax-Paris requested the Assembly to vote "urgency" on the proposal of an appeal to the people. Then occurred a singular complication. In order to neutralize the significance of a scheme accepted by the Government, the Radical Left, the Pure Left, and the Left Centre, forming part of the Left side, voted with the Bonapartists for the "urgency" of the scheme of a *Plébiscite*. M. Dufaure alone remained sitting. M. Thiers rose and voted in favour of "urgency." Much sensation was caused by this position of affairs, and after a laborious discussion, the President put a question to the ballot to ascertain if the proposal to prolong the powers of the Marshal in their present form for ten years, with the exception of ulterior voting of Constitutional Laws, should be entrusted to the Commission appointed to examine those Laws. The question was a critical one. Had this proposition been accepted, the Government would have fallen and Marshal MacMahon must necessarily have retired. During the vote the agitation was very great in the lobbies, and all sorts of rumours were in circulation. It was said at first that there was a majority of nine votes, then of one vote. It was added that the nine votes were annulled by nine double votes. At last, after waiting half an hour, the result was given—350 votes for, and 360 against. The proposition of the Left was rejected, though the Bonapartist Deputies had voted with that section of the Chamber.

A majority of ten was no very reassuring triumph to boast of,

important as the victory was in itself; and the confidence with which it was proclaimed received an unwelcome check when the business came on of appointing the Committee which was to report on the Bill for the Prolongation of Powers. Each of the fifteen bureaux into which the Assembly was divided had to ballot for one member to be returned to this Committee. Now it so turned out that, while eight members were elected by the Liberal fraction, seven only were sent up by the Conservatives. The Left finding themselves thus in possession of the field as far as the Committee was concerned, an attempt was made by the majority of that body to come yet to an understanding with the Marshal by means of a private interview, and so to hear from his own mouth whether he did not allow that the enlargement of his powers for a definite term of years ought to be made concurrently with the passing of the Constitutional Laws, so that he might indeed be made the supreme and irremovable head of the State, but subject to certain conditions limiting his powers. They could scarcely be surprised at the response they met with. The Marshal-President received the deputation, but said he had not a word to modify in his Message, and he urged them again to hasten their labours, and to invest him at once with powers as durable and as great as he had declared to be necessary. Compromise on this basis being thus found impossible, the Committee, after several prolonged sittings, adopted an amendment proposed by M. Casimir Périer, the principle of which was to combine as closely as possible the prolongation of Marshal MacMahon's powers with the voting of the projected Constitutional Laws. The first Article provided that, whatever might be the form which these laws should prescribe for the election of the President of the Republic, Marshal MacMahon should retain from the date of their coming into operation the powers of President, such as they should be defined in the said laws, *jusqu'à la plus prochaine Législature*. This Article should be annexed to the organic laws, and have equal authority with them. The second Article stipulated that, until the Constitutional Laws were voted, the Marshal should continue to exercise his present powers. The third Article provided that, within three days after the voting of the present Bill, a Commission of Thirty members should be nominated with the ordinary forms to proceed to the examination of the Constitutional Laws, and this Commission should make its Report to the Assembly before the 15th of January, 1874.

The Report was presented to the Assembly on Saturday the 15th, M. Laboulaye being reporter. The only alteration made from M. Casimir Périer's propositions was, that by the first Article a period of five years was assigned to the continuance of MacMahon's powers from the date of the meeting of the next Legislature, instead of the term being left in vagueness.

The discussion on the Report was appointed for the following Monday, the intervening day being spent in active preparation on both sides. Meanwhile it was signalized by two departmental elec-



tions, that in the Seine Inférieure and that in the Aube, which testified to the steady preponderance of Republican feeling in the country.

At the hour appointed for the discussion, on Monday, November the 17th, M. de Broglie ascended the Tribune, and, to the surprise of the Assembly, read the following Message from the Marshal-President, definitely rejecting the conclusion of the Committee's Report, but declaring his willingness to accept a *seven* years' prolongation of his powers in lieu of the ten years at first demanded.

"Gentlemen," he said, "at the moment that the discussion upon the prolongation of my powers is about to commence, I think it my duty to indicate the guarantees without which it would be imprudent, in my opinion, to accept the formidable task of governing a great country. According to the usages of the Parliamentary system, the Ministers will explain the acts of the Government to the Assembly, which is their Sovereign judge; but when my authority is brought under discussion, and my responsibility is in question, no one will be surprised at my making known my views. France, desiring mainly for the Government stability and strength, would not understand a resolution which would assign to the President of the Republic a power whose duration and character could be subjected from the outset to reservations and suspensory conditions. To postpone until the adoption of the Constitutional Bills either the starting-point of the prolongation of my powers or the final effects of the Assembly's vote, would be equivalent to stating beforehand that what is decided to-day will again be placed in question a few days hence. I, more than any other, must desire that the Constitutional Bills necessary for determining the conditions of the exercise of the public powers should speedily be discussed, and the Assembly will certainly carry out without delay the resolution it has already arrived at upon this point; but if you subordinate the proposal which is under discussion to the voting of the Constitutional Bills, will that not render uncertain and diminish the authority of the power you wish to create? If I had consulted my own tastes only, I should not have spoken of the duration of my powers. I yield, however, to the desire which a number of the members of the Assembly have manifested to learn my opinion upon this subject. I understand the idea of those who, in order to give full scope to important matters of business, have proposed to fix the prolongation of my powers at ten years; but, after having maturely reflected, I have come to the conclusion that a term of seven years would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the general interests, and would be more commensurate with the strength which I can still devote to the country. If the Assembly thinks that in the position in which it has placed me I am still able to render some services, I openly declare that I shall use the powers which will be entrusted to me for the defence of Conservative ideas, for I am convinced that the majority of France is as firmly attached to those principles as is the majority of the National Representatives."

Great was the excitement which the reading of this Message pro-



duced in the Assembly at Versailles. Passionate exclamations and protests for a time made M. de Broglie inaudible. Especially vehement were the interruptions when the Minister read the passage expressing the President's unwillingness to possess an authority "rendered feeble by reserves and suspensory conditions," in allusion to the provisions of the third Article of the Committee's Bill. After the reading was over, M. Laboulaye asked that this new Message should be referred to the Committee, and that they should be allowed to reconsider their position. At five o'clock he had to announce that the Committee had not yet drawn up their Supplementary Report, and to propose the adjournment of the discussion till the following day.

On the 18th and 19th an animated debate ensued. From the moment that the Marshal's Message had been read, indeed, the result of the division had ceased to be doubtful. A large proportion of the Deputies of the Left themselves would have deprecated his retirement from office, partly because they distrusted the ability of M. Thiers to maintain order, partly because, in the event of a dissolution, they distrusted the willingness of their own constituents to return them to a new Assembly. M. de Laboulaye began by declaring that the Committee adhered to its conclusions. "The reservation in Clause 3," he said, "is not a mark of mistrust. The provisions of the Bill constitute the only means of investing the Presidential power with a constitutional and irrevocable character. The Committee has heard statements from the Ministers declaring that the Government entirely adheres to the views expressed in the President's Message. Conciliation is, therefore, impossible. The Committee considers that the whole Bill is contained in Clause 3, which it adheres to." The reduction of the proposed term of Presidency from ten years to seven was quite illusory, he said, as a concession, and was a boon only to the Bonapartists.

M. Bertauld, of the Left Centre, joined battle with an aggressive speech against the Message, against the Bill of the Committee, and against the Prime Minister. He was especially severe on the Legitimists. Were they firmly resolved, he asked, not to think of re-establishing the Monarchy during the seven years now proposed for the duration of the MacMahon Presidency? "No," promptly replied M. Dahirel from the benches of the Right. M. Bertauld noted this candid answer as a success, and addressed those whom he termed the demi-Legitimists, otherwise the Right Centre, asking if they would renounce all idea of establishing another President, or a Lieutenant-General, or some other substitute for royalty, during the seven years, or the, perhaps, still longer term which might result from the combinations of the Committee. Assailed by noisy interruptions, he showed himself prompt in irritating rejoinder. "*Messieurs les Parlementaires de retour de Frohsdorf*," he said, "you are very impatient, and you show very little respect for liberty of discussion, even when presented with forms which are, I hope, perfectly proper and courteous."

While criticizing the Report, M. Bertauld recognized the honourable motives which had dictated the concessions of the Committee—concessions which were, to its majority, a real sacrifice of opinion and feeling made to the cause of conciliation. He concluded by an unsparing onslaught upon the Duc de Broglie, which greatly angered the Right. After the wreck of the Chambord project, he thought the only proper thing to do was to continue the *status quo*, to accept a provisional state of affairs, and pass laws of organization. This idea seemed to him so reasonable and sensible that he believed it would have been that of the great majority of the Assembly, but for the one adopted by a statesman bent upon revenge for the check he had experienced. "Let that statesman, that Minister," he continued, "permit me to remind him of a fact supplied by the history of England. There was a Minister, Bolingbroke, who likewise conspired against the very powers of which he was the depositary, and who, betraying the cause of the Protestant Succession, . . ." Here the Right, very wroth at the parallel foreseen, became noisy in its interruptions and calls to order. "What!" cried Bertauld, "you call me to order because I speak of Bolingbroke?" M. Buffet called upon the speaker to explain. Of whom was he speaking? "Of Bolingbroke," replied Bertauld. "I said, a Minister betraying. . . ." "The speaker declares," said M. Buffet, "that it is only of Bolingbroke he speaks." "I do not declare it," said Bertauld; "my words proclaim it." "There was a Minister," he continued, "under Queen Anne who desired to bring back a Stuart, not because he loved him, but because there was a political interest to maintain himself in power. He failed in his design, was impeached and condemned. He went into exile, and passed a great part of his life in France. The Vice-President of the Council need not alarm himself; I shall not ask his impeachment or his condemnation, or even that he should exile himself from France or from the Assembly; but—and it is a wish of which the accomplishment would be very profitable to our country—I do ask that he should exile himself from the Ministry." Having said this, M. Bertauld resumed his seat amid the cheers of the Left and the angry murmurs of the Right.

The Bonapartist Deputy, M. Prax-Paris, entered into an argument in favour of the doctrine of an appeal to the people. He reminded the House of the Bordeaux Pact, and accused M. Thiers of having attempted to pave the way for a Republic, and the Legitimists of having laboured for the restoration of Monarchy. He reproached the Ministry with favouring the plan for a Monarchical Restoration, and said:—"The attempt to found a Republic has failed, as well as the scheme for a Monarchy. Should the Republic be voted by a feeble majority it would not endure: the Assembly, therefore, is powerless to constitute anything. A prolongation of the *Provisorium*, far from lessening, would increase the gravity of the political state of affairs in the country. Radicalism alone would profit by the adoption of this course, and the only means of safety

lies in an appeal to the people—a course which may be adopted by all parties without sacrifice of principle.” The speaker quoted Legitimist authorities in favour of the doctrine of an appeal to the nation, and declared a *Plébiscite* to be the least revolutionary weapon that could be employed. He declared that his party felt no hostility against Marshal MacMahon, and that the Ministry was wrong in mixing up his name with the debates in the Assembly. All they asked was that the Marshal should be neither a Monk nor a Washington, but simply a faithful servant of the country. He concluded his speech with a powerful attack against the Duc de Broglie. He resumed his seat amid considerable excitement, and was followed in the Tribune by M. de Castellane, who argued that the prolongation of Marshal MacMahon’s powers was the logical consequence of the state of parties in the Assembly: that the Republic led to Radicalism, but that the Monarchical party, which was formerly divided, was now united, and that the union among the Conservatives had survived the defeat of the attempts at a Monarchical Restoration.

M. Jules Simon delivered a long and able speech to prove that such a prolongation of the President’s powers as that required by the majority would be the establishment of personal Government. Marshal MacMahon would then be independent of the Assembly. “The Marshal,” he said, “will be able to employ pressure upon the deliberations of the Assembly by repeatedly sending us such Messages as that of yesterday. When you discuss the Constitutional Bills, Marshal MacMahon will tell you the exigencies of the situation, and you will therefore have a personal Government. By creating a President without defining his powers, you begin where you ought to end. You say France is sick, and you seek a remedy in a man instead of in institutions.” M. Jules Simon proceeded to state that the step taken by Comte de Paris in going to Frohsdorf was one of personal reconciliation, not reconciliation of systems. He reproached the Monarchists with having disturbed France by attempting a Restoration when they were uncertain whether an agreement existed, or in what it consisted. If the Assembly had been convoked before the publication of the Comte de Chambord’s letter, and if a weak majority had succeeded in voting a Monarchy, France would have learnt that she possessed a King, and would have discovered on the morrow that she had been deceived. “You had forgotten,” continued the speaker, “to conciliate opposing doctrines. You already showed a preference for persons over institutions; you wished to thrust France into the arms of a man. Now, you again wish to create a personal power.” An exclamation from the Right, “Yes, against the men of the 4th of September,” interrupted him, and occasioned some disturbance. M. Jules Simon, on resuming, maintained that Marshal MacMahon’s powers should have a provisional character. The Message, he said, showed that the Assembly was powerless to establish a definitive Government. At all recent

elections the country manifested its desire in favour of a settled form of Government. He continued,—“You know what the Government of the country desires. You have not succeeded in establishing a Monarchy; will you create a Republic?” A voice from the Right asked, “What Republic?” “The Pact of Bordeaux established a provisional Republic; if you do not proclaim a definite Republic, what will you have done? The country will say that you remain Deputies in order to attempt bringing about during a course of years what you have failed to achieve in three months. You wish to renew the attempt at a Monarchical Restoration.” M. Jules Simon accused the Ministry of having compromised the favourable political situation which it had inherited from the Government of M. Thiers. “The power you wish to create,” he said, “will be without strength; Marshal MacMahon does not possess the genius of the author of the 18th Brumaire; he will not possess the *prestige* which a king would have had; the duration of power does not constitute its strength. The Comte de Chambord with a feeble majority might have been strong in virtue of his historical principle; but Marshal MacMahon with a majority of ten votes will be weak, especially in the face of ten vacant seats. You wish to avenge your defeat at the expense of the country, at the expense of commerce, at the expense of right and liberty.” M. Jules Simon resumed his seat amid tremendous cheering. His speech was the greatest oratorical achievement of the debate, and was said to have recalled the old glories of the French Tribune; but his arguments failed to persuade an Assembly which dreaded Dissolution at this moment more than Dictation.

M. Chesnelong next rose, and read an explanation respecting his mission to the Comte de Chambord, with the object of answering the reproaches made by the previous speaker. He declared that no one had sought to deceive the country. He had accepted the mission from a sense of duty, plainly foreseeing the insults to which he would be subjected by political partisans. He maintained that he had faithfully conveyed the ideas of his colleagues to the Comte de Chambord, and had accurately reported his conversations with the Prince, who would not deny the fact. In opposition to the various comments which have been made upon the letter from Frohsdorf, M. Chesnelong declared before God and before man that the minutes of the meeting held under the presidency of General Changarnier contained the exact truth. He declined to accept the reproaches levelled at him for want of success. He had fulfilled a duty and had exercised his right as a Deputy. “We hoped,” he added, “that a Monarchy would insure the prosperity and the greatness of France, would secure order, guarantee the future, favour the development of the public liberties, and draw towards France the sympathies and alliance of European countries. We will not disown the attempt we made; we were honest men honestly pursuing an honest object. We did not succeed, and now we rally round our valiant Marshal; we do not

renounce our convictions ; we still believe that a Monarchy is our country's natural and necessary form of Government."

M. Ernoul, Minister of Justice, warmly repelled M. Jules Simon's attack upon Marshal MacMahon, who, he said, was one of the last resources of Conservative France. He maintained the Marshal's complete disinterestedness, and said no one ever thought of imposing a personal Government or Dictatorship upon France. "We wish," he said, "to give the country the security it requires."

The Assembly decided to resume the debate next day at one o'clock.

On Wednesday, the 18th, two sittings were held, each lasting five hours. M. Rouher's speech was the first in the day's proceedings. It was awaited with strong interest, but rather disappointed the speaker's admirers. Moderate in its form, it was more than once diversified by vehement protestations, and by sarcastic allusions to passages in the history of the reign under which the orator had been known as the "Vice-Emperor." His argument, however, was a powerful one. He supported the amendment in favour of an appeal to the people. He said the prolongation of Marshal MacMahon's powers for seven years would not give the country security if the Assembly retained constituent power. If it did not mean to retain that power in its own hands, it would be compelled to constitute the Republic. By maintaining the present provisional state of things, the guarantee of irrevocability and stability became illusory. "When you are ready," he added, "to establish a definitive form of Government, you will overthrow the septennial power which you are now about to create. We do not wish for a Dictatorship, but for a strong Government. When you come to discuss the Constitutional Bills, you will find yourselves powerless, and you will be compelled to create a Republic of which the Conservatives will thus become the founders." He then demanded that the prolongation of Marshal MacMahon's powers should only be for three years. Hereupon M. Depeyre sarcastically exclaimed, "Eighteen and three make twenty-one." The allusion to the age of the Prince Imperial was plain. M. Rouher energetically repudiated the imputation in terms which produced a strong sensation. Afterwards, proceeding to give a history of the Assembly's decisions on the subject of the Executive Power, he demonstrated the powerlessness of the Assembly, and argued that a *Plébiscite* was the only means of creating a strong Administration. "The voting of the people," he said, "would be free and uninfluenced ; the Imperial Dynasty is in exile, and all its hopes are at the side of the tomb. All political parties would bow to the verdict of the nation. I have confidence in Providence and the work of time." M. Rouher resumed his seat amid considerable excitement, and the proceedings had to be suspended for a short time.

M. Naquet, of the Extreme Left, who followed, failed to obtain the attention of his audience, and finally left the Tribune, considerably exasperated, denouncing the Assembly as no longer represent-



ing any one in France—an expression for which he was called to order by M. Buffet.

M. Laboulaye opposed the amendment which favoured an appeal to the people. He said a *Plébiscite* would not solve the existing difficulty, because it would not alter the state of parties; a more simple method would be a dissolution and general election.

M. Raoul Duval, to the surprise and disappointment of the Right, to whose ranks he belonged, supported the idea of an appeal to the people, and said the Conservatives ought to aid in founding a Republic if the people desired it. If the Conservatives remained Monarchists, future elections would give a majority to the Radicals—a result which would be full of danger to the country. The Republicans themselves had an interest in seeing Conservative opinions represented in the next Assembly. He concluded by demanding an appeal to the people previous to the voting of the Constitutional Bills.

On a division being then called for upon the amendment requiring an appeal to the people previous to the voting of the Constitutional Bills, the amendment was rejected by 499 votes against 88.

M. Depeyre then came forward in support of the counter-proposals of the minority of the Committee of Fifteen, and argued that the propositions of the majority of the Committee implied distrust of Marshal MacMahon. He endeavoured to refute the speech delivered by M. Jules Simon the previous day, and pointed out that Marshal MacMahon's power would not be a Dictatorship; that its very duration would be a protection for Parliamentary liberty. The counter-proposals of the minority provided that he should exercise power as at present until the Constitutional Bills had been voted. Replying to M. Jules Simon's allusion to Marshal MacMahon's reverses, he said certain reverses were worth more than the most striking victories. This assertion occasioned loud exclamations from the Left, and M. Varroy, a Deputy of Lorraine, protested against this view. M. Depeyre, amid cheers from the Right, concluded his speech by saying that there would remain in Marshal MacMahon's hands the strength which is given by honesty of purpose.

M. Varroy explained that he had interrupted the last speaker because he was astonished at the proposal to give *quasi-royal* power to a man who had contributed to his country's disasters—a statement which caused much commotion.

M. Laboulaye opposed M. Depeyre's arguments, and said that without Constitutional Laws the Marshal's power would not afford security to the country. "The proposals of the minority of the Committee," he said, "would create a power which has no name in any known language. You wish to make merely provisional institutions; you had better make a provisional nation—you desire a pure negation. We wish to have the Marshal with the Republic; you want the Marshal without the Republic."

The Duc de Broglie then announced that the Government

adhered to the amendment of the minority of the Committee. He wished to reply to many of the observations which had been made in the course of the debate, and he moved, therefore, that the Assembly should hold a night sitting.

At nine o'clock p.m., the Deputies met again. The Duc de Broglie was the first to speak, rather against the wishes of his party, who were aware of the little sympathy he was wont to command in the Assembly. This time, however, his speech, which lasted about an hour and a half, was a success. He supported the counter-measure proposed by the minority of the Committee, and said, "The Assembly will perform a great act of confidence by prolonging the powers of the President, whose loyalty and impartiality are acknowledged. Marshal MacMahon will remain under the authority of the Assembly, and without any idea of assuming a Dictatorship." Here, being interrupted by the Left, the Duke added, "We have known other Dictatorships." He then maintained that Clause 3 of the Report of the Committee implied mistrust, and said:—"I pity those who will not appreciate the grandeur in the character of the President, whose power I entreat you not to weaken by a mark of mistrust." His speech terminated with a laboured eulogy of the "honest soldier whose rule was necessary to the salvation of France and to the extinction of anarchy."

The Duke's harangue was constantly interrupted by the Left and cheered by the Right. M. Grévy rose to reply, in a speech marked by moderation, but expressing decidedly his objection to the proposed measure, which would be, he considered, one of usurpation and fraught with dangers. After M. Grévy's speech, the vote was taken on the first Article of the Counter-Bill. Great eagerness was manifested to know the result, and various were the reports that flew about the Chamber. The majority proved to be 66, a result far exceeding the anticipations of the Conservatives. Marshal MacMahon had expected no such victory. He was reported, by persons who had seen him in the morning, to be much depressed, and told one of his visitors that this battle weighed upon his mind more than any of those he had fought on very different fields. Next day congratulations poured in upon him.

The vote of Wednesday, the 19th November, was in fact a "new departure." The Marshal had now been established as Chief of the Executive for seven years, by a distinct vote of the Supreme Legislature; and whatever changes might be in store in the changeable country over which he was called to rule, no future Legislature could set him aside within that term without repealing in positive terms the organic law of November 19, 1873.

Nor was this vote the only victory gained by Government on that memorable day. M. Waddington attempted to continue the opposition by supporting an amendment reproducing Clause 3 of the Committee's Bill, and setting forth that the Article defining the President's term of office should not have a Constitutional character till after the organic laws were passed. This amendment

was rejected by a large majority. With two other votes distinctly and at all points defeating the Left, the sitting terminated. The Assembly adopted, by 370 votes against 330, a proposal of the minority of the Committee declaring that a Committee of Thirty to report on the Constitutional Laws should be appointed by ballot at a public sitting. The Left demanded that this Committee should be appointed by the bureaux, as the Committee of Fifteen had been; but the Assembly, by 378 against 310, adopted the entire counter-proposal of the minority of the Committee of Fifteen, and rejected the election by bureaux.

A friend ventured to ask M. Gambetta, at the close of the sitting, his opinion of the day's events. "*C'est la commencement de la décadence,*" he replied.

After the debate was over, it became known that one of the watchers at Versailles for the vote which was to decide the destiny of France had been the Comte de Chambord himself. He had come to Paris, where he was the guest of a distinguished member of the Legitimist aristocracy, and where he received visits from the Orleans Princes and others; and on the closing night of the debate he was at Versailles. Indeed he was with difficulty restrained from appearing in person before the Assembly; and had Marshal MacMahon failed of obtaining a majority, his avowed intention, it is said, was to have mounted on horseback, summoned the princes of his house around him, and presented himself to the nation. The rejection of the Marshal would, he averred, place the country on the brink of chaos, and it would become his duty, as the representative of France's long line of kings, to step into the breach. The perils of this most unpractical design were strongly set before the Quixotic prince. He was told that he would infallibly be assassinated. "It matters not," was the reply; "the principle will survive, and my person is of no consequence now that I have successors." With MacMahon confirmed in the Presidential chair, however, the occasion for this grand theatrical stroke was wanting.

Immediately after the vote of the Assembly, the Ministry, in accordance with the engagement made on the first day of the session, tendered their resignations. Their allegiance being in fact, by the vote, transferred from the Assembly to the President personally, it was proper to make a new reference to the supreme authority. It stood with Marshal MacMahon to declare by his act how he viewed this new solicitation of his confidence. After some rumours and changes which we need not here dwell upon, the Duc de Broglie was again found at the head of a Cabinet slightly modified from the last. Instead of M. Ernoul and M. Laboullierie, representatives of the Extreme Right, M. de Larcy and M. Depeyre, moderate Conservatives, were found in it. M. Beulé also retired, and M. de Fourton, a member of the Left Centre, replaced M. Batbie as Minister of Public Instruction. The Duc Decazes took the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs, under a condition, which M. Magne also required before consenting to remain at the head of

the Finance Department, that their colleagues should jointly undertake to maintain the present state of things, without favouring any pretensions inconsistent with it.

While the Ministerial Crisis still lasted, a debate took place on an Interpellation long threatened by M. Léon Say, but postponed at the request of Ministers till such time as the Prolongation of Powers question should have been decided.

The object of this Interpellation was to make Government give a reason for having delayed ordinary elections to the vacant seats in the Assembly. M. Beulé brought forward many excuses. The sittings of the Councils General, the final evacuation of the territory, the anniversary of the 4th of September, the agricultural banquets, the licence of the press, the excitement of parties were all in turn, or conjointly, alleged as reasons for not causing agitation in the country by partial elections. Moreover, the Government of M. Thiers, he asserted, had favoured similar delays on special occasions. The debate had lost much of its interest by the vote of the 19th, when the language of the majority in favour of MacMahon seemed to confute the argument which might have been drawn from Republican feeling in the country. The Government, accordingly, did not think it necessary to ask for a vote of confidence, but accepted the Order of the Day, *pur et simple*, and on this issue obtained a majority of forty-nine, nearly double of what had been anticipated.

At the close of November the Assembly proceeded to elect the Committee of Thirty appointed to take the Constitutional Laws under consideration. The balloting was protracted during several days, and gave rise to much party skirmishing. Finally an effective majority was returned in favour of Government, and M. de Batbie was chosen President of the Committee. Soon afterwards it agreed on the appointment of Sub-Committees to facilitate the progress of business.

The Duc de Broglie lost no time in marking the character of the policy he was resolved to pursue in his new term of office. On the 28th of November he introduced a Bill having for its object to confer on Government the right of appointing the mayors and adjoints, or deputy-mayors, of all the communes of France till such time as an Organic Municipal Law should have been voted by the Assembly. By the terms of this reactionary law—the first attack of the Ministry upon the principle of local self-government—all mayors and adjoints were to be appointed by the Ministers or prefects from the elected members of the municipal councils, the Executive authorities reserving, however, the right of removing their nominees at pleasure, and of choosing their successors outside the municipalities if necessary. The police administration was, moreover, to be transferred to the prefects, the municipal authorities being, nevertheless, forced to provide funds for its maintenance. A Committee was appointed to examine this measure, consisting of nine Ministerialists and six Republicans. The Report given in on the 17th was in favour of the Government proposal.

The Act passed under M. Thiers had provided that the mayors of communes with a population of less than 6000 were to be elected by the municipal councils, and in the large communes they were to be chosen by Government from a list of three names drawn up by the municipal councils. The new Bill provides that Government shall select the mayors in the first instance from among members of the councils, but that in the event of a mayor being dismissed the Home Minister may appoint any tax-paying resident of the commune, whether he be a municipal councillor or not. This is simply a return to the custom of the Second Empire—a custom bitterly inveighed against by M. de Broglie and his friends in former times.

The 4th of December was marked by a debate on an Interpellation brought forward by M. Lamy, a member of the Left, on the maintenance of the State of Siege in Paris. M. Lamy denied that there was any necessity for continuing this exceptional state of affairs, and spoke in high praise of the wisdom and tranquillity displayed by the country. In the course of his speech he attacked the Government of the 24th of May in a manner which necessitated the intervention of the President. The Duc de Broglie justified the conduct of the Government in demanding that the state of siege should be prolonged until after the law on the press and that on the municipal councils had been voted. To show that military law was necessary for the present, he referred to certain social disturbances and to a collection of newspaper articles, some plainly exciting the people to revolt, and others vague, speculative, and harmless enough. Where can be the harm, he remarked, of saying that society is answerable for robbers and assassins because people are not properly educated? The extracts read by the Duke were from papers prohibited by the military authorities. A Deputy on the Left jumped up, and said that there were ninety-five sufferers. "You are wrong," retorted the Duke; "only five papers have been suspended and fourteen prohibited under the present Government, while under the previous Administration the number was thirty-two." But he omitted to remark that M. Thiers had been in power for three years. He concluded, amid cheers from the Right, by saying, "We shall do our duty and make the Government of the country respected."

M. Ferry then delivered a long speech, specially directed against the Duc de Broglie, whom he accused of calumniating the country, which had remained calm in spite of the irritation it had felt on witnessing the late attempts to restore the Monarchy. He accused the present Government of preparing to introduce laws of a dictatorial character. This speech was loudly cheered by the Left, and occasioned numerous and violent interruptions from the Right. After some remarks from M. Lockroy, the Duc Decazes, and M. Victor Lefranc, the House declared the discussion closed. MM. Lamy and Ferry moved an Order of the Day blaming the maintenance of the State of Siege, but the Assembly rejected this



motion by adopting the Order of the Day, pure and simple, by 407 votes against 273.

While so far the Ministers were proceeding prosperously with their reactionary schemes, they received a severe check in the result of the elections which took place on the 14th of December for the purpose of filling the still vacant seats in the Assembly. The adherents of the République proved equally strong in town and country, and returned their four candidates triumphantly. Even Brittany, the supposed land of Catholic and Legitimist predilections, sent up by a large majority a Radical Deputy for the Finistère. On their next appearance in the Assembly the Ministers were surrounded by anxious members of the Right, who implored them to make a complete purification of the Provincial Administration as the only means of turning the tide of success. Such pressure was hardly needed, as the Duc de Broglie was already working with the Commission of Thirty to obtain as much power for the Central Government under the new laws as possible. Moreover, it was well known that a large disfranchisement of voters was in contemplation under the impending revision of the Electoral Law.

Our last notice of political events for the year must be directed to the Budget of M. Magne. When the MacMahon Government came into office it found itself in presence of a deficit of 149,000,000 francs for the coming year. M. Magne set to work and proposed a series of new taxes destined to balance the Budget for 1874. A Committee appointed to report on M. Magne's proposals accepted all but 28,000,000 francs demanded by the Minister of Finance, but rejected a proportional stamp duty, charge for redirecting and forwarding letters, and tax on goods sent by train proposed by him. The Committee, it is said, desires to terminate its work here, and, instead of proposing new taxes itself for 28,000,000 francs, to let M. Magne submit a fresh plan for raising that amount. It is said also that M. Magne intends to support his views before the Chamber, but that he will not refuse a compromise, his chief desire being to see the Budget balanced and the credit of France maintained.

Meanwhile, by a large majority, the Assembly agreed to give the President an increase of salary to enable him to hold receptions and entertainments at the Elysée during the ensuing season, befitting the acknowledged head of the French nation in its social as well as political aspects.

The Presidential crisis and the Ministerial crisis having thus come to an end, there was a comparative lull in political excitement, and public attention gave itself eagerly to the close of the remarkable and dramatic trial which had been in progress at the Trianon since the 6th of October. On that day Marshal Bazaine had been brought from his house of temporary confinement at Versailles to face the tribunal of military officers, presided over by the Duc d'Aumale, and render an account of his stewardship when, having under his command the "Army of the Rhine," the grandest of all

the French forces when the late Emperor made his fatal war against Germany, he allowed himself to be hemmed up in Metz for two months by the enemy, and finally, without having attempted any effective sortie, surrendered men, guns, colours at a blow, and destroyed the only chance that might possibly have remained to France. For then the Army of the Loire was doing its best to relieve Paris, and the German beleaguering forces were hard strained to cover the *enceinte*; but as soon as Prince Frederick Charles had despatched Bazaine and his 170,000 men as prisoners to Germany, he was able to turn his victorious forces on the raw recruits of Gambetta, and the result was inevitable. The French correspondent of one of our English journals thus describes the opening of the Bazaine trial:—

“The drums beat and the Council opens its first sitting. The Duc d’Aumale wears the uniform of a General of Division, with the *grand cordon* of the Legion of Honour *en sautoir*. On his left, and in the same uniform, sit General de Chabaud-Latour, Generals de la Motterouge, Tripier, Guiod, Martimprey, Princeteau, and Martinez-Deschenez; on his right, General Pourcet and his substitutes; below, two clerks; in front, the Marshal’s counsel, M. Lachaud, assisted by his son. The Duke orders ‘the accused’ to be brought in. Marshal Bazaine enters in full costume. He wears the red *cordons* of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and the Star. His head is grey, large, very bald, and his face pale; the moustache is black, the eye feverish. On a sign from the presiding judge he sits down. The sun floods the hall with light. Out of doors the weather is magnificent. We can hear the rattle of the carriages arriving, and see the increasing excitement of the public outside. . . . A clerk reads certain documents of form. The President tells the Marshal to stand up. ‘Your name and surname?’—‘François Achille Bazaine.’ ‘Your age?’—‘Sixty-two years.’ ‘Your birth-place?’—‘Versailles.’ ‘Your profession?’—‘Marshal of France.’ The strange impressions produced by these answers may be imagined. We remember we are in the presence of a man accused of having betrayed the army of which he was one of the greatest chiefs; that he was born at Versailles, that he left that town a private soldier, and that it is in that same Versailles that in his face, as Marshal of France, with honours and distinctions heaped upon him, favoured by fortune and glory, that horrible word ‘treason’ is about to be cast.”

The *acte d’accusation* was contained in a Report drawn up by General Rivière, the reading of which occupied seven days. Then followed the personal examination of Marshal Bazaine, which also continued for a week. The Marshal defended himself for not having destroyed the ramparts of Metz and the war material in the fortress before he surrendered, by this dilemma; that if the negotiations for a capitulation had been broken off he would have remained disarmed, and that once the capitulation signed, it would have been a breach of faith to mutilate anything. When asked by

the Duc d'Aumale what more rigorous conditions could possibly have been inflicted upon him than those he finally accepted, he replied instantly that Metz might have been treated as a town taken by assault, and pillaged. The Duke, when he came to the question of the flags "confided to the honour of a Marshal of France," asked in a solemn voice, tremulous with emotion, why they had not been burnt. The prisoner's answer was that, if his orders had been acted upon with sufficient promptitude they would have been. But the Duke remarked that the orders relied upon were verbal, and that the General to whom they were alleged to have been given denied them. On this point he ordered the reading of passages from General Rivière's Report, tending to show that Marshal Bazaine had all along intended to give up the flags to the enemy.

The examination of witnesses next commenced. Most curious was the assemblage of persons who were brought forward to give their evidence as to the Marshal's treachery, negligence, or incapacity. There were the Generals of historic fame, Canrobert, Palikao, Changarnier, Bourbaki, Lebœuf among them; politicians not less noted, as Jules Favre, Gambetta, Rouher; Schneider, the great ironmaster, and President of the Assembly under the Empire; there was Regnier, the mysterious intriguer; Stoffel, the treacherous aide-de-camp; there were the brave foresters and woodmen who carried despatches to and fro at the peril of their lives; and mayors, lawyers, functionaries of all sorts, whose lives had touched at some point or other on the incidents of that memorable siege.

The speech in defence of the Marshal was delivered by Maître Lachaud, an advocate popular at the Paris Bar. It lasted for three sittings, closing on the 10th of December. We quote a contemporary account:—

"At half-past four o'clock Maître Lachaud concluded his speech. The Duc d'Aumale then rose and asked the Marshal if he had anything more to add. In the midst of profound silence, the Marshal rose. He said: 'I bear on my breast two words, "Honour" and "Country." They have been my motto for the forty years during which I have served France, alike at Metz and elsewhere. I swear it before Christ.' The Marshal was pale, and he appeared deeply moved. His voice was clear and sonorous.

"The President rose to state that the sitting was suspended for an indefinite time. Immediately afterwards the Court retired, and a detachment of gendarmerie mobile was brought into the hall, which cleared a part of the body of the room. The Marshal retired, as he did so taking a last look at the crowd. In conformity with the custom of courts-martial, the accused was not present while the sentence was read, and this, in consequence, was the last time that the Marshal appeared in the hall. During the absence of the Council the officer in attendance reminded those present of the penalties to which those expressing approbation or disapprobation would expose themselves. The crowd awaited with marked impatience the return of the Council, and the most varied opinions were

expressed as to the result of their deliberation. At eight o'clock the text of the questions put to the Court was circulated in the Press Gallery. It appeared from this document that the Court had introduced a fourth question by splitting up the paragraph of Article 210, and it was concluded that the condemnation to death might be avoided, and that degradation alone would be, in all probability, the sentence pronounced. The crowd, which took the most varied views, at times, however, believed there would be a sentence of death—a probability which was not received with dissatisfaction. At half-past eight o'clock a captain of the guard informed the public that the utmost silence must be kept during the reading of the sentence. A short time afterwards the words were called out, 'Le Conseil! Debout!' The gendarmerie shouldered arms, and there was the deepest silence throughout the hall. The Council then entered. At this moment the appearance of the audience-hall was truly striking.

"The Duc d'Aumale, in a clear and energetic voice, spoke as follows:—'In the name of the French people, the Council of War, &c., delivers the following judgment:—François Achille Bazaine, Marshal of France, is he guilty, firstly, of having capitulated before the enemy in the open field?—Unanimously, Yes. Secondly, had this capitulation the effect of making those under his command lay down their arms?—Unanimously, Yes. Thirdly, is he guilty of having negotiated with the enemy before having done everything prescribed by duty and honour?—Unanimously, Yes. Fourthly, is he guilty of having surrendered a fortified place, the protection of which had been entrusted to him?—Unanimously, Yes. In consequence of this, Marshal Bazaine is condemned to the penalty of death, with military degradation, and ceases to belong to the Legion of Honour, and, besides, is condemned to pay the expense of the trial as regards the State. The Council orders that the sentence shall be read to the Marshal in the prison, in presence of the assembled guard under arms.' A mournful silence succeeded these words, and the sitting then closed. The crowd left silently by the different passages. Outside the night was dark, and the avenues of the Trianon were only occasionally lighted up by the lamps of carriages driving towards the railway station."

But the actual doom was less terrible than it seemed. At the same time that the sentence was pronounced, the judges agreed unanimously that a recommendation for mercy should be addressed to Marshal MacMahon; and, in consequence of their appeal, the punishment was commuted into one of twenty years' seclusion. The military degradation inflicted on the culprit was also allowed to be divested of the humiliating ceremonies ordinarily attending it. The Isle St. Marguerite, where the Man in the Iron Mask had of yore expiated his mysterious crime, was assigned as Bazaine's prison-house. Public opinion agreed pretty unanimously, both in France and out of France, that the issue of the trial was a just one. Had Thiers remained in power, indeed, the trial itself

would probably never have taken place. He would have found reasons for postponing it until the accused could have been restored, unmarked, to freedom; being convinced that minute inquiry into the disasters of the war could produce no public advantage sufficient to compensate for the exposure of national scandals. The Government of Marshal MacMahon, however, had decided otherwise.

Some surprise had been caused by the abstention of M. Thiers from all part in parliamentary debate since the date of his retirement from power. His pronounced adhesion to the general politics of the Opposition had tended to unite and strengthen the parties of which it was composed; but he had not come forward as a leader or supporter, by the eloquence of his tongue, in any of the fights which had taken place within the walls of the Assembly. Just before Christmas, however, when the members of the Committee of M. Calmon, the successful candidate in the Seine et Oise, waited upon the ex-President to exchange congratulations with him on the result of the election there, M. Thiers expressed his pleasure in the choice they had made of "one of his most active colleagues and devoted friends, who, under both those designations, had been made the object of the peculiar hostility of the reactionary party;" while at the same time he took the opportunity of expressing anew his own views upon the future prospects of the Republic and its "infallible triumph" in the end. The Republic, he said, was certain to overcome, by the force of "public opinion," all the futile resistance made to it; and it was thought that, by the outspoken way in which the veteran statesman declared himself on this occasion, he was meditating fresh displays ere long of his partisan and oratorical vigour on the battle-field where his triumphs had so often been won.

## CHAPTER III.

### GERMANY.

**GERMANY.**—Ministerial Crisis—Bismarck's Explanation—Ecclesiastical Laws—Debates in Prussian Diet—Imperial Diet—Suppression of some Religious Orders—Protest of Bishops at Fulda—Resistance to Ecclesiastical Laws—Archbishop Ledochowski—Alsace and Lorraine—Press Bill—Royal Visits—Treaty with Persia—Column of Victory—Old Catholics—Bishop Reinkens—Congress at Constance and at Dortmund—Correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor—Elections to Prussian Diet—Bismarck resumes Prussian Premiership—Civil Registration Bill—Refractory Prelates—Pope's Encyclical—Press Legislation—Financial Statement—Death of King of Saxony and of Queen Dowager of Prussia.

**AUSTRO-HUNGARY.**—Reform Bill—Events in Imperial Family—Great Exhibition—Financial Panic—Royal Visitors—New Reichsrath—Emperor's Speech—Infallibilism in Hungary—Ministerial Crisis in Hungary—Buda-Pesth—Emperor's Jubilee

THE Prussian Ministerial crisis that had occurred in December, 1872, continued to occupy attention at the beginning of the new



year, and called forth a multitude of conjectures and comments. The retirement of Prince Bismarck from the Presidentship of the Council of Ministers was announced as a victory of the reactionary party, by those whose sympathies went with that party, while some ventured to assert that the Prince was in reality dissatisfied with the victory which the Liberals had gained over the Aristocrats in the recent matter of the Districts Organization Bill. That his retirement implied no break in the favour of his Sovereign was testified by a most grateful letter addressed to him by the Emperor himself on New Year's Day, accompanied by the Order of the Black Eagle set in diamonds.

On the 25th and 26th of January, Prince Bismarck gave his own explanation of the transaction, in two speeches before the Chamber of Deputies. He was very earnest in denying that there had been dissensions in the Prussian Ministry. The changes which had taken place, his own retirement from the Presidency of the Ministry, and the appointment of Marshal Von Roon in his place, were, he said, altogether such as he had desired and approved. It was only the pressure upon himself of labours and responsibilities which were too great for him to bear that had led him to seek relief from the Emperor. His successor was the friend of his earliest years, in whom he had always had the most perfect confidence—such confidence as he had in very few. It had been at his earnest request, supported by the King's command, that Marshal Von Roon had withdrawn his resignation. Consequently he regarded the existing Ministry as a continuation of his own. He himself would support it with all his strength, and he asked the Chamber to confide in it as when he was the President. In regard to alleged differences of opinion within the Government, Prince Bismarck, while admitting that there had been such, and that he could not always carry out his purposes so speedily as he desired, yet declared that in the case of all questions which had excited discussion he had always found himself on the side of the majority. There was no foundation, then, for the rumours circulated by political gossips and the press as to his having been the victim of a Court intrigue. He considered himself, as a member of the Ministry, still responsible for its policy. He then proceeded to remark that in his opinion it was desirable that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in the Prussian Government should be transformed from a purely Prussian to an Imperial Ministry. "There must," he said, "be some connecting link between the Ministries of Prussia and of the Empire at large, some office in the former which could be held by a functionary without any ties of Particularism." Now the Ministry for Foreign Affairs could be made such an office. He therefore desired that that Ministry should be henceforth regarded, not as one devoted to a specially Prussian policy, but as the machinery by which Prussia might be brought into direct contact and relations with the Empire, and also with the individual States of the Empire before deciding on any common course. He spoke of the question of filling up the Ministry from the majority in the Chambers. "In order

to do that," he said, "we must have a constant majority. But where does such a majority exist among us in Prussia? It had been easy enough in England as long as there were only two parties, the Whigs and the Tories: now, even in England, it was no longer practicable, for there were at least five political fractions which had to be settled with. In Prussia, the Ministry must always bear a royal, governmental character. The King was considered to be of no party; he might, if so disposed, join his action to that of whichever party might be prevalent in the Chamber; but as yet Prussia was not in a condition to bear the strain of a perfect Parliamentary Government." The Prince's speech (the two might be considered as one) made a great impression, and was received with applause.

Meanwhile the contest with Rome, embittered by the Pope's Christmas Allocution, was prosecuted with zeal. On January 7th the Catholic members of the Centre party interpellated Government on account of the prohibition to publish the Allocution, which had been addressed to the Prussian newspapers. The Home Minister asserted that no law had been transgressed in the matter, and that the proceedings had originated with the Foreign Office, in order to establish the fact judicially that the Papal Allocution contained calumnies which would render the authors amenable to law if they came within its jurisdiction. A protracted discussion ensued, but no resolution was passed by the House.

On the 9th the Cultus Minister, Dr. Falk, brought before the House the new Ecclesiastical Laws, and introduced them with a brilliant speech.

These very important Bills were to apply to both the State-recognized religions—to the Protestant or Evangelical equally with the Catholic Church. Their objects may be briefly designated as, first, to protect the freedom of individual persons; second, to insure the training of a German national in contradistinction from an Ultramontane clergy; and, lastly, to guard the rights and independence of the clergy themselves as against their ecclesiastical superiors. The Bill designed to secure the first of these objects aimed at bringing to an end various anomalies which interfered with the exercise of individual freedom in relation to the Churches. For example—under existing circumstances, any one who should leave the Church with which he had been connected might still be compelled to pay for the support of the worship he had ceased to approve of. This and other checks upon the freedom of individual action were to be removed; not that this measure had any special bearing upon the Old Catholics—it applied to other sectarian changes equally. The next measure, that for regulating the education and training of the clergy, involved a plain and very serious restriction of the rights of religious communities to manage their own affairs, and would necessitate an alteration of no slight nature in the State Constitution. By the 15th Article of the Constitution of the 30th of January, 1850, it had been declared that "the Evangelical

and Catholic Churches, together with every other religious society, regulate and administer their own affairs in an independent manner; they are the guardians of the institutions, funds, and foundations destined for their worship or to purposes of charity." That is to say, the Churches were left free to govern themselves. Accordingly they had hitherto, to a large extent, educated their own clergy. In the case of the Catholics, special seminaries had been instituted for the education of those destined for the priesthood from their youth upwards. All institutions of the kind now in existence were by the proposed law to be placed under rigorous State inspection, while it was forbidden to open any new ones. The State thus intended to take into its own hands the direct supervision of the education of the clergy. Candidates for the priesthood would be required to attend the State gymnasia and universities, so that a portion at least of their training might be received among the laity. Before they could enter the clerical ranks they must pass certain State examinations to test their efficiency. These examinations would be in philosophy, history, German literature, and the classical languages. The State also claimed a right of supervision over clerical appointments, and limited by stringent conditions the right of dismissal on the part of ecclesiastical superiors of the clergy. In order to prevent the abuse of the powers of the ecclesiastical superiors, fines ranging from 200 to 1000 thalers were to be imposed upon making appointments which might be unconditionally revoked. It was expected that thus the priests would in course of time be delivered from the state of dependence upon and subservience to the bishops in which they now stood. It was desired to substitute a national or German for a foreign or Ultramontane clergy. The danger of the formation of a separate priestly caste was to be obviated by compulsory intermingling of the clergy in the course of their training with their German lay fellow-subjects. Another Bill dealt with the powers of ecclesiastical discipline. Rigorous State supervision was to be maintained over the *Demeritenanstalten*, namely, the establishments to which it would still be lawful to send the Roman clergy in the way of discipline. All penalties inconsistent with civil rights, such as corporal punishment, the loss of liberty, or excessive fines, were to be made illegal. A power of appeal to the State against ecclesiastical sentences was provided for, but the State might intervene without being asked to do so, and it reserved to itself the power of dismissing ecclesiastics from their offices if their retention of them should be deemed inconsistent with public safety and order. A supreme Royal Court was to be instituted to take cognizance of such matters, to sit at Berlin, and to be composed of eleven members, of whom at least five and the President, or a majority, were to be judges holding office permanently (*Etatsmässigangestellte Richter*). All matters of controversy connected with the relations of Church and State would stand within the jurisdiction of this Court.

The discussion of the first law, on the education of the clergy,

began on January the 16th. It gave rise to a great deal of vehement but vague argument. On the 20th Deputy Jung spoke in favour of the Bill, and cast up a long catalogue of the sins of Ultramontaniam. Deputy Lasker, following on the same side the next day, inveighed against the disciplinary system and practices of religious communities, and advocated the proposed measure as a protest raised by true religion and humanity against the hypocrisy and oppression generated by such practices. Vehement, on the other hand, were the attacks made on the Government measure by the Ecclesiastical and Ultramontane parties. Deputy Gerlach's speech was like an echo from the old times of priestly domination; like a preacher in the wilderness he testified to the change that had come over the spirit of the times, and revived theories which it was difficult to believe could ever have inspired the action of the Prussian Government. He complained that the new laws emanated from an abstract State—a State without religion—a State which, as such, possessed no knowledge of God or of His works. Though a strong Evangelical himself, he acknowledged his sympathy on the present question with the Roman Catholic religion which took its stand, at all events, on the objective truths of Christianity, and he maintained that the Evangelical and Catholic Churches ought to unite in common action against an omnipotent and godless State. Deputy Reichensperger objected to the laws as an arbitrary invasion of Church rights for which there was no legal warrant. For the competence of Imperial legislation to enact these or any ordinances, he declared himself as ready to stand up as any one, remembering the old Cologne proverb,—

"Stick to the Empire, Kölner boor,  
Whether the draught be sweet or sour."

But this present legislation was a thing apart; it was a Prussian usurpation, nothing more nor less. Deputy Malinekrodt spoke of the revival of Ghibellinism in the Government policy, and declared that the old story of the Hohenstauffens was about to be enacted again, despite the strictures which liberal historians had always passed upon it. After the debate the Laws were referred to a Committee, which decided that they could not be enacted without a previous alteration of certain articles of the Constitution. It was accordingly proposed to add to the 15th Article, which guaranteed the autonomy of the Churches, a clause explaining that nevertheless all religious societies remain subject to the laws and supervision of the State. To the 18th Article also, referring to the patronage of ecclesiastical appointments, a new clause should be appended, stating that the preparation, appointment, and dismissal of the clergy must be regulated by the State which defines the limits of the disciplinary authority of the Churches. These amendments were adopted by overwhelming majorities in the Committee—14 to 6 and 16 to 4 votes respectively—and were embodied in a separate Bill for the consideration of the Chamber. By this mode



of procedure the after-course of the Bills would be simplified, as the Constitutional question would be settled once for all, and there would be no opportunity for raising it afresh, as it might have been otherwise in the case of each of the four measures. In fact the principles of them all might be said to be adopted when this Supplementary Bill should have been passed.

Against so abrupt an interference with the hitherto existing Constitutional guarantees, the Centre party protested loudly. They declared that Liberalism would find its mistake in thus pandering to what must result in rank Absolutism at the head of the State. Reichensperger, Malinckrodt, and Windthorst were the foremost speakers on this side, Windthorst expressing himself with such bitterness that he was called to order. Von Schorlemer Ast maintained that the State was laying an interdict on the Church, and that the times of *Dragonnades* were coming again. Deputy Gerlach made a sensation by addressing the Cultus Minister in the words of Don Juan to the commander:—"I gave him my hand, and behold his hand was icy cold: I gazed into his eyes, and behold his eyes were rigid!" Even thus it was, he said, with a State life which had no religious creed for its foundation. But in spite of the opposition of the Church party, on the third reading of this so-called Supplementary Bill on March 1, the measure passed by 245 votes against 110. The amendment to the 15th Article added a clause explaining that all religious societies should remain subject to the laws and the supervision of the State. To Article 18 a new clause was added, stating that the training, appointment, and dismissal of the clergy must be regulated by the State. The Bill then went up to the *Herrenhaus*, which passed it a few days later. Thus the way was cleared for the acceptance of the direct Ecclesiastical Bills, which otherwise would have encountered serious constitutional stumbling-blocks. Outside the Chamber the agitation against those Bills had gone on increasing. Not only the Roman Catholic Bishops but the Supreme Consistory of the Protestant Church sent in memorials against them to the House of Deputies. But in spite of the resistance of those who, whether from party animosity or honest fear for the interests of religion, dreaded a measure which would relax the hold of the clergy over the popular life, by the 1st of May the four Bills themselves had passed both Houses. Some slight modifications were introduced by the Lords, which the House of Deputies accepted. When the Prussian Diet closed, on the 20th, Count Von Roon read the Speech from the Throne, in which the Emperor, adverting to the Ecclesiastical Bills, expressed the confidence of Government that they would promote concord among the various Confessions, and lead the Church to devote its strength solely to the pure service of God's Word.

The Diet of the Empire opened on the 12th of March, notwithstanding that a late resolution had declared that the simultaneous sessions of the Imperial and Separate States Diets should be as much as possible avoided. Here the warfare carried on by the



Chancellor against the Ultramontanes only displayed itself on fresh and wider fields of action. At the beginning of May the Committee charged with supervising the execution of the law passed against the Jesuits during the previous session published its report. Before making any proposal, the members set themselves first to examine carefully the grounds of the recent legislation against the Jesuits, as the only sure guide to the exact intentions of the Legislature in bringing under the decree of banishment from the Empire all societies akin to (*verwandt*) the obnoxious order specifically named. Could this phrase be interpreted so strictly as only to include the two small so-called "congregations"—the Company of the Sacred Heart, and that of the Holy Ghost, commonly known as the Marian—which were avowedly affiliated to the Jesuit system, and formed, in fact, lesser branches of it? The Committee decided against such a narrow construction, for the simple reason that if the Legislature had meant this, the two congregations, being perfectly well known and recognized, would certainly have been named in the Act. It became necessary, therefore, they considered, to have regard to the special principles which underlie the Jesuit organization, and distinguish it vitally from other great Catholic orders, before determining whether the sentence of expulsion, which was evidently not directed at religious brotherhoods as such, could fairly be extended outside the pale of the Jesuits and their affiliated societies. The Committee found that the peculiar characteristics of the Jesuit order were—(1) its making its main object the establishment of a universal spiritual despotism; (2) its peculiar inner structure, with a view to preserving a thorough centralization of power within itself; and (3) its universal extension, wherever there is in any part of the world room for its operations. Recognizing these as tests, and applying them with care to existing orders, the Committee found it right to include in the measure of absolute banishment the Redemptorists and Lazarists, as well as the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, and Company of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Inasmuch as the President of Alsace-Lorraine desired that the Society of School Sisters should be included in the condemned list, while, on the other hand, the Governments of Hesse and Bavaria defended this body, the Committee reserved their decision upon it. They closed by requesting that each State within the Empire should furnish a complete and categorical account of the orders established in it similar to one framed by Prussia for the information of the Committee. In consequence of this report, the German Federal Council decided to expel from the Empire the monastic Orders of Redemptorists and Lazarists, and the Congregations of the Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart. When, on the 15th and 16th, a debate took place on the retrospect of the year's administration in Alsace-Lorraine, and Herr Windthorst and other Ultramontane members complained of the expulsion of the Brothers and Sisters of religious orders engaged in the schools, as well as of other persons belonging to the conquered provinces, Prince Bismarck replied, with his usual

frankness, that it was "absolutely necessary to remove elements directly injurious to the community, especially such as existed among the Brothers and Sisters above alluded to." He had not expelled the members of such orders indiscriminately, and there were more than 200 School Sisters and about 100 School Brothers still engaged in the instruction of the young, to whom no objection had been raised. He claimed the concurrence of the whole of civilized Europe in the views he entertained respecting the hostility of the Ultramontane party to the German Government, and confidently appealed to the judgment of history to pronounce whether he had been guilty of slandering its leaders when he designated them as antagonists, as enemies of the Empire, and as stirrers-up and leaders of the plots against the Empire and the Imperial Government.

The Prussian Catholic Bishops were not slow to pronounce their opinion upon the new Ecclesiastical Laws passed by the Prussian Diet. They met at the tomb of St. Boniface, at Fulda, on the 28th of April, and addressed a solemn protest to the clergy and the faithful of their dioceses. They began by vowing eternal fidelity to "the principles" which they had unfolded in previous appeals to the faithful, and which, they maintained, "are not ours, but those of Christianity and of eternal justice." One of these "principles" they declared to be the independence of the Church, meaning its unconditional government by the bishops under the Pope. They could admit nothing "in relation to its control and administration" which should be "contrary to the commands of the Catholic faith and to the Divine rights of the Church." In applying this principle of spiritual independence, it was found that only he is a bishop who has been commissioned by the Holy Father, and "who abides in the communion of the Apostolic See." Consequently, only those bishops should be recognized by the clergy and faithful who should have been duly found worthy of the office by the ecclesiastical authorities, and who should remain in communion with the rest of the bishops. It was further declared that no worldly authority could bestow upon any one the right to appeal; as to any matter pertaining to the Church, from the spiritual judges to a temporal power. The punishment of excommunication was declared to rest upon all who should contravene the Divine order established in the organization of the Church, and would at once result as a consequence of making such an appeal. "Following the constant habit of the Church, we shall (said the bishops) place in the hands of the Holy Father the decision of all doubtful questions regarding the Church."

And resistance to the new laws began in good earnest. Four bishops—those of Paderborn, Posen, Fulda, and Trêves—at once refused to submit the programmes of their clerical seminaries for the inspection and approval of Government. The rest of the bishops followed suit. After giving them six weeks for reconsidering their position, Government began to act. Bishop Martin, of Paderborn, was the first to pay the penalty. Pupils

educated at his seminary were declared ineligible for ecclesiastical appointments in Prussia. Krementz, Bishop of Ermeland, was deprived of the State contribution to the salaries of his chapter. The Bishop of Fulda saw his boys' school forcibly closed. The Archbishop of Posen was officially informed that the young men brought up and ordained by him, not being considered as priests, would be held amenable to the law of conscription, and draughted into the army as ordinary rank and file. Other steps were resorted to in order to break the opposition of the prelates. The Prince-Archbishop of Breslau not only expelled the Dean, Baron Richthofen, as an Old Catholic, from his chapter, but forbade his clergy positively to furnish the Government with any of the information it might under the new laws demand concerning ecclesiastical appointments, punishments, and so forth. In answer to his proceedings, it was officially declared that Old Catholics were to be regarded as Catholics, and that any member of the Breslau Chapter who should have joined them was to remain in possession of his benefice. It followed that the Prince-Bishop would be compelled to continue the payment of Dean Richthofen's salary; nor would any capitular appointment to benefices be valid till his reinstatement. Against the Archbishop of Cologne a prosecution was instituted for venturing to excommunicate, on his own authority and without the State permission, which had been expressly pronounced necessary, those priests in his diocese who had embraced the tenets of Döllinger and his fellow-subjects.

But of all clerical recusants at this time, Ledochowski, Archbishop of Posen, made himself the most conspicuous. Ledochowski's antecedents had been at variance with his present attitude. He was a Pole by birth. Educated partly at Rome, he became at an early age one of the trusted servants of the Vatican; and, still a young man, was appointed Nuncio at Brussels. Of this important post he had been relieved seven or eight years since, to ascend the archiepiscopal throne of Posen. He easily gained the consent of the Prussian Government to his elevation by announcing his firm intention to prevent the Polish clergy in his diocese from fomenting national discontent—a practice in which many of them had indulged during the excited period immediately preceding. Acting up to this programme during the first few years of his episcopal office, he was treated as an enemy to the national cause by the Polish press and politicians. But after the Œcumenical Council, the Archbishop of Posen, like so many other prelates, changed his course; and at the present juncture he was found heading the van of the clerical army in their campaign against the Cabinet of Bismarck.

The closing of the condemned seminaries gave him a chance of remonstrance only. He was invited to close them, and of course refused. The Government then ordered the doors of the institutions to be locked, and placed guards before them. Again, when applied to for the facts required by the Government inspectors of the

schools under the new law, he refused to furnish them. Thereupon the official visited the schools, and forced the teachers to reply question by question. So far the provisions of the law could easily be carried out in spite of his opposition. There remained, however, a third step, which, as it required the active assistance of the Archbishop, presented more difficulty. Ledochowski had appointed two priests to spiritual charges without the required reference to the civil authorities, and the nominees were, moreover, men known to be offensive to the State. The most conspicuous of these appointments was that of a priest of the name of Arndt to the post of Prior of Filehne. The President of the province of Posen invited the Archbishop to correct the wrong, and he of course declined. It was indeed no difficult matter to get rid of the two obnoxious priests; but the question was, how should their places be filled? Nobody but Archbishop Ledochowski himself could fill the vacancies. The Archbishop wrote a very frank and emphatic letter, in which he set forth that the Government had brought all this trouble on itself, as he (Ledochowski) had notified while the Bills were pending in the Landtag that he should not accept them; and he recommended the President of the province of Posen to postpone all efforts to make him obey laws which violated his conscience. Meanwhile he went on making appointments to benefices at his pleasure.

On the 3rd of August an official notice was read to the members of the Catholic congregation at Filehne, announcing that the Prussian Government refused authority to Dr. Arndt to celebrate religious rites; that any such celebration on his part would be invalid, and would render him amenable to the laws; and the members of the congregation were warned not to request his services in any priestly function. On the 15th of August it was further stated that in consequence of Archbishop Ledochowski's refusal to entertain the proposal of a compromise submitted by Government, and the decision of the Court at Posen in the initiatory proceedings, in which leave was sought to bring a criminal action against the prelate, having been given against the Archbishop *in contumaciam*, the official prosecutor had now formally instituted criminal proceedings against him for contravening the new ecclesiastical laws by the appointment of Monsignor Arndt to the incumbency of Filehne without the approval of the State.

These proceedings resulted in the Archbishop's condemnation to a fine of 200 thalers, or four months' imprisonment, for making illegal clerical appointments. Nothing daunted, Ledochowski continued to make new appointments, and the Government continued to fine him till, as we shall presently see, it became necessary to take yet more stringent measures to break his opposition.

On the 18th of June, the German Parliament passed the third reading of the Bill for the introduction of the Imperial Constitution into Alsace-Lorraine from the 1st of January, 1874. From that date the annexed provinces would be ruled as an integral part



of Germany, and be entitled to send their representatives to the Reichstag. The only important amendment made in the measure was one on the sixth clause, proposed by Herr Petersen. As originally drawn, all the inhabitants who had made their "option" for French nationality, but had not rendered it effective by securing an actual domicile in France, were excluded from electoral rights until they had withdrawn their announcement of "option." As the option was legally null and void, this seemed a needless severity, and the proposal to expunge the clause was adopted almost unanimously. A more serious discussion was raised on the eighth clause, which assigned to the Emperor, with consent of the Federal Council, considerable dictatorial powers in the provinces during the intervals of the sitting of the Reichstag, subject, however, to the subsequent annulling of his decrees by the Reichstag. It was natural that this provision should be opposed by those who might be called the Home Rulers of the German Parliament. Were it not for the danger to the unity of the Empire apprehended from the efforts of the Ultramontanes—which had led Prince Bismarck in one of his late speeches to draw a comparison between the position of the annexed provinces in relation to Germany and that of Ireland in relation to Britain—it might have been possible to entrust the legislation for the new provinces to a representative assembly of their own, allowing them all the privileges of a separate State of the Empire. But for the present that was not to be thought of, and the decision of the question was also deferred whether they were to be a distinct State or to be incorporated with any one of the existing States—Prussia, for instance, or Baden. The Reichstag was not inclined to be suspicious or distrustful of the Emperor and the Chancellor; and by a vote of 171 against 71 the amendment of the Ultramontane party was rejected, and Clause 8 voted as it stood, as was also the whole Bill. It was probably felt by the majority that—in the words of the *North German Gazette*—"so long as the choice is between a dictatorship of the Imperial Government and a quasi-dictatorship of Ultramontanism controlled from abroad, the decision cannot be doubtful."

The Parliamentary session closed on June 25th. The decisions of the German Diet had not all been in consonance with the political views of Bismarck and of his master. The Emperor had set his heart on having a Bill carried for altering the organization of the national army—a Bill which the military authorities had pronounced to be of the highest importance. But the Deputies had apparently got tired of the frequently-recurring Army Bills, and of the enforcement of them as necessary by military men. They did not directly oppose the new measure, but they absented themselves when its discussion was expected. Prince Bismarck was obliged to own that he could not get the Bill passed in face of this determined passive resistance; and the Emperor unwillingly closed the session with the acceptance of its failure. The Press Bill brought another defeat for the Ministry. The Prussian Cabinet proposed to the German Imperial Council that a new Press Bill should be submitted to the



German Parliament. This was a measure conceived in the strongest spirit of restriction. It would have placed every German editor at the mercy of the Government and the police. Loud complaints were raised against it by anticipation. The journalists of Berlin, ordinarily a most tame and disciplined race, ventured to protest mildly, and to ask whether their past writings had ever been such as to render them suspected or dangerous. The agitation was such that the Bill was never submitted to the Parliament, and its promoters showed themselves ashamed of it. Then it began to be inquired who really had been its promoters? Prince Bismarck no doubt had brought it before the Imperial Council, but he subsequently gave out that he had done so only as the agent of the Prussian Cabinet. The Prussian Cabinet, on the other hand, asserted that though they had sanctioned the Bill, or at least were willing that it should be considered by the Imperial Council, Bismarck was its real author, if not its actual framer. However this might be, Bismarck was anxious now that the Bill should not be coupled with his name; and this was, at any rate, a tribute to the spirit of German Liberalism, which in his younger days he had shown himself so forward to coerce.

The progress towards the consolidation of German unity was discernible in some other matters of legislation. The new Criminal Code did not come before the Parliament this session because the Council could not agree to its contents; but a resolution was passed to the effect that it was within the competence of the Imperial Legislature to enact a civil as well as a religious code for all Germany—a position which many of the minor States had violently contested. A Bill for a uniform Imperial coinage and a single centre of paper issue was passed; its operation, however, to be deferred till 1876. The abolition of duties on iron was decreed, though the Protectionists were strong enough to procure a clause retaining a part of the impost till 1877.

When the Diet broke up, Prince Bismarck retired to his estate at Varzin. People said he had suffered some loss of royal favour and of political prestige from the failure of the Army and Press Bills; but his position in all matters on which he had set his heart was evidently as strong as ever; and with the success of his schemes for ecclesiastical legislation, and for the management of the conquered territory of Alsace-Lorraine, the great statesman might well be satisfied.

Royal and Imperial visits were of such frequent occurrence at the different European capitals during this period of history that it would be superfluous to dilate on the hospitalities attending the sojourn of the Shah of Persia at Berlin during the first week in June, or of Victor Emanuel, King of Italy, at the end of September. But both visits had their political significance. Between the Eastern Potentate and the German Emperor a special Treaty "of friendship, commerce, and navigation" was concluded. But the most curious feature connected with this international transaction

was the "Concession" accorded by the Shah to an enterprising German capitalist, long known for his management of a telegraphic monopoly, Baron Julius de Reuter. The concession itself had been accorded on July 25th in the preceding year, but its contents were never authentically published till now. It may be briefly described as conveying an absolute right to supply the means of locomotion throughout Persia, an almost absolute right to the working of mines in the country, and a right of preference to the production and manufacture of everything usually provided by commercial companies. And for these objects the resources of the country were placed in the most liberal spirit at the disposal of the concessionaire.

The German Emperor himself was seen at the capitals of two neighbouring potentates this year. He went to St. Petersburg in April, and to Vienna in October, and was most cordially received.

A conspicuous national ceremony took place on unveiling, on the 2nd of September, the anniversary of the battle of Sedan, the monument of Victory, erected on the Königsplatz. "The Column of Victory, unveiled to-day," said the Emperor, in his speech on the occasion, "is a proof to the present and future generations of what self-sacrifice and perseverance can accomplish. In conjunction with our faithful allies in the last glorious war, we strode from victory to victory by the grace and bountiful will of God until we attained to the unity of Germany in the establishment of a new Empire. I drink, therefore, in gratitude to my heroic people, my illustrious allies, and our glorious army."

The proceedings of the Old Catholics this year had special interest and importance. On August 11th, at Rotterdam, Professor Reinkens was consecrated as "Old Catholic Bishop of the German Empire," by Monsignor Heycamp, the Bishop of Deventer. At the same time and place, Dr. Rinkel was consecrated to the Dutch See of Haarlem. Dr. Reinkens, lately Professor of Catholic Theology at the University of Bonn, was known as a distinguished scholar and man of high personal character. Immediately on his consecration, he issued a Pastoral, an able and comprehensive document, defining with much force and clearness the position of the body with whose leadership he had been entrusted. The critical question brought before Government now was—should the official status of the Bishop thus consecrated to head a sect at variance with Rome, and branded by the Pontiff as schismatical, be recognized in the eye of the law? It was brought before the Prussian Government as a question, not of Imperial, but of separate State policy, and it was answered in the affirmative. While the question was pending, the Old Catholics held their third general Congress at Constance—this place being chosen in order to bring them into easier communication with Switzerland, where the progress of their opinions had been very rapid during the past year. All the great German leaders were present, with the exception of the originator of the movement, Döllinger himself. Bishop Reinkens was the centre of interest.

The Anglican Church was represented by Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester; the Protestants and Catholics of France by Dr. Pressensé and the Abbé Michaud. Father Hyacinthe attended from Switzerland. Schulte was for the third time elected President, and opened the proceedings by the delivery of a long and forcible address, recounting the steps taken by the Committee appointed at Cologne to provide for the election and consecration of a bishop, and their negotiations on the subject with the Archbishop of Utrecht and Prince Bismarck, which last had been of the most friendly character, and would result in a few days in the formal recognition of Bishop Reinkens by the Prussian Government. The speaker then reviewed the present statistics of the Old Catholic body in Germany, and showed that, while there were twenty-two regularly organized congregations in Prussia, thirty-three in Bavaria, and twenty-seven in Baden, numbering altogether over 50,000 members, they had in fact not less than 200,000 devoted and zealous adherents in the Empire, and many more were waiting to join them. No such progress as this had been made in the early years of the Reformation, and the present movement had to fight its way in an age when Ultramontane corruption had deeply infected the Church with materialism and indifferentism. In Italy, according to the account given by Bonghi, two-thirds at least of the people were open infidels, while scepticism and fanaticism disputed possession of the remainder. These things should be remembered when the conventional claim of the New Catholics to "two hundred million" adherents was repeated from mouth to mouth. Letters of sympathy from foreign bishops and others were then read, and an invitation from the American Evangelical Alliance, asking the Congress to send three representatives to a meeting to be held the next month at New York. Schulte pointed out the practical difficulties in the way of complying with this suggestion at so short a notice, but a reply was drawn up giving emphatic assurances of the intention of the Old Catholics to proceed in the work of reform.

Soon afterwards the Government recognition of the Old Catholic Bishop was announced, and, on the 7th of October, at Berlin, Reinkens took the oaths required by the Constitution. Previous to the ceremony, the Prussian Minister of Cultus, Dr. Falk, delivered an address. After alluding to the differences which existed among the members of the Catholic Church, he observed that, as the Old Catholics had taken the management of their religious affairs into their own hands, and had elected a bishop, it was only just that the State should assist them in securing the advantages of a lawful ecclesiastical organization. Moreover, it was the interest of the State so to do, as the Old Catholics were willing "to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and thoroughly understood that the object of the conflict was not "persecution or injury" to the Church, but the regulation of a question of political power and the protection of the rights of the State against ecclesiastical encroachments. The confi-

dence shown by the Old Catholics in the goodwill of the State must, he said, be fully responded to; and he was convinced that Bishop Reinkens "would not act in opposition to his oath, or endanger the rights of the State." The Bishop replied in the same sense, and then took the oath in the same form as that hitherto required from Catholic bishops in Prussia, but omitting those passages which have been interpreted by the Vatican as making the duty of obedience to the laws of the State only obligatory in so far as it does not enter into opposition to the allegiance of the bishop to the Pope. A number of high officials and ecclesiastics were present at the ceremony.

A few days later, the Old Catholics of Westphalia held a provincial assembly at Dortmund, at which Bishop Reinkens presided. The meeting not unnaturally assumed something of the tone of a triumphant demonstration. The principal speeches delivered on this occasion were those of Professor von Schulte and of the Bishop himself. Time was, said Von Schulte, when Pius IX. counted no member of the Church a more faithful follower of Rome than he had been. There was probably no man living who had received the same number of autograph letters, or as many marks of favour from the Pope. The proclamation of the Infallibility dogma changed all this. It had cost him a hard struggle to sever himself from the great body of the Church. At that time there were few nights in which he closed his eyes at all; nevertheless, conscience urged him to the step. Referring to the declaration of German bishops, signed on the 10th of April, 1870, and virtually protesting against Infallibility, he expressed his regret that, after all, those shepherds of the flock had been led astray. But he strongly maintained that though the primacy of the See of Rome is but a tradition, a creation of historical development, no one in the Church ought to impugn its right to that pre-eminence. Bishop Reinkens spoke at length on the gift of the Holy Spirit, entering minutely into dogmatical details. The main drift of his address was to show that the Pope had no right to claim the gift of the Holy Ghost exclusively to himself—that it was the collective body of the Church to which the Spirit of God reveals Himself, not one man only. Hence the craving of Christians for communion and common service; hence the necessity for the same. In his peroration he expatiated on toleration. "It is not one community," he said, "it is the whole Church, in its various divisions, which constitutes the Bride of Christ. Time will come when the various sects will draw closer to one another; till then they ought to live in peace to the best of their power, seeing they all worship the same God." As a practical result of the meeting, it was stated that 140 new members joined the Old Catholic Church.

While the political warfare between the Government and the Ultramontanes was keeping public sentiment on the stretch, a new and strong sensation was produced by the publication, early in October, of a correspondence which had passed between no less

illustrious personages than Pius IX. himself and the Emperor William. This was the Pope's letter: it was written on the 7th of August:—

“Your Majesty,—The measures which have been adopted by your Majesty's Government for some time past all aim more and more at the destruction of Catholicism. When I seriously ponder over the causes which may have led to these very hard measures, I confess that I am unable to discover any reasons for such a course. On the other hand, I am informed that your Majesty does not countenance the proceedings of your Government, and does not approve the harshness of the measures adopted against the Catholic religion. If, then, it be true that your Majesty does not approve thereof—and the letters which your august Majesty has addressed to me formerly might sufficiently demonstrate that you cannot approve that which is now occurring—if, I say, your Majesty does not approve of your Government continuing in the path it has chosen of further extending its rigorous measures against the religion of Jesus Christ, whereby the latter is most injuriously affected—will your Majesty, then, not become convinced that these measures have no other effect than that of undermining your Majesty's own throne? I speak with frankness, for my banner is truth; I speak in order to fulfil one of my duties, which consists in telling the truth to all, even to those who are not Catholics—for every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other, which to define more precisely would be here out of place—belongs, I say, to the Pope. I cherish the conviction that your Majesty will receive my observations with your usual goodness, and will adopt the measures necessary in the present case. While offering to your most gracious Majesty the expression of my devotion and esteem, I pray to God that He may enfold your Majesty and myself in one and the same bond of mercy.

(Signed) “Pio.”

The Emperor had taken nearly a month to consider his reply. On the 3rd of September he had written as follows:—

“I am glad that your Holiness has, as in former times, done me the honour to write to me. I rejoice the more at this since an opportunity is thereby afforded me of correcting errors which, as appears from the contents of the letter of your Holiness of the 7th of August, must have occurred in the communications you have received relative to German affairs. If the reports which are made to your Holiness respecting German questions only stated the truth, it would not be possible for your Holiness to entertain the supposition that my Government enters upon a path which I do not approve. According to the Constitution of my States such a case cannot happen, since the laws and Government measures in Prussia require my consent as Sovereign. To my deep sorrow, a portion of my Catholic subjects have organized for the past two years a political party which endeavours to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the State, the religious peace which has existed in Prussia for centuries. Leading Catholic priests have unfortunately not only



approved this movement, but joined in it to the extent of open revolt against existing laws. It will not have escaped the observation of your Holiness that similar indications manifest themselves at the present time in several European and some Transatlantic States. It is not my mission to investigate the causes by which the clergy and the faithful of one of the Christian denominations can be induced actively to assist the enemies of all law; but it certainly is my mission to protect internal peace and preserve the authority of the laws in the States whose government has been entrusted to me by God. I am conscious that I owe hereafter an account of the accomplishment of this my kingly duty. I shall maintain order and law in my States against all attacks as long as God gives me the power; I am in duty bound to do it as a Christian Monarch, even when to my sorrow I have to fulfil this royal duty against servants of a Church which I suppose acknowledges no less than the Evangelical Church that the commandment of obedience to secular authority is an emanation of the revealed will of God. Many of the priests in Prussia subject to your Holiness disown, to my regret, the Christian doctrine in this respect, and place my Government under the necessity, supported by the great majority of my loyal Catholic and Evangelical subjects, of extorting obedience to the law by worldly means. I willingly entertain the hope that your Holiness, upon being informed of the true position of affairs, will use your authority to put an end to the agitation carried on amid deplorable distortion of the truth and abuse of priestly authority. The religion of Jesus Christ has, as I attest to your Holiness before God, nothing to do with these intrigues, any more than has truth, to whose banner invoked by your Holiness I unreservedly subscribe. There is one more expression in the letter of your Holiness which I cannot pass over without contradiction, although it is not based upon the previous information, but upon the belief of your Holiness—namely, the expression that every one that has received baptism belongs to the Pope. The Evangelical creed, which, as must be known to your Holiness, I, like my ancestors and the majority of my subjects, profess, does not permit us to accept in our relations to God any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ. The difference of belief does not prevent me living in peace with those who do not share mine, and offering your Holiness the expression of my personal devotion and esteem.—I, &c.,

(Signed)

“WILLIAM.”

It is averred that since the battle of Sedan no incident had produced so powerful an impression on the German mind as this correspondence. The newspaper press was furious against the Pope and his advisers. Congratulatory addresses came up to the Emperor in numbers, from popular meetings and corporations. The lead was taken by Rhineland and Westphalia, where educated Catholics seemed to deem it incumbent upon them in the present emergency to separate themselves from the lower orders, who, in their province, were

controlled by the priests. At once the towns of Essen, Duisburg, Crefeld, Wesel, and Hörde presented their thanks to the Emperor, acknowledging his firmness in defending unity and domestic peace against all comers. A large meeting at Munich endorsed these sentiments, and passed a resolution, in which the Pope was charged with having affronted the dignity of the German nation, and the Emperor praised for the reply he had given. Augsburg, in a somewhat remarkable address, signed by Catholics and Protestants conjointly, expressed satisfaction and pride at the independent attitude of the nation's Sovereign. The Papal complaint, that the Catholic religion was persecuted in this country, was declared a wanton perversion of the truth, and the Emperor was earnestly entreated to continue to enforce the laws against the Ultramontanes, "those dishonest, ambitious, and frivolous enemies of the German Empire." Of Protestant addresses, it may be enough to mention those sent in by a highly influential meeting at Halle, and the united municipal corporations of Dresden. In nearly all these utterances the Papal attack was alluded to as a sequel to the French invasion, and the rebuff administered to the Vatican compared to the crushing prowess of the German hosts in the last campaign. Unfortunately, Ultramontanism and France had now, it would seem, come to be regarded as identical in Germany.

Foreign observers remarked that in this strange outspoken correspondence even the outward likeness of the old contest between Pope and Kaiser seemed to be attaching itself to the great modern struggle between the authorities of the Church and the State. Some credited Prince Bismarck with the opportuneness of its publication. It was given to the world just when the approaching elections to the Prussian and Imperial Diets were affording a stimulus to political susceptibilities. Its effect was unmistakable in causing the national will to rally to the support of the Sovereign and the Premier engaged in the momentous warfare against Ultramontanism; and not a little was its effect enhanced by the ascendancy which the reactionary party had at this time acquired in France, and the schemes of a Royalist Restoration which they were busy in promoting—schemes which involved partisanship with the See of Rome and hostility to German devices.

The result of the elections to the Prussian Diet fully answered the expectations of the Liberal party. The Church question was made the chief test on both sides; and the strongest contingent was found to be that of the moderate Liberals, who were prepared to go all lengths with the Cabinet against the Papacy, and who from 116, their number in the last Diet, were now increased to 178. As both from the advanced Liberals and the moderate Conservatives support might be expected on most questions of Church policy, it was reckoned that the Cabinet might rely on a working majority of 311 in a House of 432 members. The Diet opened on the 12th of November. Just before that day arrived the *Gazette* announced Prince Bismarck's reappointment to the post of Prussian Premier.

It now became evident, as his friends had asserted before, that in renouncing that responsible office, the mighty Minister had only retreated to advance more effectually; that Count von Roon had acted as a convenient *locum tenens* till such a time as—the temporary obstructions raised by his colleagues being smoothed away—Bismarck could himself return with increased authority and prestige as the one politician capable of guiding the combined affairs of Prussia and Germany at this crisis of the national constitution. In replying to a question put by Dr. Windthorst on the 22nd, Herr von Camphausen, who had been appointed Vice-President of the newly-organized Cabinet, explained that the responsibility of each Minister was in no way altered by the recent changes; that the assumption of the Presidency by Prince Bismarck, and the transfer of a portion of the presidential work to him (Herr von Camphausen) had been brought about by a unanimous decision of the Ministers themselves; and that they, as hitherto, were collectively responsible for the political action of the Cabinet.

The Diet had no sooner commenced its sittings than an announcement was made of the Emperor's consent to the introduction of a Bill sanctioning Civil Marriage and Civil Registration of Births and Deaths throughout his Prussian dominions. It was rumoured that to gain the Emperor's acquiescence in this important innovation had been no easy task; and the absence of any direct allusion to the measure in the Speech from the Throne had disappointed the Liberals. However, the powerful Minister at the head of Government succeeded in allaying his master's scruples. The Bill was naturally regarded as a most momentous measure in a country the educated classes of which, whether Catholic or Protestant, had been so long connected with their respective denominations chiefly by the laws compelling ecclesiastical ceremonies in case of marriage, birth, and death. Two hundred years before, indeed, marriage had been a civil act in Germany; ecclesiastical influence in the greater part of the Prussian dominions had altered its conditions. The circumstances of the Roman Catholic Church itself at the present time rendered legislation in the matter both of marriages and of burials a pressing need; the Ultramontane priests declining to bury the seceders in consecrated ground, and thus necessitating the interference of the police.

Another announcement was that the Government had altogether stopped the salary of Archbishop Ledochowski, on the ground of his numerous offences against the ecclesiastical laws lately passed. The recusant prelate did not omit to protest against this proceeding, in a letter which he addressed to the Governor of Posen. Shortly afterwards he received a summons to resign his see, which he answered by a direct refusal so to do at the bidding of the Government. He would remain at his post, he declared, unless the Pope were himself to desire his resignation. Besides Archbishop Ledochowski, Archbishop Melchers of Cologne, and Förster, Prince-Bishop of Breslau, came conspicuously within the action of the law

which imposed fines for illegal appointments; and to these measures was added, on the 6th of December, a very important decree, issued by the Emperor himself, as King of Prussia, whereby it was enacted that throughout the Prussian dominions all Catholic bishops should, previous to receiving recognition from the State, take the following oath:—"I will be subject, true, obedient, and devoted to his Majesty," as in the usual form for an oath of allegiance, "carefully observe the laws of the State, and especially strive that the sentiments of honour and fidelity to the King, love of country, obedience to the laws, and all those virtues which denote at once the good subject and the Christian, shall be carefully cherished among the clergy and congregations entrusted to my episcopal guidance, and that I will not allow the clergy subject to me to teach or act in an opposing sense. In particular, I promise to hold no communion or connexion within or without the country which may be dangerous to the public security." Not only did this new oath impose special barriers against co-operation with the Papal Court in any measures against Prussian policy, but it got rid of the clause in the old oath which the bishops had so often appealed to, whereby they declared their submission to the laws, "the more confidently as their spiritual obligations were not opposed to them." This suggestion that their spiritual duties might possibly be in conflict with the law was henceforth to disappear from the bishop's oath of office.

What Pius IX. had to say on the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany he made known in an "Encyclical" letter, written on the 21st of November. Of the Old Catholics the Pontiff spoke as "wretched sons of perdition," whose aim was to "attack and pervert the true power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff and bishops, the successors of St. Peter," who affirmed "with incredible daring against the Holy Ghost, promised by Christ to remain with the Church for ever, that the Roman Pontiff and all the bishops, priests, and people joined with him in the unity and communion of the faith, fell into heresy when they sanctioned and professed the definitions of the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican." "These men," he continued, "having entered boldly upon the path of iniquity and perdition, as by a just judgment of God usually happens, wished to construct for themselves a hierarchy, and elected a certain notorious apostate from the Catholic faith, Joseph Hubert Reinkens, and constituted him their pseudo-bishop. And that nothing might be wanting to their impudence, they betook themselves for his consecration to those Utrecht Jansenists whom they, in common with other Catholics, before their secession from the Church, deemed heretics. Nevertheless he, Hubert Joseph, dares to call himself Bishop, and—what exceeds belief—is, by published decree, acknowledged and nominated Catholic Bishop by the Most Serene Emperor of Germany, and is proposed to all his subjects to be held and esteemed in the place of a rightful bishop. Nevertheless, the very rudiments of Catholic doctrine declare that no

bishop can be held to be legitimate who is not joined in the communion of faith and charity to the Rock upon which is built the Church of Christ." Then followed a decree against Bishop Reinkens. His election was declared contrary to the sacred canons, illegal, vain, and wholly null, while his consecration was declared sacrilegious. Sentence of excommunication was formally launched against him and all his abettors, partisans, and helpers, together with all those who should have yielded him their assent.

Bishop Reinkens answered the thunders of the Encyclical in a pastoral letter a few weeks later. Meanwhile, facts brought their own satisfactory reply for the Old Catholics. On the first Sunday in December, Professor Friedrich held the first religious service of the sect at Carlsruhe, in a Protestant Church of that city. Prince William of Baden was present, and the Church mustered a congregation of three thousand people.

On the 17th of December the Civil Registration Bill was brought up for discussion in the Lower House of the Diet. When the new law was introduced, it proved even a more sweeping measure than had been expected. To be recognized by the civil authorities, all marriages, births, and deaths would have henceforth to be registered by the magistrate. In other words, though it was left to the discretion of the public whether they would have marriage, baptismal, and burial rites performed by the Church, they would be compelled at all events to call on the Registrar—his functions being obligatory, those of the clergy optional. As a rule, the Registrar was to be selected from the municipal officers of the locality. Should there be none fitted for the office, Government would be at liberty to entrust the acting clergyman of the parish with the new civil duties, provided he should declare his willingness to carry out the law without regard to ecclesiastical statutes or practices. The law was to affect Catholics and all denominations of Protestants alike. Dr. Falk, the Minister of Public Worship, made a speech, in which he justified the measure, and maintained that the only way of settling the question on a basis of principle was by establishing compulsory civil marriage, which would place the State and the Church on a proper footing. The distress which had arisen through the celebration of marriages by interdicted priests—marriages which were consequently declared null and void—was all the greater, he said, from the fact that by reason of the omnipotence of the Catholic clergy the persons affected placed no faith in the decisions of the Government. During Dr. Falk's speech Prince Bismarck entered the House. It was easy for Dr. von Gerlach, of the Centre party, with whom in former years the Chancellor had been politically associated, to quote from his early speeches denunciations of the measure his Government had now introduced. Prince Bismarck did not attempt to explain away his change of view. He did not profess to have maintained personal consistency throughout his political career of a quarter of a century. During the twelve years, or about half of that period, in which in circumstances of trial and difficulty



he had been a leader of the Government, he would be quite satisfied, he said, if he had not been deceived in his judgment and anticipations regarding the most weighty affairs of State. He made no claim to consistency with reference to such a question as civil marriage during twenty-five years. As a Minister he was not a party politician, for he had learned to subordinate his personal opinion to the requirements of the State. He had no admiration of the fidelity to opinion which said, "Let the State perish; such is my view; here I stand, and can do no otherwise." He must leave it to the preceding speaker to imitate the example of those intolerant Early-day Saints, who had taken up their quarters on the top of columns where there was room only for one to stand. He had resolved, reluctantly and after great conflict, to recommend obligatory civil marriage to his Majesty. He had not to do with dogmatics, but with politics; and he was convinced, from the point of view of politics, that this law was a necessity in the situation in which the State was placed through the "revolutionary" attitude of the Catholic bishops. Although Dr. Falk stated, in the debate on the first reading of the Bill, that the Government attached great importance to the sixth clause, according to which clergymen might be employed as registrars, and empowered to perform the civil ceremony, the Chamber of Deputies contended that this should be made a merely temporary arrangement.

The Civil Registration Bill was read twice in the Lower House, and then consigned to a Committee.

Meanwhile, on a new matter of press legislation, Prince Bismarck's triumphant progress this session met with a check, when a motion for the abolition of the newspaper duty from the 1st of January, 1874, passed the Lower House by a large majority, though among the small minority against it in the Lower House were two of the Ministers, Count Eulenberg and Dr. Falk. Government was indisposed to acquiesce in this defeat, and used all its influence to secure its ends through the Upper Chamber; and when it arrived there the motion was thrown out, also by a large majority. This result was the more remarkable, seeing that only last session the Upper Chamber had passed a resolution that the press stamp should be abolished on the 1st of January, 1874, the very date fixed in the Bill which was now rejected. The former resolution was, no doubt, an amendment on a proposal to abolish the duty at an earlier date; but the fact remained that the Upper House had now thrown over the compromise which was formerly suggested by itself. Whether the present vote was dictated by affection for the Government, which was known to be opposed to the measure, or by dislike of the press, might be a matter of conjecture.

In his financial retrospect, delivered before the House on November 17th, Herr von Camphausen, who held the office of Minister of Finance as well as that of Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, had a highly favourable account to render. "The year 1872," he announced, "has been unprecedented for the largest surplus revenue

ever known in this country. From a financial point of view, we never had a more prosperous era than the twelve months preceding the present year." The accounts of 1873, he asserted, would present an almost equally brilliant result; there was every prospect of the public income not only coming up to his increased anticipation, but leaving a considerable surplus in his hands, while, with regard to the impending year, 1874, he ventured on a large estimated increase of revenue, and the setting aside of nearly 34,000 thalers for "extraordinary purposes," such as the construction of canals, the deepening of rivers, the building of schools, Government offices, &c. Of the marvellous prosperity thus revealed, it should be remarked that it had been produced without any direct assistance from the funds of the French indemnity. Not a franc of the famous five milliards had been used to reduce the taxes, nor to defray any ordinary or regular expenditure of the country.

Amidst the important issues raised by the central power in Germany at this period, little interest could be spared for an event which in the old conditions of its political existence would have had European importance. The death of the King of Saxony occurred on the 29th of October. King John was in his 72nd year. He was a man of unusual culture, an acute jurist, an accomplished archæologist, a profound student of Dante. It was with submission, but with deep mortification, that he had conformed himself for the last seven years of his reign to the position of a vassal of the House of Hohenzollern. His shadowy royalty descended to his son, the brave and able Crown Prince of Saxony, who had distinguished himself beyond most of his compeers in the war against France, and who now assumed the title of King Albert I.

Shortly before the close of the year occurred another royal demise, that of Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Prussia, the widow of Frederick William IV. This event affected the spirits of the Emperor, who was suffering from an attack of illness when Christmas came.

#### AUSTRIA.

On the 6th of March the Austrian Reform Bill passed the Lower House of the Reichsrath by 120 votes against 2. The Deputies from Trent were the only dissentients. The Poles, however, had absented themselves from the Diet after a declaration from their spokesman, Deputy Grocholski, who said that the introduction of direct election without the consent of the Diets would be a violation of the rights of the Diets, as in their provincial statutes the privilege of sending members to the Reichsrath was reserved to them. The Bill on the Orders of the Day forced him therefore to declare in his own name, and in that of his party, that they did not consider themselves authorized to take part in the discussions. "We cannot," he concluded, "lend a hand to the passing of a Bill which would curtail one of the cardinal rights of our Diet, nor will we even indirectly contribute towards it."

Dr. Herbst, the Reporter of the Committee, pointed out the vast political bearings of the Bill. He referred to the tendency of all nations to agglomerate, and to the rapidity with which the process had been going on of late, and he asked whether this was not a warning to all States. In Austria, more than anywhere else, the means were given to maintain unity, while allowing to the provinces the greatest freedom of movement. To realize this in the fullest measure was the object of the Bill, and the merit of it he ascribed to the Sovereign, who by doing so might be called the third founder of the Austrian Monarchy. After this eloquent apostrophe, received with cheering by the House and galleries, the clauses of the Bill were gone through without a remark. It was a solemn moment, for every one felt that a great work had been achieved, and that from the 6th of March would date the beginning of the real Parliamentary era in Austria. Henceforth the election of members to the Legislative Body was to be transferred from the Provincial Diets to the body of electors in the provinces. It was the substitution of direct for indirect election. In the following month the measure passed the Upper House, and received the Imperial assent.

This session of the Reichsrath, a memorable one for the Constitutional history of the Empire, closed on the 24th of April. Just before its close some surprise was excited by the appointment of a Pole, Dr. Ziemiałkowski, Mayor of Lemberg, as "Minister without a Portfolio" in the Cabinet. The appointment was made, in the subsequent words of the Emperor, "as a proof of his constant solicitude for the interests of Galicia."

Two prominent events occurred in the Imperial family this year—the death of the Empress Dowager, widow of the Emperor Francis I., in February, and the marriage of the Emperor's daughter, the Archduchess Gisela, with Prince Leopold of Bavaria, on the 20th of April.

The Great Exhibition held at Vienna made the Austrian capital for many months the holiday resort of the world. It was opened by the Emperor in person on the 1st of May, in presence of the Empress, the members of the imperial family, many illustrious foreign guests, and the high dignitaries of the State. Notwithstanding the unfavourable condition of the weather the crowds were immense. The Emperor entered the Rotunda with the Princess of Prussia, the Crown Prince of Germany accompanying the Empress, and the Austrian Crown Prince walking at the side of the son of the German Crown Prince.

After an address from the Archduke Charles Louis, "Protector of the Exhibition," the Emperor replied, "With lively satisfaction I behold the completion of an undertaking the importance and significance of which I appreciate in the highest degree. My confidence in the patriotism and capability of my peoples, in the sympathies and support of friendly nations, has accompanied the development of the great work; my imperial good wishes and my

grateful recognition are devoted to its termination. I declare the Universal Exhibition of the year 1873 to be opened."

Unfortunately a financial panic overclouded the brightness of the festive season within a fortnight only of its commencement. It was announced that one of the largest of the financial houses of the Austrian capital had suddenly failed. A large amount of stock of various kinds was at once thrown upon the market, there was a great depression of prices, the Bourse became profoundly agitated, and at last it was resolved that business must be stopped in mid-day. A meeting was immediately held between the principal bankers and the Committee of the Bourse, to consider what should be done, and application was made to the Government for advice and assistance. Hundreds of failures followed. The agitation travelled to other parts. Frankfort responded at once to the tremulous condition of Vienna; Berlin was moved in a scarcely less degree. London felt the effects of the disturbance. For some weeks the public mind was kept in a state of great agitation. The condition of the Exchange was compared to that of a patient who, after having overcome the first acute crisis of a disease, had fallen into a state of low fever. In fact, the disturbance of the public credit continued throughout the remainder of the year, and in November the Government reluctantly consented to bring a measure before the Reichsrath authorizing a loan of eighty million florins to meet the prevalent distress.

The festive season of the Universal Exhibition closed with the distribution of prizes on the 18th of August, but the Exhibition itself was kept open till the end of October. The total number of visitors from the opening day to the close was 7,254,687. On the whole, however, the result of this world's show disappointed the expectations of its projectors. Monetary disasters at first, and afterwards a visitation of cholera, not very severe, but sufficiently alarming to frighten away many strangers during the summer heats, combined to bring about a very heavy deficit in the receipts. Nevertheless, while it lasted, royalties and celebrities from all the countries of Europe came to see the Exhibition on the Prater. Among the visits which had most of sensational or political interest we may specify those of the wandering Shah of Persia, of the Prince of Wales, of the Czar of Russia, of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, of the Empress Augusta of Germany, and at a later season of the Emperor William, who, being prevented by indisposition from coming while the glory of the Exhibition was at its height, had previously sent his Empress to represent him.

Memorable for more than the mere splendour of a show was the occasion which brought Francis Joseph into the position of host to two potentates who in times past had been the greatest and most successful antagonists of his throne, whose victories, whether won in battle or diplomacy, had shorn his empire of more than half its ancient glories, and had, in fact, brought it into a situation in which its very life had to be struggled for. But the time had come when the Emperor of Austria could afford to forgive—nay, found his

best interest in forgiveness. And it was part of the frank, loyal nature of Francis Joseph, that whatever he made up his mind to do he could do magnanimously, gracefully, in prince-like fashion.

When, on the 19th of September, the Emperor of Austria received the King of Italy at a grand Court dinner, the toasts proposed were first that of Francis Joseph, "To the health of his Majesty the King of Italy, our illustrious guest, brother, and friend for ever;" then that of Victor Emmanuel in reply: "To the health of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, our brother and the friend of our heart for ever!"

In speaking of the Emperor William's visit, which terminated on the 23rd of October, a journalist of the day writes:—"Although the ice between the two Sovereigns who had become estranged has been long broken, they had never before the present visit had occasion for that intimate intercourse which was possible when the two were only separated by a gallery connecting their respective apartments in Schönbrunn; and the opportunity was not lost in bringing about that harmony between them which both so strongly feel to be in the interest of their people. Whatever he (Francis Joseph) does he does thoroughly. Long as he may have resisted the introduction of Constitutional rule, since it has been introduced there is no one in the Empire who is more sincerely Constitutional. So it was with the agreement with Hungary, and so it has been with the Prussian friendship—he has accepted it thoroughly, without afterthought and without casting back one single glance. This once done, the rest was comparatively easy; many old family connexions and associations came into play and helped to make the approach cordial, especially as the Emperor William, on his side, did everything to make it so. The young Crown Prince Rudolf became quite a personal favourite when the Crown Prince of Germany was here with his young son, who is about the same age as Crown Prince Rudolf; the two became great friends, and this at once sufficed to create a link between the old Emperor and the youthful heir to the throne of Austria. The latter was attached to the regiment of Grenadier Guards of which his father is Colonel, and when he came to thank him for the favour the old Emperor was heard to say, 'It is well for the people if the future Sovereigns of their countries are early friends.' When the two potentates parted at the railway-station the Emperor William was said to have been in tears."

Thus, for as long a time as the destinies of States may permit, were the memories of Sadowa and of Solferino, of the expulsion of Austria from Germany, of the loss of Lombardy and Venetia, cast into oblivion.

We may mention, as one of the displays of this time, the ceremony of inaugurating the new Vienna Waterworks in presence of the Emperor and his Court. The waterworks are the largest in the world. The water comes from the Alps, a distance of fifty-four English miles, by means of tunnels and aqueducts. The inaugura-



tion took place at the giant fountain in the middle of Vienna, which throws up water 180 feet high. The cost of the works was 20,000,000 florins, and they were finished in three years and a half. Count Hoyos Sprinzenstein, the donor of the chief source of the water supply, was raised to the dignity of Privy Councillor on the occasion, and decorated with the Order of the Iron Crown of the second class.

During the month of October took place the elections to the Reichsrath under the new law of direct suffrage. The issue lay between two main divisions of political opinion; between the Centralists and the Anti-Centralists; between those who were for organizing Austria as a compact State, and those who desired to give greater weight and importance to the single provinces at the expense of the central authority in Parliament and Government. The elections resulted in a signal victory for the former party. Of the 353 members of the new Reichsrath, 228 belonged to the Centralists, leaving only 125 members for their adversaries. The victory was an important one, not only as it gave an overwhelming majority to those who were averse from new Constitutional experiments, and wanted to develop the political life of Austria on the present basis, but because it clearly proved that the majority of the people shared their views. As long as the elections were not by direct suffrage the adversaries of the present Constitution could always come forward with the assertion that the ruling party in Parliament did not faithfully represent the views of the "people," but merely got their majority by unfair management in the Provincial Diets. They could scarcely do so now, when the elections by direct suffrage had given to the ruling party a majority of over 100 in a House of 353. A majority of a few might perhaps have been obtained, but no management could have secured such an overwhelming preponderance had not the country at large shared the opinions of the ruling party.

And yet, though broadly considered, the policy favoured by Government had thus received a powerful sanction from the nation, such was the state of parties that it could not count on any working majority in a narrower sense, for the two main divisions were split up into a variety of minor groups or fractions. Of these, the most prominent and numerous was the Left, comprising the old stock of the Constitutional party. It had headed the van in the Constitutional struggle, and formed the bulk of the supporters of the first Parliamentary, or, as it was called, the Citizen Ministry, in 1867, which comprised all its leaders. It numbered 103 members in the new House. Although, no doubt, this fraction might be reckoned upon by the Ministry against any efforts which might be made by the adversaries of the present Constitution, it could by no means be set down as a Ministerial party. Besides this fraction of the Constitutional party there was the Extreme Left, or the advanced Liberals—a shade which had always existed, but which had become far more important than it ever was before. In the last

Reichsrath there were but sixteen members of this fraction ; now it numbered forty-one. They might even less than the former be reckoned as supporters of the Government, having their own distinct programme, and being likely to show more independence than they did before.

Thus, out of the majority of 228, 144 could not be reckoned upon implicitly by the Government, so that in reality but eighty-four remained, of whom fifty-nine belonged to the Left Centre, mostly composed of members representing the great proprietors. This fraction has almost invariably supported whatever Ministry has been at the head of affairs, the only exception being the Hohenwarth Ministry, which proved too much for its patience. The rest of the supporters of the Ministry consisted of the fifteen Ruthenes from Galicia, of the seven Italian Liberals from Southern Tyrol and Trieste, and of three Poles siding with M. Ziemiałkowski, the Minister for Galicia. Evidently it would require some management on the part of the Ministry to keep these various fractions together, and make a working majority out of them.

Fortunately, the division on the other side was even greater. There were, first of all, twenty-four Clericals, who were still divided among themselves on the question whether they should take their seats in the Reichsrath or not. Then came thirty-two Czechs and ten Moravians. Next came forty-one Poles, and twelve Slovenes, Dalmatians, and Roumans from Bukovina, of all of whom it was more or less doubtful whether they would appear. Thus, in reality, scarcely more than one-half of the adversaries of the Government could be reckoned upon as opponents in the new Reichsrath. If, therefore, the number of its supporters was not quite so large as it might seem at first sight, the number of its adversaries would, it appeared, be considerably smaller than the list of members would indicate.

The session was opened by the Emperor in person on the 5th of November. We quote a description of the aspect of the Lower House, under its new conditions, from an eye-witness:—

“Although the roll-call, when taking the oath, confirmed the presence of but 254 members, this was a much larger number than had ever sat in that hall. Even before you knew this number the most superficial glance showed that the empty seats were not invariably due to a renewal of the policy of Parliamentary ‘strikes.’ There was, indeed, a more notable gap in the Right Centre, where the Czechs used to sit when they still graced the Reichsrath with their presence, but there was a cluster of Poles on their seats on the Extreme Right, which proved that the others still absent would turn up. In the next section you saw the tall figure of Count Hohenwarth—a sign that the Feudal party could be reckoned upon likewise ; and there was the cozy figure of Father Greuter, with his colleagues from the Tyrol, vouching for the presence of the most determined Clericals. Indeed, all over the House it was curious to see how all the old members had stuck to the seats they had always

occupied. There was the small dark figure of Dr. Hechbauer in his corner seat on the Extreme Left; and behind, the burly figure of Dr. Brestel; in the next section, quite on the top, Dr. Herbst, overlooking the Left fraction, which now implicitly follows his lead; and so on with every one who had belonged to former Parliaments, as if he had thereby acquired a vested right to his seat."

In the Speech from the Throne the Emperor pointed out that, by forming the Chamber of Deputies upon the system of direct popular elections, the representation of the Empire had obtained real independence. It would now be necessary to continue building with prudent circumspection upon that basis, and to take care to fortify and further organize the constitutional institutions of the Monarchy. Adverting to the reverse caused by overstraining credit after a period of economical development, he promised the introduction of measures calculated to restore confidence, to protect the economical activity against lasting disturbance, and to re-establish the trade and industry of the country upon sounder bases. In reference to the financial affairs of the country he stated that the Budget would show that those principles of economy necessary to maintain the finances of the State in their satisfactory condition had been strictly observed. He announced that measures of reform respecting direct and indirect taxation had been under consideration by the Government, and would shortly be submitted to the Reichsrath. Mention was made of the approaching expiration of the charter granted to the National Bank, and the measures necessary for settling the future mission and position of that establishment, and for facilitating a resumption of specie payments. It was stated that Bills would be introduced for reforming the present laws affecting joint-stock companies and the Bourse, for regulating the railway administration and trades, and for improving the material resources of the country: also for completing and reforming existing legislation concerning the relations between the Catholic Church and the State, for reforming the civil and criminal legal procedure, and for the definitive organization of the law courts. Speaking of the Exhibition the Emperor mentioned its beneficial results for Austria, and the success the Empire had obtained in this pacific competition. He said, "The visits which the Emperor received during the Exhibition from the Sovereigns of neighbouring and distant States have knit closer the bonds of friendship already existing between them and Austria, and have increased the pledges of peace and strengthened the influence of Austria." In conclusion, the Emperor exhorted the Reichsrath to work with united energy at the solution of the greatest of their tasks, which consisted in uniting the people of Austria, so that she might become a powerful State, strong in ideas of justice and liberty. His speech was enthusiastically applauded.

Hungary, though not a country ordinarily much affected by

religious controversy, was drawn this summer within the vortex of the Intallibilist agitation. The occasion was the publication by the Bishop of Rorvyo, in Upper Hungary, of a letter containing the Vatican dogma, without royal permission. The Minister of Public Worship, being interrogated on the subject, replied that he had intimated his disapproval to the Bishop, and had informed him that, in case of any illegal consequences of his act, the law would be strictly put in force. But this answer did not satisfy the Left or the Protestant members, who insisted that the publication was itself an illegal act; and the Minister defended himself by alleging the absence of any specific law under which the offending Bishop could be dealt with. M. Déak, who came forward to support him, endorsed this view, and the Opposition could only refer vaguely to old laws against disloyalty and felony, which they presumed to be applicable to the case. On this, Déak took occasion to sketch out his own ideas of ecclesiastical reform. He advocated the enactment of laws to guarantee the free exercise and civil equality of all religions, obligatory civil marriage, the autonomy of Catholics, and the readjustment of the *jus placiti* in accordance with the modern system of free speech and a free press: he finally suggested the appointment of a Commission to regulate the relations of Church and State; and he would have them regulated rather on Cavour's principle of complete separation of Church and State than on Bismarck's principle of State supremacy. The majority of the Assembly evidently shared his view of the subject. Discontented with the religious policy of the Cabinet, and distrustful of its independence from clerical influence, the Left Centre declared that they would only consent to the appointment of the Commission desired by the Minister of Worship—in which they suspected a mere pretext for delay—on condition of its being directed to conduct its proceedings on the principles enunciated by Déak; and all the Liberal members of the Right, with Déak at their head, voted in the same sense against the Catholic party.

Towards the end of the year a Ministerial crisis took place in Hungary. M. Szlavy, who in 1872 had succeeded Count Lonyay as Prime Minister, had, in his anxiety to conciliate all parties, neglected or postponed reforms which were rendered indispensable by the necessities of the time, and allowed the Administration to fall into a state of anarchy which seriously impaired its authority in the country. This condition of affairs became so alarming that M. Koloman Ghyczy, the most prominent leader of the Opposition, asked his electors to permit him to resign his seat in the House, on the ground that he had become convinced that Hungary had proved undeserving of that independence for which he and his party had striven so long. "Hungary," said M. Ghyczy in his address, "is in a state of dissolution, and is hastening towards a great catastrophe. While we strive to make her great by extending her rights as a distinct State, she shows herself incapable even of exercising the rights she already possesses. If the present state of things

should continue, Hungary will soon be unable to fulfil either her obligations abroad or the requirements of her Administration at home; demoralization is everywhere prevalent, and even in those classes of society which should give an example of patriotic devotion the simplest feeling of public duty is often wanting." This led to the resignation of two members of the Cabinet. M. Szlavy himself desired to resign, but was persuaded by the Emperor to remain in office till the debates on the Budget should be concluded. The complication seemed likely to end in a break-up of the so-called Déak party, the head of whom, M. Déak himself, was unable from the state of his health to take any part in political affairs.

An interesting event for Hungary was the passing of a Bill late in the autumn for the consolidation of the long rival cities of Buda and Pesth into one capital for Hungary, under the united name of Buda-Pesth. "A mixed Committee of the two towns," says a contemporary account, "underwent all the preparatory labour, and when this was done the organization of the new municipality was taken in hand, and this has now been completed by the election of the Mayor and all the officials. The whole process has passed without, one may say, a single case of misunderstanding or collision, both sides showing a spirit of conciliation and fairness which speaks highly for their patriotism. They both seemed anxious to subordinate all their numberless small local and private interests to the public interest, and the result is that Hungary, after 800 years of existence, has for the first time a capital in the full sense of the word."

Some diplomatic differences between Austria and Turkey on the subject of the Christians in Bosnia will find mention elsewhere.

The applause which had greeted the Emperor on the delivery of his speech before the Reichsrath was but a foretaste of the enthusiasm with which his subjects, both in Austria and in Hungary, celebrated the anniversary of his accession to the throne a few weeks later. It was the twenty-fifth anniversary—the silver wedding-day, according to the German fancy—of his union with his Empire. He had succeeded to the rule of the Hapsburgs at a disastrous time, on the 2nd of December, 1848, when he had scarcely completed his 18th year. Since then he and his people had had struggles internal and external—reverses, disasters in abundance—but he had acted the part of a loyal and honourable sovereign throughout, and was rewarded by finding his Empire now, at the end of this quarter of a century, more compact, more united than it had ever been, and his personal popularity without a drawback. The jubilee took place at Buda-Pesth on the 29th of November, as the 2nd of December, the actual date of the accession, was reserved for the festivities at Vienna. Francis Joseph and his Empress were present at both their capitals on the occasion. Well might those who had witnessed the state of things prior to the settlement of 1867 marvel at the change of feeling in the transleithian realm. Old grudges seemed quite to have passed away,



and the nation to remember only that since the House of Austria first ruled over Hungary there never had been a King between whom and his people there reigned such thorough harmony as that existing between King Francis Joseph and his loyal Hungarians. So thoroughly was this the case that, without waiting for the initiative of the Legislature, towns and counties, municipalities, and other public bodies and associations decided to celebrate the anniversary by voting addresses, sending up deputations to present them, and appropriating funds for some public purpose to perpetuate the memory of the day.

On the 2nd of December festivities and illuminations took place at all the towns and villages in Austria. The illumination of Vienna was general, spontaneous, and most brilliant, even the humblest streets being lighted up. The public buildings, the embassies, and the private mansions were gay with flags. The Ringstrasse was a sea of light. The Emperor, the Empress, and the Crown Prince drove for two hours through the densely-crowded streets, and were loudly cheered. Far away on the Alps shone out bonfires from the mountain-tops. At sunrise on Monday morning a salute of 101 guns was fired before the imperial castle. High mass was celebrated in all the churches. The Emperor continued to receive numberless congratulatory addresses from deputations. In replying to that of the generals he said with deep emotion, "I present to you my son. I wish you to show to him the same fidelity as to me." Many old generals wept when the Emperor ended by recalling the glorious deeds of the deceased General Radetzky and Admiral Tegethoff. Congratulatory telegrams arrived from all the Sovereigns of Europe. At sunset another salute of 101 guns was fired from the arsenal. The theatres were thrown open free of cost.

On the following day the Emperor received a deputation of army officers, with Archduke Albrecht at their head. He thanked them, and through them the whole army and navy, for the fidelity and affection displayed towards his person, both in good and evil days. Next day he received the Diplomatic Corps, the English, French, and German Ambassadors, and the Ministers of Bavaria, Denmark, and Portugal, presenting autograph letters of congratulation from their Sovereigns.

And so, as the year 1873 closed upon the Empire of Austro-Hungary, it might be a hope not unwarrantable even for those most impressed with the fallaciousness of political horizons, that the motto *Viribus unitis*, which Francis Joseph had chosen at his accession, had become a reality.

## CHAPTER IV.

**ITALY.**—National feeling for Napoleon III.—Debates on Finance—Ministerial Crisis—Religious Corporations Bill—Illness of the Pope—Deaths of Manzoni and of Rattazzi—Financial Debate, and Resignation of Ministers—Signor Minghetti—Visit of Victor Emmanuel to Austria and Germany—Dissolution of the Jesuit Convents—Association of Science—Reassembling of Chambers—Debates—Pope's Encyclical Letter—New Cardinals.

**SPAIN.**—Difficulties of King Amadeo's Government—His Abdication—Republic Proclaimed—Figueras President—Political Complications—Carlist War—Santa Cruz—Revolt at Barcelona—Dissolution of Permanent Committee—Flight of Marshal Serrano—Elections to new Cortes *Constituyentes*—Pi-y-Margall President of the Republic—Changes in the Cabinet—*Intransigentes*—Revolts in South of Spain—Government of Salmeron—Carlist War—Proceedings at Cartagena—Resignation of Salmeron—Castelar President and Dictator—Naval Actions off Cartagena—Dismissal of Admiral Lobo—Carlists—Dissensions between Castelar and Salmeron—Impending *coup d'état*.

**PORTUGAL.**—**BELGIUM.**—**NETHERLANDS.**—War with Atchin.

**SWITZERLAND.**—Affair of Bishop Mermillod—Père Hyacinthe—Ecclesiastical Legislation—Duke of Brunswick—Internationalist Congress.

**SWEDEN.**—Coronation of Oscar II.

**DENMARK.**—Ministerial Crisis—Dissolution of *Rigsdag*—Icelandic Politics—Visit of German Crown Prince.

## ITALY.

THE news of the Emperor Napoleon's death was received in Italy with great emotion. A very general sentiment of gratitude for the important part he had played in bringing about the national unity pervaded the public mind. Numerous addresses of condolence were telegraphed from the Italian cities to the Empress Eugénie. The royal family went into mourning. The municipality of Spoleto, where Napoleon III. first fought for Italy, voted 2000 lire at once towards the erection of a monument to him. In the Chamber of Deputies, and in the Senate, the national regret was expressed for one who had been the friend and liberator of Italy. A funeral service was celebrated for him at Rome, in the Church of Santa Maria, at which, among other illustrious attendants, were present the Prime Minister, Signor Lanza, and Cardinal Bonaparte.

While the Committee occupied on the Religious Corporations Bill were prosecuting their labours with leisurely caution, the question of finance chiefly occupied the Chamber of Deputies. Signor Sella presented, on the 17th of March, a detailed statement, comprising the financial accounts of the year 1871, the position of the Treasury in 1872, the definitive Budget for 1873, and the Estimates for 1874. He said that the financial measures adopted by Government had been more favourable than he had anticipated ; that though the Budget for

the current year showed a deficit of 131,000,000 lire, he had resources to meet it; and that though the Estimates for 1874 showed a deficit of 107,000,000, this, too, might be overcome by resolute limitation of expenditure, thanks to the improved revenue which was accruing from some of the taxes. A day or two after, Signor Sella had to combat a motion of Signor Nicotera for a considerable outlay on the part of Government to secure the completion of the national armaments and fortifications. He declared that he could not accept any proposal implying an exhortation to the Government to provide for the armaments of the country, because this would be an undeserved reproach upon the Ministry, which had already considered this question. He would only accept the Order of the Day as proposed by Signor Perrone, which was in the following terms:

"The Chamber of Deputies is confident that the Ministry will provide efficaciously for the defence of the State, and takes note of its declarations."

On a vote being taken, this Order of the Day was approved by 153 votes against 100.

This was a success for the Ministry. A few weeks later another money question led to its overthrow. The Minister of Marine had recommended that a sum of six millions and a half of lire should be expended on the construction of an arsenal at Taranto. The question was referred to a Committee, and the Committee decided that the amount was not nearly large enough, and that 23,000,000 lire should be voted to the object in contemplation. The Bill was brought before the Chamber on the 30th of April. The attendance of members happened to be scanty; only one Minister was present. Nothing indicated any expectation of a critical discussion. The increased sum was voted, and the remaining clauses were coming on for consideration, when Signor Sella rushed into the Chamber and declared that the Ministry regarded the course taken by the Chamber as so serious a blow to the Government that it was necessary to adjourn the debate and give it an opportunity of considering its position. The next day the Ministers placed their resignation in the hands of the King. It might seem a strange whim of politics that a Cabinet should take flight before a Chamber too liberal in responding to its demands; but Signor Sella urged the imperative necessity of caution about every item of expenditure, without which his scheme for placing the financial position of the country on a sound footing must inevitably break down. No doubt the 23,000,000 might be spread over ten years, and the sum of 80,000*l.* sterling was all which it was proposed to raise last year; still, in the present state of things, that was not to be regarded as a trifle, and to be compelled to find it would damage all his plans. The King sent for Signor Pisanelli, and requested him to undertake the formation of a new Cabinet; but that statesman declared himself unable to perform the task. Rattazzi was ill in bed. The King was urged to use all his influence to induce his late advisers to reassume their posts. The difficulty lay with Sella; without him the other Minis-

ters would not return. At last, on the condition that a Royal Decree should be granted for the withdrawal of the Taranto Bill, he gave way, and the Ministers reappeared before the Chamber on Monday, and announced their reassumption of office.

Some thought that the whole affair of the resignation was a stratagem of the Ministers; that they foresaw what was likely to occur, and determined to avail themselves of an adverse vote on the Taranto question, in order to retire at a moment when the formation of another Ministry would be difficult, and not reassume office unless after exacting such unconditional promises from the leaders of the moderate sections of the Chamber as would insure their being able to carry the Bill for the regulation of the Religious Corporations. It might not be so, for Signor Sella's zeal on the subject of financial economy had always been very genuine. But at any rate the crisis tended very opportunely to smooth the way for what was the great and paramount measure at this time before the Legislature.

The Government, as our last year's summary has stated, had set itself to frame a Bill with regard to the Religious Corporations, which, without departing from the recognized doctrines of Italian statemanship, should yet make it possible to avoid an open breach with the Pope and the Papal party. Their original proposals were referred to a Committee, which judged them too vacillating and timid, and amended them in a sense conformable to the three fundamental tenets of Italian Liberals as regards such bodies—that the State shall judge which of them, as subserving no object of public utility, shall be dissolved; that their buildings shall be subject to expropriation for public purposes; and that they shall cease to hold lands, an equivalent in the funds being given them. The Government subsequently adopted the recommendations of the Committee, and virtually it was the Bill of the Committee that now came for discussion before the Chamber. But the Bill was avowedly moulded on the assumption that the position of the Pope in Rome was an exceptional one, so that privileges should be allowed to religious corporations in Rome, which would not be permitted to exist in any other Italian town. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Visconti-Venosta, in introducing the Bill on the 9th of May, frankly stated the views of the Government on this head. Italy, he urged, must recognize the cosmopolitan character of the Pope's Government, and must leave him the necessary machinery of his rule. Moreover, if it became impossible for the heads of the Clerical party to find the machinery of Government in Rome, it was probable they would devote their energies to carrying on a much more active warfare against the new order of things in Italy, and it would give them a great advantage to start with if they could show that they had a distinct grievance, and had been violently prevented from doing in the sphere of spiritual affairs what the interests of the Church required. Signor Minghetti insisted, in a Conservative sense, on Cavour's formula of "a Free Church in a Free State," and upheld the present action of the Ministry. On the other hand, Prince Emmanuel Ruspoli, represent-

ing the party of the Left, required that the Ministers should cause all traces of the theocratic rule to vanish. For himself he assumed with pride the title of Tribune of the People, in opposition to the Pretorians of the Government. The temper of the Chamber became agitated during the discussion. Outside the walls of the Chamber riots took place. A meeting was appointed by the Radicals to be held on the 11th, at the Mausoleum of Augustus, under the presidency of the Duke of Sermoneta. It was prohibited by the police; and the promoters then resolved to go in a body to the Quirinal and petition the King to pass a decree applying the laws in force throughout Italy without any reservation to Rome. A collision occurred between the military and the people. One man was shot; another was wounded. The Quirinal, the adjoining streets, and the Corso were patrolled, and the churches guarded by soldiers. Cheers were given for Ruspoli; groans and hisses for Minghetti, who was obliged to take refuge from the mob. Several arrests were made; but the police acted with creditable discretion, and the next day all was quiet.

It was over the second Article of the Bill that the fiercest battle within the Chamber was waged. The Bill itself provided in general for the application to Rome itself of the laws by which Convent property throughout the rest of Italy had already been subjected to the laws of Mortmain and taken by the State for purposes of charitable and educational endowment. But by Article II. special exception was made on behalf of the establishments belonging to the Heads of Orders, Generals and Superiors of religious associations, having branch establishments in foreign countries. It was felt that to cut off these "Generalships" would inflict a blow on the Pope which his peculiar position at Rome rendered it decent and merciful, and also politic to avoid. The Government, therefore, conceived that these "Generals" should be in so far spared that they should receive a pension from the State as the Pope received his, and that they should be allowed to retain at least a few apartments in the houses where they had now their residences. The strongest opposition arose, not only on the part of the Left, but also from a large number of the habitual supporters of the Cabinet, who soon became known as *Dissidenti*, or Dissenting members, by whose hostility the fate of the Bill and the existence of the Lanza Ministry were seriously imperilled. Eventually a compromise was effected, by which it was settled that the "Generals" should receive a pension from the State, amounting, for the whole of them, to 400,000*f.* yearly; and that they should continue to occupy part of their present residences; but this latter provision was only made in favour of the present "Heads" during their lifetime and their continuance in office. The final majority in favour of the Bill was large—196 votes to 46.

The Bill passed the House of Deputies on the 27th of May; and on the 17th of June it was voted in the Senate without modification or even discussion. Out of nearly 200 members of which the



Senate was composed, not quite half were present at the sitting. Not one member even of that number went so far as to offer a protest against a measure which the Vatican had denounced as a criminal spoliation and sacrilege—a remarkable result as concerned a body which was supposed to contain much of the High Church and Conservative element of Italian life, and a proof that the unpopularity of Papal rule applied to every circle of society.

The Pope, now not less than eighty years old, and subject all his life to epileptic fits, was thrown into a state of great agitation by the Convent Measure, and during the month of May he was so ill that his recovery was little expected. Confined to his room, he had lost all appetite, and was unable to retain even such food as he could still be induced to take; he lay for hours at a time in a state of absolute prostration, and it was not without great effort that he could drag himself from his chair to his table, a few steps across the apartment. Several times the rumour spread through Rome that the Pope was dead. There were hasty gatherings and anxious consultations among the cardinals, and many points regarding the next conclave were believed to have been settled among them, in the event of a vacancy of the Pontifical Chair. But the vigorous constitution of the old man proved victorious over sickness, mortification, and advanced years; and on the day that the deprecated Bill passed the Upper House of the Italian Legislature, he received the College of Cardinals, and in a long speech gave forth his protest against the iniquity, as well as against the previous usurpation of the Papal States, while at the same time he repudiated every thought of a reconciliation with the Italian kingdom.

Two deaths occurred at this time, which roused among the Italians at large that warm sentiment for their great men in which they have never been deficient. At Milan, at a little past the age of ninety, towards the end of May, died Alessandro Manzoni, the poet-patriot of those old days, half a century before, when to breathe a whisper of discontent against Austrian rule was equivalent to a sentence of exile or imprisonment—the patriarch, it might be said, in virtue of the inspiring choruses in his dramas, of Italian unity as a sentiment, an idea, whose power had ever since been persistently asserting itself. But Manzoni was a man of religion and of peace. He had never given in his adhesion to the restless politics of the national party after his first essay in the *Conciliatore*, and his later life had been absorbed in the practices of devout Catholicism. No man was more revered by his compatriots; and the funeral demonstration made in his honour at Milan on the 29th of May was in the grandest sense a national ovation. A few days later a large attendance of delegates, mayors and senators, assembled at Alessandria to follow to the grave the remains of Signor Urbano Rattazzi, the distinguished statesman and ex-Minister, whose services only at the last Ministerial crisis would have been under requisition had not illness prevented him from taking an active part in public affairs. At a

funeral procession in his honour at Rome itself on the 8th of June, Prince Humbert, the King's eldest son, carried the pall.

Before the Chambers closed the Ministry were destined to strike again upon the perilous rock of Finance, and this time with more fatal result than before. A question of War Office preparation brought on the crisis—the twelfth Ministerial crisis that Italy had experienced within a period of fourteen years. Quintino Sella, the Financial Minister, had, as we have seen, by unwearied energy, aided no doubt by favourable circumstances, brought about a more cheering prospect for the future of Italy than could at all have been anticipated at one time. The proof of his success was patent in the fact that whereas when he assumed his portfolio at the end of 1869 the Italian debt stood at 53 in the money-market, it had twice risen to 73; and that whereas the deficit in the Budget had amounted to 290 millions of francs, or lire, it had been reduced by him to 130 millions. But now the Finance Minister found himself confronted with a new deficit of 12,000,000*l.* sterling in the Budget of 1874, in consequence chiefly of new outlays proposed by his colleagues at the War Office and the Department of Public Works. These expenses had been voted by the Chamber, and it was with a view to meet this new demand on his resources that Sella brought forward certain financial measures, from which he anticipated a proportionate increase in the revenue. His proposal, however, came in towards the close of a long session, the Deputies had left Rome in great numbers, and it was with the utmost difficulty, and by holding out a threat of his resignation, that the Minister succeeded in bringing together a quorum of the Chamber on the 21st of June. The discussion went on throughout that and the following day. The Minister gave in to many of the modifications proposed by various Deputies. He reduced his demand of 1,200,000*l.* to the more modest sum of 560,000*l.* But the Chamber was in no humour for concession. The Left was dead against him; and among his supporters of the Right a stout opposition developed itself, headed by Minghetti, and allowing the Minister little chance of resistance. Sella stood his ground heroically, again and again declaring that he made his proposal, reduced as it was to such moderate proportions, a Cabinet question, and as it was really believed that he intended to retire at all events, the Chamber on the 27th gratified his wish by accepting an Order of the Day rejecting his financial measures by a majority of 157 against 86.

The Lanza Cabinet sent in its resignation. The King addressed himself to Signor Minghetti, knowing that a Ministry of the Left, led by Signor Depretis, was at this time impossible, and that the split in the ranks of the Right which had led to a temporary coalition of a portion of them with the opposite benches was not likely to continue. In fact, in taking office Signor Minghetti persuaded Signor Visconti-Venosta, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, to retain his office. Signor Ricotti remained as Minister of War. Minghetti himself assumed the portfolio of Finance.

The King of Italy's visits to Vienna and Berlin in September have been elsewhere mentioned. He undertook them at the instance of his Ministers, but was himself reluctant to leave the free life he was leading with his rifle in Val Saravanche, hunting the chamois on the ridges above the Orco. But to the sound political reasons alleged for his journey Victor Emmanuel was too much of a statesman to demur. In the interests of the contest with the Papal See, to which destiny had committed him, it was most important that he should strengthen his connexion with the sovereigns whose position resembled his in respect of their need of championing civil rights as against ecclesiastical usurpation—in respect of their being representatives—to use the phraseology which about this time became current—of Cæsarism as against Ultramontaniam.

The 20th of October was made memorable in Rome by two important events—the expulsion of the Jesuits from their convents and colleges, and the meeting of the Italian Association of Men of Science in one of the halls of the Capitol. In obedience to the Convent Law, or *Legge sulle Corporazioni Religiosi*, of the 10th of June, voted by Parliament at the close of last session, the deputations of the city of Rome, accompanied by notaries, asked and obtained admission into six of the principal convents of Rome, took formal possession, and intimated to the inmates that they must quit the premises within fifteen days, reckoning from the 18th instant, or within thirteen from the day of the intimation. Orders were given that during the interval nothing should be removed from the houses. Of the convents to which the law has thus been first applied four belonged to the Jesuits, the remaining two to the Franciscans. A decree was also published, ordering the expropriation or confiscation of eight other convents. At the convent of the Roman College the rector read to the delegates of the Committee a protest drawn up by the Society of Jesus, declaring that the college was a Papal institution possessing an international character. Formal protests were also presented at the other colleges. The delegates simply received the protests and handed certificates for the income to be paid to the colleges. The proceedings were carried out with scrupulous regularity. On the same day the first scientific congress held at Rome assembled in the Great Hall of the Horatii and the Curatii in the Capitol. Count Mamiani presided on the occasion, and delivered the opening address. He alluded to the past vicissitudes of the Association, and hinted that science which, in the evil days of old Italy, had been a means should now, upon the happy emancipation of the country, become an end, as the country on its revival finds now the first rank in arms, in wealth, in industry, and enterprise, already filled by other nations more advantageously placed, and all that the old Mistress of the world could now confidently aspire to can only be success in those intellectual pursuits for which it seems to have been especially fitted both by its native instincts and by its glorious traditions. The Minister of Public Instruction,

Scialoja, and the Syndic of Rome, Pianciani, followed with ready eloquence in the same strain.

The new session of the Italian Parliament opened on the 15th of November. The King's Speech was remarkable for the firm tone in which it alluded to the determination of Government to resist any encroachment of the clergy on the civil rights of the citizens, and his resolution not to sacrifice, even to a desire for peace, what he owed to the dignity of the country whose destinies he had been appointed to guide.

The financial question was the first great business of the session. Minghetti's statement, which he delivered on the 27th of November, showed a deficit for 1874 of 130,000,000 lire, or 5,200,000*l.* sterling. There had been, said the Minister, for several years a constant development in the resources of the Italian Kingdom, and a progressive increase in its revenue. But the expenditure had more than kept pace with the income, and the result was a chronic deficit. The chief causes of this disorder were the large expenses incurred for the military establishment and for the Department of Public Works. In neither of these two branches of the service could there be any immediate retrenchment. The Budget of the Minister of War was limited to 150,000,000*f.*; but it had to be raised to 165,000,000*f.* to meet the exigencies of the new law of general compulsory enlistment. To this would be added 20,000,000*f.* for extraordinary expenses. All this had been settled in obedience to laws voted by Parliament under the late Administration; and the present Cabinet, though they wished for peace, and though they were confident that peace would be maintained for ten or twelve years, could not feel themselves justified in disturbing the new plan upon which the army was being reorganized, and were compelled to accept the inheritance of their predecessors. What he proposed to do was not to raise new taxes, but to enforce those already existing with greater equality and regularity, by which means at all events 50,000,000 lire he believed might be gained.

A few weeks later the House of Deputies was eagerly engaged in discussing a Bill for the enforcement of Civil Marriages brought on on behalf of Government by Signor Vigliani. The Clerical party were vehement in their hostility, and the Bill was fighting its way through its various stages when the year closed.

We end our account of Italian affairs with the last measures emanating from the Vatican. The Pope's Encyclical Letter of November 21st has already been noticed in its bearing on the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany. The other points of assertion and remonstrance set forth in this very lengthy document may be thus summarized.

"Our city of Rome," the Pope said, "has passed under the sway of men who despise law, who are enemies of religion, who confound all things, human and divine." Among other Italian aggressions, what he most deplored was that they had abolished that Roman University which could alone impart that perfect and irreproachable instruction necessary for the universal maintenance of



the Catholic faith. As to the Italian occupation of Rome, the Pope insisted that its especial object was the subversion of the Pontifical authority and the destruction, if possible, of the Catholic religion itself. At the opening of the Vatican Council it was boasted, somewhat prematurely, that Geneva had accepted a Bishop, and allowed him jurisdiction for the first time since the Reformation. The Pope now complained bitterly that Geneva had banished the good man and reformed the constitution of the Church on the democratic pattern. He enumerated the usurpations of the civil power of Geneva, culminating, he said, in every parish priest being required to take an oath involving actual apostasy; that apostasy, however, apparently consisting only in giving to certain decrees of the Council of Trent such qualified obedience as the Gallican Church also gives. However, the Pope did not hesitate to enjoin all faithful people to regard as strangers and robbers such priests as should comply with the terms imposed by the Government of the Cantons. As the Bishop of Basle had been expelled for non-compliance, and sixty-nine parish priests of the Canton of Jura had been deprived, the faithful had nothing to do but meet the "ferocious wolves," as the Pope called the civil authorities, with the meekness of lambs. In Germany, and especially in Prussia, a similar persecution raged more and more bitterly. The civil power had there usurped even the instruction and education of the clergy, and claimed to collate them to cures and to deprive them at its pleasure. A royal tribunal for ecclesiastical offences had effectually superseded the Pope's authority. The new laws, indeed, had rendered the independent life of the Church impossible, and such, indeed, said the Pope, was the intention of the Prussian Government, which was full of hostility to the Church. In all this the Pope beheld only the old conflict of the first Apostles and Martyrs with the heathen world. Now, as then, there is a twofold order of things, the natural and the supernatural. Civil Governments, like the Cæsars of old, are the police of the world, good for personal security and secular business; but it is their highest honour and chief claim to respect when they submit to that Government which is not of earth, but from heaven, and which, as itself of a higher nature, comprises all the lower objects of life. The Pope could not easily omit all notice of his correspondence with the German Emperor while taking the opportunity of protesting that it was not intended for publication. He noticed the Emperor's accusation of some of the Catholic clergy, but did not meet the true point of that accusation, which was that they had for some time taken a line incompatible with the respect due to civil government—the line, in fact, of the Vatican decrees.

Then followed his attack on the Old Catholics of Germany and their Bishop Reinkens, to which we have already adverted. He took very little notice of the controversy which had first led to the schism, but somewhat strangely referred the religionists in question to Freemasonry, or some such mysterious "Sect," which he described as having been long engaged in sapping and undermining



and corrupting the Church. This and other influences, open or occult, had, he asserted, long formed a Synagogue of Satan, waiting its opportunity for the destruction of the Church, and finding it, so it believes, in the great political events of our time.

On the 22nd of December the Pope held a Consistory, at which he appointed twelve new Cardinals.

#### SPAIN.

The birth of a son, at Madrid, towards the end of January, making the third "Prince of Asturias" on the field of contemporary Spanish politics, might for one delusive moment have flattered King Amadeus into the hope that his dynasty might yet become popular among the restless subjects whom he had been called to govern. But at the same time with this event, disquieting news had become rife of renewed and exasperated troubles in the Carlist provinces of the North. The battle of Oroquieta, fought in May, 1872, was far from having crushed the rebellion. Serrano's boasted Convention of Amorevieta had proved but a futile compromise. Bands of hardy mountaineers roved about the provinces of Biscay, Alava, Guipuzcoa and Navarre, burning railway stations, upsetting trains, cutting telegraph wires, levying contributions, and otherwise keeping the peaceable inhabitants in terror; and General Moriones, who commanded the Government troops, found it prudent for the moment rather to evade them than to attempt their defeat. On another side the meshes were closing round the unfortunate King. Disaffection showed itself in the army. The whole corps of artillery officers, to the number of from seven to eight hundred, suddenly resigned their commissions, in consequence of Zorrilla's persistence in appointing to the command of the forces in Catalonia an unpopular general, Hidalgo by name, who had formerly abetted a conspiracy of subalterns against their superiors. In the face of the formidable discontent thus excited, Amadeus took a resolution for which his princely race had in history afforded several precedents. On the 8th of February he informed his Ministers of his intention to abdicate. Zorrilla remonstrated; but all he could obtain was that the King would take forty-eight hours to reflect. The pause produced no change of intention. On Monday the 10th the secret had oozed out, and the Government was interrogated in Congress. On receiving Zorrilla's report of the facts, that body voted itself in permanent session; and the following day, Tuesday, February 11th, it received the following Message from the King, formally announcing his abdication:—

"Great was the honour that I received from the Spanish nation when elected to occupy the throne—an honour all the more appreciated by me because enveloped in the difficulties and dangers inseparable from the government of a kingdom so profoundly disturbed.

"Encouraged, however, by the resolution which is a characteristic

of my race, which seeks rather than avoids danger; determined to be guided solely by the good of the country, and to hold myself above all party questions; resolved religiously to observe the oath taken by me in presence of the Constituent Cortes; and being ready to make every kind of sacrifice in order to secure to this valorous people the peace they so greatly need, the liberty to which they are entitled, and the greatness which, by their glorious history, their virtue, and their constancy, they have deserved—I trusted that my inexperience in the art of governing might be compensated by the loyalty of my character, and that I should be powerfully assisted in overcoming the dangers and difficulties—which I did not fail to perceive—by the sympathies of all Spaniards, who, as lovers of their country, would be desirous at length to put an end to the sanguinary and sterile conflicts by which it has so long been devastated.

“I acknowledge that my sanguine hopes deceived me. It is two long years since first I put on the crown of Spain, and Spain still lives in a state of perpetual strife—the era of peace and happiness which I so ardently longed for seeming each day more distant than ever. If the enemies of her well-being were foreigners, then, at the head of her enduring and valiant soldiers, I would be the first to combat them. But those who, with their sword, their pen, or their speech aggravate and perpetuate the misfortunes of the nation are Spaniards; all invoke the dulcet name of their country, all combat and agitate for its welfare; and, amid the din of the conflict, the confusing, deafening, and contradictory clamour of parties, and the many opposing manifestations of public opinion, it is impossible for me to discriminate on which side is the truth, and even more impossible to find a remedy for such great calamities.

“I have sought it anxiously within the law, and have not found it. Outside, having promised to observe the law, I cannot seek it.

“No one will attribute my determination to weakness of spirit. There is no danger which would induce me to divest myself of the crown if I could believe that I should wear it on my brow for the advantage of the Spanish people; neither was my spirit daunted by the danger to which my august Consort’s life was exposed; and at this solemn moment she earnestly desires, equally with myself, that the authors of that attempt may be in due time pardoned.

“But I have the firmest conviction that my efforts would be futile, and my projects impossible to realize.

“These, Gentlemen Deputies, are the reasons which impel me to give back to the nation, and to you as its representatives, the crown which was offered to me by a national vote, and to renounce it for myself, my children, and my heirs.

“Rest assured that, in parting with the crown, I do not part with my love for Spain, as noble as she is unfortunate, and that I shall carry away no other regret than that it should not have been possible for me to confer upon the country all the happiness which my loyal heart desired.

AMADEO.”

“Palace of Madrid, 11th of February, 1873.”

A Committee was immediately appointed to draw up an answer. Within half an hour that answer had been penned by the eloquent Republican Deputy, Señor Castelar. In flowery language it assured the renouncing King that the Cortes, if it had been in their power, would have made the utmost sacrifice to persuade him to desist from his resolution. "But," so ran the document, "the knowledge they have of the unbending character of your Majesty, the justice they do to the maturity of your ideas and to your perseverance in your resolutions, impede the Cortes from asking your Majesty to reconsider your determination, and decide them to notify you that they have assumed to themselves the supreme power and Sovereignty of the nation, in order, under circumstances so critical, to provide, with the rapidity counselled by the gravity of the danger and the supreme crisis, for the salvation of the democracy, the basis of our politics; of liberty, the soul of our rights; and of the nation, which is our mother, immortal and beloved. For her we are all decided to sacrifice not only our individual ideas, but also our name and our existence." At the close a few more complimentary words were added:—"When the dangers are conjured away, when the obstacles are overcome, when we are saved from the difficulties inseparable from every epoch of transition and crisis, the Spanish people, who, so long as your Majesty remains on their noble soil, will show you every symptom of respect, loyalty, and consideration—for these your Majesty, your virtuous wife, and your innocent children merit well—cannot offer you a crown in the future, but they will offer you another dignity—the dignity of a citizen in the midst of a free and independent people."

Then the Chambers passed to the critical business of the day. The monarch gone, who or what should replace him? A resolution presented by seven members declared that the Cortes was now the Assembly of the nation, and as such voted the Republic to be the established form of Government. An excited debate ensued. The Republicans were bold and confident. The Monarchists, though preponderating in numbers, made no resistance. The outgoing Minister, Zorrilla, offered, indeed, a kind of protest. He reminded the Assembly that there was no Government, and that the Carlists were in open insurrection. "Pray provide," he said, "for the necessities of the moment. I have ever acted as an honest man who has struggled hard to do his duty to the Monarchy and to liberty. As the Monarchy and the Dynasty have gone, all I can do is to offer fervent prayers that your strength and means may correspond to your impatience to establish what I do not believe can be lasting in the country." In a subsequent speech he again expressed his faith in Liberal Constitutional principles. "As a dynastic Monarchist of King Amadeus, and a founder of the Dynasty of Savoy, I feel I have no right to change." There were one or two scenes of fierce contention and uproar, and then came the vote which made Spain a Republic. "Let us salute the new-born sun," said the eloquent orator Castelar, amid tremendous applause, and the Assembly has-

tened to pay its act of homage. The division took place—for the Republic, 258; against it, 32. Señor Figueras, saying that the division was the rainbow of peace, requested to be allowed to cry, “*Viva la Republica!*” Loud and long was the cry in the House, and it was echoed back by the thousands in the streets. Next day the National Assembly elected Señor Martos, a “Radical” (i. e. in Spanish party nomenclature a Monarchist), its President. The Presidency of the Executive Power was entrusted *ad interim* to Señor Figueras. Castelar was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. But it was desired not to break too abruptly with the past, and therefore four of the Radical Ministers belonging to the late Government were allowed to remain in office.

The sudden vacancy of the throne called forth no sensation or dismay. Amadeus, with his wife and children, quitted the royal palace of Madrid at six o'clock on the morning of February the 14th. A few members of the Cortes and other adherents of their Court accompanied them. But no parades, no sympathizing demonstration, no guard of honour, no applauding multitude, greeted their departure. As he entered the railway-carriage the King was seen to shed tears. The discarded Royalties then took the route to Lisbon, from whence, after a short sojourn, they returned to the Italian home which had sent them forth two years previously. There, as Duke and Duchess of Aosta, they resumed their old position in the family of Victor Emmanuel, and dropped the title which connected them with the painful memories of Spain.

At Madrid, on the 16th of February, the Spanish Republic was officially proclaimed; the one question which now remained for decision when the spring elections should have called together a new “Constituent” Cortes, being whether that Republic should wear the type of Unitarianism or of Federalism. The more advanced Republicans at this time, like the Girondists of the French Revolution, were, almost to a man, for resolving the unity of the realm into a Federal Bond; some, in their schemes of disintegration, went even to the lengths of Cantonal or Communal autonomy; the most moderate Federalists aimed at creating thirteen separate States out of Spain and her dependencies, which should rule themselves by their self-chosen laws, combining only for central purposes, after the pattern of the United States of North America.

The compromise which had allowed four of the late Ministers to remain in the newly constituted Government was very displeasing to the Republicans of the Extreme Left, now known as the *Intransigentes* or Irreconcilables, and twelve days had scarcely elapsed since the King's departure when threats of a “demonstration” were heard in the capital. Congress assembled in some alarm on the 23rd, and eventually the *Progresistas* or Monarchical Radicals who had kept their posts in the Ministry resigned them, and were replaced by Republicans, Castelar, Pi-y-Margall, Tutau, and Salmeron constituting, as before, the main strength of the Cabinet.

This crisis was shortly succeeded by another. The National

Assembly, as the Cortes had now styled itself, having been the result of elections made under a Monarchical "Radical" Government, its members were three-fourths of that persuasion; and although the majority had been too much cowed to make any fight for royalty when the King tendered his sudden abdication, and had since then acquiesced in the extrusion of the four Monarchist Ministers from the Cabinet, they were by no means disposed to let the new Republican Government have everything its own way. Accordingly, when Señor Martos, on the 4th of March, brought forward a motion proposing the general elections for the 10th of April, and the convocation of a new "Constituent" Cortes for the 1st of May, the Radicals decided to stand out for a later period. They secured a Committee composed chiefly of members of their own party, and drew up a Report condemnatory of the Government proposals. At this reactionary proceeding popular indignation was roused; street cries of "Death to the Radicals!" were raised; and all seemed to portend a serious disturbance, when, owing to a timely compromise proposed by General Primo de Rivera, the Radical ex-President of the Cortes, the danger was averted. The Government consented to postpone the assembling of the new Chambers till the 1st of June, but it was further agreed that after discussing the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, and a few other pending questions which called for settlement, the existing Assembly should suspend its sessions and appoint a Permanent Committee to carry on necessary business till the next Legislative Body should meet. Martos was superseded as President of the Assembly soon afterwards by Señor Francisco Salmeron. The Assembly broke up on the 22nd of March, having first voted unanimously the Porto Rico Abolition Bill.

We now turn to the parts of this distracted country where war was in actual progress. The Carlists had profited not a little by the chaotic state of politics at Madrid. *Carlos Settimo* had not yet made his reappearance among his devoted adherents since his ignominious retreat from the scene of action in May, 1872; but his brother, Don Alphonso, wielded the management of his affairs, and held a sort of Court in the Northern provinces. Several Carlist leaders had gained themselves a popular notoriety in the guerrilla warfare which they ceaselessly carried on—Lizarraga, Ollo, Dorregoray, Tristany, Saballs, and above all for the sinister character of his fame, the *cura* Manuel Santa Cruz.

On the proclamation of the Republic, General Moriones had been superseded in the command of the Government troops employed against the Carlists by General Pavia, who again made way in March for General Novilas. Santa Cruz, evading all attempts of his enemies to seize him, continued to perpetrate deeds of daring and atrocity which, by exciting popular feeling against him, tended seriously to compromise his friends: such were his burning bridges, lifting rails, cutting telegraph wires, firing on trains, slaughtering innocent villagers. The Carlists themselves protested against him.



To their General, Lizarraga, he was an obstacle and an offence. Some said, indeed, that the charges against him were exaggerated by his own party—that, slow to second his spirit and enterprise, they preferred to disclaim his co-operation. Santa Cruz took his own line ; he openly repudiated Don Carlos and threatened to proclaim the Catholic Republic under General Cabrera, a Carlist leader of great notoriety in the civil wars of a generation back, but long a peaceful resident in England, and as yet holding aloof from any participation in the troublous politics of modern Spain. Cited to appear before a court-martial, Santa Cruz denied its jurisdiction, and was then condemned to be shot, when captured, as a soldier guilty of insubordination.

Other insurrectionary movements combined to complicate the difficulties of Government. The discontent in the Artillery service continued. The troops at Barcelona mutinied. Agents of the International established revolutionary Juntas both there and in various cities of the South, especially in Murcia, urging the adoption of Socialistic and Communistic autonomy. Towards the middle of March, so alarming was the news from Barcelona, that the head of the Government, Figueras, himself a Catalan, went down to aid by his presence the Captain-General of the Eastern Provinces, Juan Contreras, who had found himself quite unable to curb the malcontents. But the able speech which Figueras made to his fellow-provincials did not produce much effect ; and, shortly after his return to Madrid, Contreras became so hard pressed that General Velarde, with as many troops as could be scraped together, was sent to Catalonia to replace him in the command. Meanwhile, the Carlist bands seized the opportunity to advance upon the distracted province ; and Saballs, at the head of three or four thousand men, attacked and captured the two small garrison towns of Ripoll and Berga, advancing next to Puycerda, where, however, he experienced a check from the Government troops. A defeat of Lizarraga, at Amesqueta, near Tolosa, and of Dorregoray, near Oñate, about the same time, put a stop for awhile to the progress of the Carlists.

At Madrid the Government was beset by enemies on both sides of its position. The *Intransigentes* betrayed, in the nickname given to their extremest members, the *Descamisados*, subversive aims analogous to those of the *Sans-Culottes* of the French Revolution. The Conservatism, on the other hand, which was represented by the “Radical” party—a travestie of names somewhat puzzling to an English reader—beheld in the present posture of affairs a chance which it was desirable to turn to account. The Permanent Committee, which represented the Assembly during the suspension of its sessions, was composed mainly of “Radical” members. By the last week in April, the covert antagonism subsisting between this body and the Republican Government broke out. It happened that the death of Figueras’ wife withdrew the Chief of the State for awhile from public affairs. The opportunity was not lost. As the hour approached, on the 23rd of April, for the appointed meeting of

the Permanent Committee, the Bull Ring at Madrid was occupied by a body of Volunteers in the interests of the Monarchists. Then the Committee proceeded to take into consideration the claims of the Radicals and of the Conservatives in general, to share the powers of Government with the Republican party. The Ministers, taken by surprise, at once withdrew; but they took prompt measures to meet the move of their antagonists. General Contreras was at once appointed to take chief command in the capital. The Republican Volunteers rose in mass. In a short time, and without bloodshed, the Government had crushed its opponents; then it proceeded to annihilate them. On the morning of the 24th the following decree was published in the *Official Gazette*:—"Whereas the Permanent Committee of the Assembly has been by its conduct a cause of perturbation and disorder. Whereas the said Committee has contributed by unjustifiable pretensions to bring about a conflict yesterday, without taking notice of the direct part taken by some of its members in that conflict. We declare the Committee dissolved, and the Government will be answerable for the promulgation of this act to the Constituent Cortes."

The chief instigator of the movement made by the Permanent Committee against the existing Government had been Marshal Serrano, Duque de la Torre; that master in tergiversation who, having taken an active part in establishing Amadeus on the throne, had turned his back on that luckless prince in the days of his waning popularity, and done all he could to discredit him with the upper circles of Madrid society, in which he and his wife were leaders. Since the rise of the Republic, Serrano had intrigued in the interests of the Opposition, wishing to arrest the Revolution, which he had himself been instrumental in bringing about. The dissolution of the Permanent Committee, after its abortive attempt at mastery, was now a fatal blow to his schemes. Not only that, but he believed that it placed his life in jeopardy. The crowd set up an angry search for him; he fled from house to house; his handsome features were a source of danger to him by their facile recognition. At last, to escape from the perils of his situation, he repaired to the abode of the English Minister, Mr. Layard, who dressed him up in disguise, and accompanied him, with Mrs. Layard, by the Northern Railway to Santander, where they saw him on board a steamer bound for St. Jean de Luz. By the same train escaped Señor Martos, the late President of the National Assembly, also in disguise.

The elections for the new Cortes were held from May 10th to the 13th. The result was almost unanimously in favour of the Federal Republicans, but with a minority of Extreme Democrats, or *Intransigentes*, which threatened future trouble. There was no excitement, no crowd, at Madrid; very little in the provinces. The mass of the population, estimated at three-fourths at the least, abstained from voting. In fact, the elections were nugatory as expressing the opinion of the nation at large, and amounted only to a census of

the Republican party. Such as it was, the new Representative Assembly, calling itself the "Constituent Cortes," met on the 1st of June. Figueras, as President of the Council of Ministers, read the inaugural Message. Señor Orense was elected President of the Cortes. On the 8th, a Federal Republic was definitively proclaimed by 210 votes against 2. Castelar and Figueras, the chiefs of the late Provisional Government, might probably have retained office, had they been so disposed; but they preferred to resign their powers into the hands of the Legislature; and, in lieu of them, Señor Pi-y-Margall, a decided but not violently Democratic Federalist, was entrusted with the nomination and Presidency of a new Cabinet, to be sanctioned by the Cortes. And now the utter disorganization of the political status became evident. Within twenty-four hours Pi-y-Margall found it necessary to resign his powers, on the question being raised as to the mode of voting for the new Ministers proposed by him—whether singly or by a list, whether openly or by ballot. Once more Figueras was called on to form a Government. He, too, failed, in consequence of a disagreement with his colleague, the Finance Minister. It was rumoured that he then had thoughts of turning to the Conservatives. The Intransigentes were at once on the alert to prevent such a solution. The result was that Señor Orense resigned his Presidency over the turbulent Assembly, and Señor Figueras betook himself to what had become a common resource of baffled Spanish statesmen—flight. Like Sagasta, Zorrilla, Serrano, and Martos, he found a foreign soil better resting-place than his perturbed fatherland. Then again resort was had to Pi-y-Margall, who stood better with the Extreme Left than Figueras had done; and a set of Ministers to act under him were individually voted for by the Cortes.

The new Government, being one of so-called "conciliation," consisted half of Intransigentes, half of more moderate Republicans. Señor Nicholas Salmeron was appointed to the Presidency of the Cortes, General Estévanez to the Ministry of War, Señor Ladico to that of Finance. The coalition principle of the new Ministry was sometimes expressed in the title given to it of the Pi-Estévanez Cabinet. That, at all events, two of its leading members—Pi-y-Margall the Socialist, and Salmeron the Conservative Republican—were not very harmoniously combined, was manifest from the speeches which they severally delivered when the Cortes next assembled, on the 13th. "The Monarchical parties have retired," said Margall, "and have scarcely deigned to take part in the late elections. You know well that *retraimiento* in Spain means, first conspiracy, and then war." Salmeron said, "Act so that this Chamber, which hitherto has seemed to represent exclusively the Federal Republican party, may become the Cortes of the Spanish nation, and that the Conservative classes may have to thank us for having watched over their special interests as well as they could have done if they had had here a strong representation. The *retraimiento* of other political parties matters little, if we follow the true principles

of Spanish democracy. . . . Democracy means not the triumph of class over class" (this was an allusion to Pi-y-Margall's definition of a political revolution as a war between class and class), "but the triumph of right."

This Ministry, too, foundered after eleven days' trial. The rock on which it split was Estévanez, who, too Red for the Moderates, and too Moderate for the Reds, had to resign in consequence of an Interpellation by General Socas, late Captain-General of Madrid, touching those events of the night of the 10th, which had led to the flight of Figueras and the forcing of the Intransigentes into the Ministry by the action of the minority. A minor rock, too, revealed itself in the new finance scheme proposed by Señor Ladico. The debate of June 22nd was chiefly remarkable for an eloquent speech by the great orator, Castelar, the result of which was an authorization to Pi-y-Margall by the Cortes, to construct a "homogeneous" Ministry, filling up the vacancies on his own responsibility. The Intransigentes on this occasion suffered a signal defeat, being beaten by 179 to 49. The passage in Señor Castelar's speech, which produced the most enthusiastic applause, was the following—aimed at the mischievous efforts of the party in question :—

"If the Republic triumphs over disorder, if it weds authority to justice, if it preserves the national unity, if it protects all liberties, if it solves the questions of finance, if it destroys the deficits which are devouring us, if it extinguishes monopolies, if it exalts humanity and the country, I would wish that the gratitude of my fellow-citizens should recall my services. But if, unhappily, the Republic prove ruin, prove disorder, prove the unchaining of all hatreds and the ruin of all liberties, ah ! then may God pardon me, and may history forget me !"

The new Cabinet was announced on the 28th. General Gonsalez appeared as Minister of War in place of Estévanez ; and Señor Carbajal as Finance Minister in place of Ladico. An attempt to conciliate the Left was still made in two of the appointments ; but the element of the Right predominated. The Intransigentes were furious, and threatened disturbance. Madrid became agitated ; the more so as troops were suddenly concentrated in Madrid ; and at the same time Government made a request that the Constitutional guarantees should be suspended in order that they might act with more vigour for the maintenance of public security. True, the extraordinary powers were asked for on the ground of the Carlist insurrection, which was attaining formidable proportions in the North ; but the Extreme Democrats were by no means reassured by this statement. They appointed a Committee of Safety, and prepared to draw up a Constitution without waiting for the action of the Supreme Legislature. The Suspension of the Constitution asked for by Ministers was granted by the Cortes on the 1st of July. But immediately before it was voted, took place the withdrawal, or *retraimiento* of all the ultra-Intransigente Deputies from the Assembly, in number about forty. Even among these advanced Intransigentes

themselves there was now a division ; there were a few only who went so far as to declare that their immediate intention was to repair to the provinces, and excite local insurrections against the Central Government, so as to carry out their ideal of communal or cantonal independence. Of these firebrands none was more active and determined than Juan Contreras, formerly Captain-General in Catalonia, more lately commanding the Government forces in Madrid.

A few days only had elapsed when sinister news came accordingly from the South of Spain. An "International" revolt had broken out at Alcoy, in Valencia, on July 10th, accompanied by atrocious cruelties. The mayor of the place and other persons had been murdered, numerous cotton factories burnt, and the priests thrown into prison. At Malaga, also, the mayor had been assassinated ; and a wild, gasconading demagogue, Carvajal by name, had raised an insurrection which had resulted in loss of life and destruction of property. Malaga, Granada, Alicante, Seville, Cadiz, had declared themselves independent cantons, though some returned to their central allegiance within a few days.

At Cartagena things were more serious still. There the "Murcian Canton" was ostentatiously proclaimed. There Contreras, calling himself Commander-in-Chief and Delegate of Marine for the new State, hoisted the Red Flag, and in concert with Roque Barcia, President of the *Intransigente* Committee of Public Safety, and editor of the *Justicia Federal*, established a Revolutionary Junta which was announced as the "Provisional Government of the Spanish Federation." Against this formidably organized foe, General Martinez Campos was despatched to act with a land force, and Admiral Lobo with a naval squadron.

Meanwhile, another Ministerial crisis had ensued. Pi-y-Margall did all he could to remain in power, and conciliate the *Intransigentes* ; but was thwarted by his Minister of War, Gonsalez ; and finally, declaring himself unable to combine the elements of Right and Left in a representative Cabinet, retired from his post. The Cortes elected as Chief of the Government to succeed him, Señor Nicholas Salmeron, and with the new Chief a new infusion of Ministers, the Cabinet now representing a "homogeneous" body of Moderate or Conservative Federal Republicans. This change of Administration took place on the 18th of July.

The termination of Pi-y-Margall's Administration was coincident with an important event in the Carlist insurrection. Don Carlos, whose long absence from the scene of action had led to reports of his renunciation of his claims in behalf of his brother Alfonso, or even of his death, re-entered Spain on the 15th of July by the village of Zumarragardi, near to the Peña de Plata, a tract of elevated ground about 2000 feet above the sea, which was at this time the stronghold of the Carlist forces of Navarre and Guipuzcoa. One of the first acts of Don Carlos was to denounce as a rebel and outcast from his service the unruly priest, Santa Cruz, whose



cruelties and unmanageable self-will had long rendered him the *enfant terrible* of the Carlist cause, and had done far more to discredit that cause with the people than his courage had to promote it. Long refractory to his superior officers in the service, Santa Cruz now at last gave in; and, reassuming his priestly garb, crossed the frontier into France, intending, as it was rumoured, to solicit pardon of the Holy Father at Rome for his misdoings.

About this time General Nouvilas, who had succeeded Velarde as leader of the Government troops against the Carlists, and had boasted that he would effect the pacification of the Basque provinces by the 1st of June, ceded his post with no little obloquy. Don Carlos repaired to Guernica, and took the oath of fidelity to the *Fueros* on August the 2nd, on the spot sacred to Biscayan liberties. He then advanced with Lizarraga and his troops upon Estella, which surrendered towards the end of the month, and received him amid the ringing of bells and other signs of welcome. His brother, Don Alfonso, in company with the Carlist officer, Saballs, kept up the war in the Delta of the Ebro, and levied contributions on the inhabitants.

In the South of Spain the *Intransigente* movement was continually leading to fresh difficulties and complications. Before the end of July the Cantonal chiefs at Cartagena seized the squadron at anchor in the port, consisting of four frigates and three steamers. A decree from the Central Government immediately declared all insurgent vessels pirates. It was without previous knowledge of this decree, however, that Captain Werner, Commander of the "Friedrich Karl," a German vessel, cruising outside Cartagena for the purpose of protecting the interests of Prussian subjects there in case of danger, fell in with the "Vigilante," a small steamer bearing the red flag of the *Intransigentes*. He refused to recognize the revolutionary ensign, and seized upon the vessel, at the same time effectually preventing the flotilla of the insurgents from quitting the roadsteads of Cartagena. Soon afterwards, two of the insurgent frigates, the "Vittoria" and the "Almanza," having bombarded the open town of Almeria, went to Malaga with a similar intent; but the "Friedrich Karl" and the English ironclad the "Swiftsure" interposed, and prevented a proceeding barbarous in itself and threatening to destroy much valuable property of English and German residents in Malaga. The insurgent frigates were sent back to Cartagena; and the insurgent leader, Contreras, who happened to be on board one of them, was taken on board the "Friedrich Karl" as a hostage, until further orders should be received.

The authorities at Berlin did not deem it advisable to endorse Captain Werner's conduct, in the present very dubious state of Spanish political rights; but before his letters of recall arrived, he had handed over the two captured frigates to the keeping of the British Admiral, Sir Hastings Yelverton. Whether or not to transfer again these uncomfortable possessions to the authorities of the Central Government was a question which Admiral Yelverton

would not answer till he had received instructions from home. The Intransigente authorities threatened instant fire should he attempt to remove the vessels from under cover of their forts. This, however, Admiral Yelverton resolved to do on his own responsibility, and it was an exciting moment when, on the 1st of September, the British ships cleared for action in case of necessity, and steamed away out of Escombrera Bay, bearing with them the "Vittoria" and "Almanza," under British colours. The Intransigentes thought better of their boastful threat; and having despatched the captured frigates with an escort to Gibraltar, the British Admiral's ship, the "Lord Warden," returned to its moorings. Eventually the vessels were given up to Admiral Lobo.

Although the naval forces of the Central Administration had proved as yet unequal to those at the disposal of the rebels, and it had been impossible to carry out any effective operations against Cartagena by land, although the Carlists were still unquelled, and the public peace making no very visible approaches to a settled basis, still there had been something of vigour and honesty in the rule of Señor Salmeron, and the well-wishers of the distracted Peninsula were surprised and disappointed at the sudden announcement of his resignation of office on the 7th of September. It was probably from despair of his power to re-establish order that Salmeron took this resolution, rather than from the pretext which he alleged. That pretext, a whimsical one enough under the circumstances, was his invincible objection to the infliction of capital punishment, which the Cortes determined should be replaced on the Criminal Code for military ordinances. The penalty of death was pronounced by Señor Salmeron to be contrary to true Republican principles, and one, therefore, never to be inflicted. The Army itself, he maintained, should be included in the general exception. Not even the deserter in the face of the enemy, not even the murderer of his officer, was to be thus dealt with. The Cortes were told, indeed, that the crisis was desperate; that, at all costs, discipline and authority must be restored; they were reminded, with an excess of rhetoric, of the evils which had already followed from the want of a restraining power. And yet, according to this humanitarian philosopher, the necessary means of repression were to be forbidden because they were contrary to a supposed Republican dogma.

In place of the squeamish politician who thus gave up his responsibilities, and who was now relegated to the post of President of the Cortes, Señor Emilio Castelar was elected President of the Republic by a majority in the Legislative Body numbering two to one. When he gave out his Ministerial programme, the silver-tongued orator said, "Gentlemen, if it were possible for me to hide myself or to fly I would hide or fly; but I cannot do so with honour. The earth is sinking beneath our feet, and the sky is charged with tempest; and, as I once said before, I could fly from the laurel and the palm, but not from the difficulty or the danger.

One single thought alone sustains me. There may be others who have more intelligence, more elevation of idea, more genius for Government, but there are none who surpass me in love of liberty, of democracy, of the Republic, and of our country!" He said that he and his new Ministry represented the immense majority of the Chamber; that they succeeded an illustrious Ministry, presided over by one of the greatest philosophers the century had produced, Señor Salmeron; that they would sustain the policy of energy, order, authority, and government, which that Ministry commenced; that they were there to represent Liberty, Democracy, and the Republic. After denouncing the Intransigentes, he continued, "But, gentlemen, we are menaced by a *demagogia blanca* far more terrible than the *demagogia roja*. An insensate party believe it possible to revive the past. Like clouds of locusts, these hosts arise from the sepulchres where are interred the roots of Theocracy and Feudalism. Frightful is it to think of these fanatical hosts, who think the hour has come for them to fall upon the Revolution and devour it." He, too, he asserted, was a humanitarian by principle, but in view of present difficulties he maintained the necessity of capital punishment in order to keep up the discipline of the army. He then spoke approvingly of the readiness shown by the reserves to enlist. Twenty-five thousand had already done so out of the 80,000 called in. If the 80,000 were not enough, his Government would call for more. They would bring in a law of heavy penalties upon the families who sent their sons abroad to avoid serving in the army. They would see to the raising of an efficient and loyal Militia. They would secure the services of grand "*Cuerpos facultativos d'Ingenieros e Artilleros*." Deafening cheers greeted this allusion, as it meant the settlement of the vexed Artillery Question. The orator passed on to say that his Cabinet would employ Generals of every political grade in the war against the Carlists, even those who were supposed to be most compromised in the idea of a Bourbon restoration. He was sure all would be able to give guarantees for their fidelity and obedience.

As an early consequence of Castelar's announced programme, several of the self-exiled politicians of former Administrations returned to Spain about this time; among them Serrano, Topete, Martos, and Sagasta.

On the 21st of September Señor Castelar's powers received a new endorsement by a resolution of the Cortes voting its own suspension until the 3rd of January, and the bestowal of dictatorial authority on the Chief of the Government during the interim. The vote was vigorously opposed by Pi-y-Margall and the advanced Republicans who held with him, but the Government victory was assured by a majority of 124 to 62.

How powerless the Government was at present to cope with its difficulties in the South of Spain was seen when, in spite of Admiral Lobo and his fleet, the Cartagenan Insurgents resolved on an attempt to recruit their exchequer by levying contributions from the coast

towns, sent two of their formidable ironclads, the "Numancia" and the "Mendez Nunez," to bombard Alicante. An appeal made by the British merchants and residents in the threatened towns for Lord Granville's interference to prevent the bombardment, though it could not be granted to its full extent, resulted in a concession on the part of the Intransigentes that before the resort to extreme measures the non-belligerent and trading population of Alicante should be allowed time to quit. A squadron of vessels belonging to the British and other nations were then advanced to take up their stations within a certain distance of the bombarding ironclads to watch events. The friends of Government at Madrid were indignant at the refusal of the Foreign Powers to take active measures on their behalf, but the complications of Spanish affairs at this time rendered it impossible to pronounce on the legality of any one Government as against another, or, at all events, gave outsiders very little encouragement for an interference which might lead them into unknown difficulties and self-contradiction. The bombardment of Alicante proved a signal failure. The "Numancia" and "Mendez Nunez" were so wretchedly handled that the old castle and forts of the place made the harbour too hot for them, and, after two days, they had to retire exhausted and crippled from their fruitless enterprise on the 3rd of October.

The next noteworthy event in this strange contest was the naval action fought on the 11th of October between three Cartagena frigates and Admiral Lobo's squadron off Cape Palos. The tardy Admiral, emboldened at length by the failure of the rebels against Alicante, appeared off Cartagena on the 10th. His appearance was a challenge, and was accepted, after some deliberation, by the Junta. Out sailed the "Numancia," the "Mendez Nunez," and the "Fernando el Catolico." The firing was at long ranges; there was no loss of life, at all events on the Government side, and no vessel was captured by either party; but finally the Insurgent steamers retired to port, and in consequence Admiral Lobo claimed the victory. Two days afterwards, however, the Insurgent squadron was out again and made straight for the enemy. A *bonâ fide* engagement seemed inevitable, when suddenly, as the two squadrons were within three miles of each other, the Madrid fleet turned round and retreated. The Intransigentes pursued it for an hour, but Admiral Lobo sailed straight on for Gibraltar and left Cartagena free from blockade. The dismissal of Admiral Lobo from his command was a consequence of this discreditable affair. General Martinez Campos was also superseded. Admiral Chicarro and General Ceballos then conducted the operations of the Government forces by sea and land against the Cartagenans, but Ceballos was himself superseded after awhile by General Dominguez, a nephew of Serrano. On the 26th of November the Admiral commenced a bombardment of the place, which, however, failed to bring the siege to a speedy termination. When the year closed the cannonade was still in force, and the Cartagenan forts were replying to it with spirit.

Within the beleaguered city itself dissensions had broken out. The original Junta was dissolved and a new Junta elected by universal suffrage, among whose members, however, were still found the principal of the late leaders—Galvez, Roque Barcia, and Contreras. It was believed that the pertinacity of the defenders was caused in great measure by their hope of the return of Pi-y-Margall to power when the present Government should be brought face to face with the Cortes on its reassembling in January.

It is needless to follow the course of the Carlist war, the conduct of which on the part of Government was reintrusted to General Moriones by Castelar in the middle of September. Its salient events were the doubtful battle of Mañeru, fought on the 6th of October, and the defeat of Moriones at Monte Jurra on November the 7th. Although the Carlists seemed quite unable to get beyond a certain circle of territory, although their cause excited no sympathy whatever except in those provinces of the north-east where local prejudices had probably more to do with the popular feeling than any real dynastic attachment, still the movement was like a perpetual blister which prevented any ease or repose in the body politic, and the draft of men and money required to deal with it most seriously contributed to the financial disorganization of the State. When the year closed, the prospects on this side were rather worse than usual. General Moriones was reported to be in a difficult position at Castro-Urdiales, and Bilbao to be seriously threatened by an accumulation of Carlist troops numbering upwards of 20,000. A meeting of Generals was held at Madrid to consider the situation, and Marshal Serrano advocated the removal of Moriones from his command.

And now, as the Cortes was on the eve of meeting, certain differences which existed between Señor Castelar and Señor Salmeron brought on serious complications. The first ground of discord was the filling up by new elections the seats which happened to be vacant in the Cortes, numbering from fifty to sixty. Castelar desired to obtain by Government influence the return of several ex-members of the old Monarchical parties—Serrano, Topete, Martos, among them. The Left wished to prevent this if possible, and got Salmeron to act with them. The second ground of discord was the appointment by Castelar of occupants for the Episcopal Sees which had been left vacant since the Revolution of 1868. He had opened negotiations with the Pope on the subject, but refused to accept the names proposed by the See of Rome, and chose ecclesiastics in no way compromised by Ultramontane sympathies—men with whose character no fault could be found. The Left, however, complained of his touching the Church question at all; and here, again, whether from conviction or from personal jealousy, Salmeron consented to lead their opposition. The Cortes, after its four months' suspension, was on the point of meeting—its opening was fixed for the 2nd of January. Castelar, convinced of the inability of governing with so intractable a body, meditated obtaining a dissolution by its own



act; failing this there seemed no alternative but a continuance of the Dictatorship if any effectual Government of the country was to be carried on. Pi-y-Margall and the Intransigentes were on the look-out for their opportunity. Their strength in the Cortes was formidable; the Cartagenan insurrection was playing their game; the friends of order trembled at the prospect of their ascendancy. The President of the Republic and the President of the Cortes entered into negotiations. Salmeron desired that Castelar should dismiss four of his most trusted Ministers and admit four nominees of his own in their place. To this proposition Castelar returned a decided negative. The situation had come to a dead-lock, the air was full of rumours, and among these the prevalent one on the last day of the year was that a military *pronunciamiento* was in contemplation; that Marshal Serrano and the Captain-General of Madrid, General Pavia, and the army over which they both had control, were preparing in the background to solve, by a bold stroke of force, the political entanglements which seemed hopeless of arrangement by State diplomacy. How the crisis evolved itself must be left for the historical record of the succeeding year.

We leave, for another portion of our present narrative, the transactions connected with the steamer "Virginus," at Cuba, which threatened, in the month of November, to bring the Spanish Government into serious collision with that of the United States of North America.

#### PORTUGAL.—BELGIUM.—NETHERLANDS.

Over the two first of these countries the year 1873 passed very tranquilly, and without bringing forth any political event worthy of special commemoration. That PORTUGAL should have held on her course undisturbed by the vagaries of her excited neighbour Spain, was a strong testimony to the steadiness of her political temper.

The most animated debate in the BELGIAN Chambers was one concerning the repurchase by the State of the Grand Luxemburg Railway. In spite of the opposition of M. Frère-Orban and the Left, this measure had passed both Houses by the middle of March. The fêtes at Antwerp, in the month of August, were the occasion of a great popular demonstration of loyalty towards the King and Queen; the more so as the Ultramontane party chose to stand aloof: for in Belgium, as in almost every other country of Christendom at this time, the clerical controversy was interwoven with the whole fabric of social and political life. When King Leopold II. reopened the Chambers on the 10th of November, he said—and his words may be taken as the historical summary for the year—"Calm and prosperous, the Belgium of 1873 may be proud of the past, and look at the future with serene confidence."

HOLLAND was less favoured than Belgium this year, having had to carry on a troublesome and expensive war against the Sultan of

Atchin, in Sumatra. By the late treaty concluded with England, the cession of the whole of the Gold Coast to the British State by the Dutch was balanced by a permission to the latter nation to pursue any course of conquest or annexation they might wish to undertake in the island of Sumatra. How troublesome a bargain the English had made for themselves was soon seen in the Ashantee war. The Dutch had no more reason to congratulate themselves, when having full of confidence despatched an expedition to coerce the Mohammedan State of Atchin, they were met with an opposition altogether inconsistent with the precedents of European conquest in the East. The Atchinese repelled the Dutch army with loss, and so far gained their end that the invaders had to retire and wait for reinforcements before renewing the war. This was in April. In the month of October another expedition was sent out; and the news received by telegram at the end of December was that General Van Swieten, who commanded the Dutch forces, had gained an important victory, and that a revolution had taken place in the State of Atchin.

#### SWITZERLAND.

The affair of M. Mermillod was still occupying attention at the beginning of the year. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Council of State, that prelate continued to exercise episcopal functions under orders from the Pope. A Papal brief of January 16th announcing his appointment was distinctly repudiated by the Council, and the Cantonal authorities were desired to inform M. Mermillod that he must either resign his illegal dignity or quit the country. He chose the latter course; preached again at Geneva, and on the 17th of February was arrested by the police, and conveyed beyond the French frontier. From his place of refuge he continued to direct intrigues against the State proceedings. At Basle a diocesan conference was called together at the beginning of the year to enforce State authority against Bishop Lachat, the representative of Ultramontane claims in that part of the Confederation, and his deposition was pronounced. In April, great enthusiasm was created by a series of conferences held by Father Hyacinthe at Geneva, in which he advocated Church Reform on the basis of Liberal Catholicism, in co-operation with the Old Catholics. At the end of August the Grand Council of Geneva passed a Bill for the organization of Catholic worship, the chief provisions of which were that the curés should be appointed by the parishes (three for the city of Geneva); that the parish should be represented by five members in a superior council of thirty-one: that the curés should be obliged to take an oath to the Constitution, and were liable to suspension for four years if refractory in their conduct. The elections to these parochial councils and curés took place soon afterwards, and the proceedings passed off quietly. Father Hyacinthe

was one of the curés elected. When the year closed, a question was pending as to the right of possession of the Church of Notre Dame, between the Liberal Catholic and Ultramontane parties. Two other events attracted attention to the city of Geneva this year. One was the death of the eccentric Charles, Duke of Brunswick, who had long resided there, and the announcement of the splendid legacy of his whole enormous wealth to the city. In accordance with his desire, his funeral was on the 29th of August, celebrated with princely honours. The other event was the Congress of Internationalists in the beginning of September, the two rival sects of the Association, the advanced "Centralists," or followers of Karl Marx, and more moderate "Federalists," or adherents of Bakounine, holding their rival sittings at two different halls of concourse.

#### SWEDEN.—DENMARK.

The two coronations of Oscar II., King of SWEDEN, on the 12th of May, at Stockholm, and on the 18th of July at Trondhjem in Norway, were the occasion of grand festivities. Foreign Powers were numerous and brilliantly represented.

In DENMARK the Spring Session of the *Rigsdag*, or Parliament, was signalized by a Ministerial crisis. The Radical party having failed to upset the Ministry by their action on Bills proposed in the House, sent up an address to the Crown expressing want of confidence in its advisers, and claiming for the *Volkthing*, or Second Chamber, the exclusive right of determining the choice of a Cabinet. This was met by a counter-address of the *Landthing*, or Upper Chamber, claiming an equal share of power for that branch of the Legislature. The Ministers tendered their resignations, but the King refused to accept them, and sent an answer expressing his dissent from the pretensions of the *Volksting*. The Radicals then attempted to overthrow the Government on the question of the Budget, but suffered a signal defeat.

When the *Rigsdag* reopened, in October, the contest began again. The Budget was again chosen as the battle-field, but before the debate began, certain members of the Opposition offered the Ministers the choice of dissolving the House. The Ministers again tendered their resignation, and were again desired by the King to remain in office. But on a Government defeat on the final vote on the Budget question, on October 17th, the King sent a Royal Message pronouncing the dissolution of Parliament.

The demand of the Icelanders for a new Constitution, though an event more important for Denmark than for the rest of the world, has a certain picturesqueness which makes it worth recording. The story of it is thus told:—

At the great public meeting which was held previously to the opening of the *Althing* it was decided to send a deputation, consisting of three delegates, to the King of Denmark, to submit to him a

draft Constitution, the chief provision of which was that Iceland should in future be connected with Denmark by a personal union only, and be governed by a *Yarl* (viceroy) with three Ministers responsible to the Althing. Immediately after the close of the meeting the members of the Althing assembled at Reykiavik. Some of the followers of Jan Sigurdson, the leader of the Icelandic opposition, and founder of the secret society Pyodvinafelag, kept their seats when the usual cheers were given for the King, but no other disloyal manifestation was made. Jan Sigurdson was their elected President, and nearly all the Bills brought in by the Government were rejected. The draft Constitution was referred to a Committee, which on the 28th of July reported in its favour, and added a resolution to the effect that the King should be requested to approve the following temporary arrangement as soon as possible, and not later than next year:—1. That the Althing be at once invested with full legislative powers, and a new Budget be submitted for its approval once in every two years, on the principle that no tax or impost shall be levied in Iceland for defraying expenditure incurred by the Danish Government. 2. That a special Minister be appointed for Icelandic affairs, and that he be responsible to the Althing. 3. That this arrangement be valid for six years only, after which the entire Constitution shall be laid before the Althing for its approval.

The Crown Prince of Germany visited Copenhagen in August, on the invitation of the Crown Prince of Denmark; and his visit gave rise to some excitement in political circles, as surmise chose to place it in connexion with a conversation lately held by Prince Bismarck with Herr Kryger, the Deputy for North Schleswig in the German Diet, in which the Prussian statesman was reported to have expressed his willingness to consider the decrees of the Danish Schleswigans for reunion with their former nationality.

## CHAPTER V.

**RUSSIA.**—Khivan War.

**TURKEY.**—Lahéj Expedition—International Tonnage Commission—Egypt.

**GREECE.**—Schemes of National Improvement—Laurium Mines.

**NORTH AMERICA. UNITED STATES.**—Credit Mobilier Scandals—Trials of Stokes, Tweed, and Hall—Close of Forty-second Congress—General Grant's Inaugural Message—Purchase of Samana—Modoc War—Dissensions in Louisiana—Financial Panic—Affair of the "Virginus."

**MEXICO.**—Church Legislation.

**SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.**—**BRAZIL.**—**BOLIVIA.**—**PERU.**

**ASIATIC AND AFRICAN STATES.**—**PERSIA.**—**CHINA.**—**MOROCCO.**

## RUSSIA.

THE expedition undertaken by the Russian Government against the Khan of Khiva towards the close of 1872 met with a serious reverse. Colonel Markosoff, who was the officer in command, had nearly reached the city of Khiva when, presuming on the apparent absence of opposition, he carelessly allowed himself to be surprised by a body of Khivan light troops, and was forced to a rapid retreat. An Imperial Council was called in St. Petersburg on the receipt of this intelligence, and a vigorous campaign to conquer Khiva was decided upon, in spite of the dissentient opinion of Prince Gortschakoff, who declared himself opposed to any further extension of the Russian boundaries in Central Asia.

The negotiations that took place between Russia and England on the subject of the proposed Khivan expedition have found mention in another part of our volume. Here we are only concerned with the course of the enterprise itself.

The expeditionary force set out in two main divisions, advancing against Khiva from Turkestan on the east, and from Orenburg and the Caucasus on the west. It was subdivided into five or six columns, of which the principal one moved from Djisak, on the 15th of March, under the personal orders of General Kaufmann, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the whole invading army. Having pursued its way along the northern confines of Bokhara, this column arrived on the 22nd of April at Aristan Bel, and two days later at Khalaat, where it awaited the junction of another force advancing from Kasalins, by way of the Bukan hills. This junction took place about the 12th of May, and the troops united at Khalaat amounted to about 5000. On the 16th of May the advanced guard of the force attacked the Khivans on the left bank of the Oxus or Amoo Darya, and the whole division crossed the river at Cheicharyk from the 18th to the 22nd. On the following day



the Russians advanced to Khaspar Asp, and, after a short skirmish, made themselves masters of the place.

At Khaspar Asp General Kaufmann remained three days, in order to make commissariat arrangements. Leaving camp on the 8th of June, he arrived at the capital city of Khiva on the 10th, at eight o'clock in the morning; but found that that place had already been occupied three hours previously by the combined Orenburg and Mangischlak detachments, under Generals Verovkine and Lomakine. The history of their advance was as follows:—General Verovkine, in command of the Orenburg column, began to move as early as February 25th, and arrived at the Emba Port on March 30th. On the 17th of May he reached Urgu, in the Khivan territory, and there expected the junction of the Mangischlak or Kinderli detachment. That detachment, commanded by Colonel Lomakine, had started for the Steppe on the 26th of April. Near Lake Aibugir a special messenger reached Lomakine, telling him that Verovkine was awaiting him near Urgu. He immediately hurried on with his cavalry, leaving his infantry to follow; and, boldly quitting the line of wells before him, struck right through the desert in the direction of Kungrad. The march was one of great difficulty and privation. For three days no water was found fit for man or beast to drink. The men were on horseback for twelve hours at a stretch, exposed to the most trying vicissitudes of heat and cold. On May 26th the desired junction with the Orenburg column was effected, and the combined forces at once proceeded to attack and capture Kungrad, the most important post on the lower course of the Oxus, after which the fortified places of Chodscha-Sei and Mangit successively fell into their hands. Verovkine had at this time expected news from Kaufmann, but not receiving any, he marched with Lomakine straight upon Khiva. The capital city of the Khanate presented the appearance of a strong fort, guarded by numerous bastions. The Khivans, though they were greatly demoralized by their late fruitless fights against the invaders, had proved themselves by no means despicable in their military tactics; and when the Russians pitched their camp against the city, it seemed that the strength of the walls, which were studded with vast artillery defences, inspired the defenders with a momentary access of resolution. However, their cannon fired at too high a range, and did not prevent the approach of the enemy, while the Russian bombardment took decisive effect. When the gate and barricade in front of the city were battered down, all serious resistance ceased. Next day, the 10th of June, the Russians entered the city in storming parties. But few shots were fired at them. A few hours later General Kaufmann arrived with his column, and a triumphant entry of the united forces took place. The loss of the Russians was very trifling. In the engagement of the 9th two men had been killed, and five officers and forty-five rank and file wounded.

One detachment of the Russian expeditionary force only had failed of success. It was that commanded by Colonel Markosoff,

and called the Krasnovodsk column. It had left Tchikishlar on the 5th of April; and, in the southern part of the Steppe which it had to cross, met with such excessive heat that man and beast succumbed, after vainly struggling against it for several weeks. The men, from sheer inability to carry sword or rifle, threw their arms away; sixty died of sunstroke; the rest became helplessly invalided; finally, in order not to sacrifice his whole force, Colonel Markosoff found himself compelled to turn back when he had performed not more than a third of the distance before him.

On the approach of the victorious columns to Khiva, the Khan had fled, but a few days afterwards he returned from his place of refuge, gave in his submission to General Kaufmann, and concluded a Treaty of Peace, by which it was stipulated that Khiva should pay a war indemnity of two million roubles, by instalments extending over seven years, and that as a guarantee for payment, the Russian troops should occupy Schurahan and Kungrad. The independence of the Khanate under the rule of the Khan was to be maintained; but the boundary of the Khanate was to be formed by the river Amoo-Darya, the Khivan possessions situate upon the right bank of that river being ceded to the Khan of Bokhara, as an indemnity for the assistance rendered by him to the Russian troops.

As a further concession to the wishes of the Russian Czar, the Khan soon afterwards proclaimed the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout his dominions.

Thus the Russian expedition against Khiva had proved a signal and brilliant success, and too much praise could not be accorded to the admirable military arrangements by which it had been carried out. Rewards were showered on the triumphant commanders. General Kaufmann remained some months in Khiva to reorganize the humbled Khanate, and in August he made an attack upon the Turcomans, finding it requisite to break the power of those predatory tribes in order to leave the Sovereign of Khiva free to fulfil his treaty obligations to Russia.

This was also the apology brought forward, later in the year, for a new treaty with the Khan of Khiva himself, whereby it was decided to annex to the Russian dominions a certain portion of territory between the Amoo and Sir Darya rivers, and to erect a line of fortifications on the right bank of the last-named stream. Not only this, but the Khan declared himself "the obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russias," and renounced all right of making wars or treaties save with Russian sanction. Those English politicians who had given a sanguine interpretation to Count Schouvalow's personal assurances to Lord Granville at the beginning of the year, found their eyes opened in rather an unwelcome manner; but defenders of the Russian action could answer that the unambitious view intimated by the Russian Ambassador was no pledge as to future action, but only an intention, which subsequent political exigencies might modify.

## TURKEY.—GREECE.

In TURKEY some Ministerial changes occurred this year which are scarcely worth special record. A dispute with Austria on the subject of the Bosnian Christians threatened at one time serious complications, but a mutual understanding was arrived at by both parties, and Europe was saved a revival of the ever-impending "Eastern Question." A collision seemed also near taking place between the Government of the Porte and that of Great Britain, when in the autumn the Governor of Yemen, in Arabia, a province under the Turkish dominion, advanced troops against the Sultan of Lahéj, a small state adjoining Aden, and under British protection. The Sultan of Lahéj demanded aid from the garrison of Aden, and some British troops were accordingly advanced into his territory. But the Turkish Government had no wish to provoke war with the protecting power, and orders were sent to the Governor of Yemen to withdraw his forces immediately, and not interfere with any of the tribes in alliance with England.

During the three last months of the year, an International Commission sat at Constantinople to determine the rate of tonnage for the Suez Canal. Its report was given in in December, and, to quote the words of a journalist, "On the whole, the work of the Commission has proved eminently successful. It has laid the basis of an international tonnage; it has solved a question which harassed the diplomacy of the East; it has satisfied the pecuniary necessities of the Suez Canal Company, and will enable the shipping interests connected with the Indian and China trades to carry on business without being continually disturbed by changes in the tolls imposed by the Canal Company."

In the autumn Sir Samuel Baker returned to Cairo, having succeeded, to a certain extent, in the expedition which he had undertaken on the authority of the Khedive, for the coercion of the slave-dealing tribes to the south of Upper Egypt. That his success has been such, however, as materially to check the practices which have so long prevailed among those barbarous people seems, to say the least, improbable.

In GREECE the fifth Parliament of King George's reign was opened in February with a remarkable Royal Speech. The Government, it was said, would propose many important laws for the improvement of the kingdom. The roads which the Bavarians decreed as indispensable for the progress of Greece, and which ought to have been commenced in 1833, were to be commenced in 1873. Schools of agriculture were to be established to instruct the cultivators of cereals. Various measures for the extension of commerce, the improvement of agriculture, the establishment of banks, and the construction of railways were ready for the Chamber. With this summons to work patriotically the new Chamber proceeded to business.

While it was occupied examining the validity of the elections, a vote adverse to the Ministry caused it to be prorogued for forty days, and it did not meet until the 22nd of May, when it elected the Government candidate to be its Speaker. Personal questions continued to occupy the attention of the Deputies for another week, and it was not until the first days of June that the Government began to lay before the Chamber the laws for the improvement of the country alluded to in the King's Speech, several of which were passed.

Some of the great schemes for the material improvement of Greece which attracted universal attention some years ago still remain in the form of projects, as the canalization of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the drainage of Lake Copais; but the construction of two great lines of railway, from Athens to Lamia and from Port Rapti, in Attica, to Patras, has been undertaken by companies on conditions ratified by laws which have already passed the Chamber. Banks, mining companies, and multifarious joint-stock companies have their shares at a premium, and the urban population of Greece is supposed to be moving along prosperously. "But," says the well-known correspondent of the *Times*, from whom this part of our summary is derived, "the great problem on the solution of which the strength of the nation rests remains still, and neither the Government nor the people appear to be able to solve it. The cultivator of cereal crops is still, in the year 1873, subjected to all the obstacles that have prevented him improving his condition since 1833. The land is cultivated according to the same routine, the produce of an acre is not increased; nine-tenths of the corn is still brought to market on the backs of donkeys; the race of working oxen is not improved; the ground is still scratched rather than ploughed; the growing crops are exposed to the multifarious vicissitudes of an imperfect husbandry, and neither additional labour nor capital can be profitably invested in improving the cultivation of cereals, and there is no hope that things will be better until the present system of taxing the land be totally abolished."

The question of the Laurium mines was happily set at rest by the purchase of the whole enterprise of MM. Roux and Serpieri by a Greek "Laurium Mining Company," for 11,000,000 francs, with a duty to Government of 14 per cent. on the net profits. The exaggerated idea entertained by the public of the value of the *ekbolades* (surface ore), from the discussions which occurred in the Chamber and from the language of the Press, caused a mania for Laurium shares. When only fifty francs had been paid the premium rose to one hundred and fifty francs; afterwards, when ninety-five francs had been paid, the premium fell below twenty francs. The enterprise is considered to be a sound one, and likely to prove extremely profitable as long as it is conducted by the foreigners who established it.

## NORTH AMERICA—UNITED STATES.

Questions of financial speculation and peculation formed, as usual, the leading subject of public interest during the last session of the forty-second Congress of the United States, which came to an end on the 4th of March. It was said that the Congress itself would be memorable hereafter as the "Crédit Mobilier Congress." During its two years' career its labours had been chiefly devoted to the exposure of frauds in the commercial transactions of the country, and the three last months of its existence were more than ever so occupied. The efforts, however, made to shield the guilty from punishment betokened a degree of corruption in high places which increased the unfavourable aspect of the public morality. One of the first motions made, on the meeting of Congress, was introduced by Mr. Blaine, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for an inquiry into the alleged acceptance, by himself and other leading members, of bribes from the Union Pacific Railway Ring. As the investigation proceeded, proof of guilt was brought home to some ten or twelve members of Congress, the worst cases being those of Mr. Oakes Ames, one of the representatives for Massachusetts; of his colleague, Mr. James Brooks; and, next, that of the Vice-President of the Republic himself, Mr. Schuyler Colfax. The Report of the Committee recommended the expulsion from the House of Ames and Brooks. The House met to consider it on the 25th of February. It was said no such public interest in the transactions of Congress had been manifested since the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The hall was crowded. Oakes Ames presented a written statement in his own defence, and maintained that he was not more guilty than others; but finally votes of censure and expulsion were passed both upon him and Brooks. By a very narrow majority it was decided to reject a motion for the impeachment of Schuyler Colfax.

An inquiry of a somewhat similar nature to this was made by a Committee of the Senate. The case was that of Mr. Alexander Caldwell, whose election as Senator for Kansas was declared by an unsuccessful competitor to have been secured by flagrant bribery. Here, again, a Railway Company was a main instrument of corruption. The "Kansas Pacific Line" was relied on by Caldwell for helping him through his election expenses. The decision of the Committee was against him, but he anticipated further disgrace by resigning his seat. Another Senator, Mr. Paterson, was also brought under censure and sentence of expulsion for fraudulent practices.

In connexion with the financial scandals which had disgraced the domestic politics of the States within the last few years, it should be recorded that Edwin Stokes, the murderer of Fisk, underwent two trials this year. By the first, in January, he was convicted of murder and condemned to death, but the sentence was afterwards



set aside, and in October he was tried once again, and convicted only of "manslaughter in the third degree," the sentence awarded being four years' imprisonment and hard labour—a great triumph to his counsel, but scarcely a satisfaction to the minds of rightly-judging men. More satisfactory was the conviction, towards the end of the year, of William Tweed, of Tammany Hall notoriety, after many difficulties had been thrown in the way of his prosecution; and his sentence to twelve years' imprisonment for the official frauds committed under his reign as Alderman and Senator at New York in 1871. On the other hand, Okey Hall, who had been Mayor of that city at the same period, and whose name was likewise implicated in the iniquities of Tammany Hall, was acquitted on Christmas Eve, and the verdict was generally approved, as it was believed by most that Hall's misdoings were more the result of carelessness than of designed dishonesty, and that he had not profited a penny himself by the plundering which he had allowed to be committed under his eyes.

On the last day of the session of the outgoing Congress, March 4, General Grant entered on his second term of office as President, and delivered an Inaugural Message, of which the following passages are an abstract:—"Providence has called me for a second time to the head of this great nation. My endeavour hitherto has been to maintain the laws and act for the best in furthering the interests of the people. My course for the future will be in the same direction, aided, as I now am, by four years' experience. When my first term of office began the country had not recovered from the effects of the great rebellion. It seemed wise to raise no new questions; therefore, the past four years have been consumed in the effort to restore harmony, public credit, commerce, and all the arts of peace and progress. It is my firm conviction that the civilized world is tending towards Republicanism. The Government and, through their representatives, the people of our great Republic are destined to be the guiding star of all other countries. Under our Republic we support an army and a navy less in numbers than those of any European Power. There could be no extension of territory on this continent calling for an increase of military force; rather might such extension enable us to diminish it. The effects of the late civil strife have been to free the slave and make him a citizen; yet he is not possessed of the civil rights which citizenship carries with it. This wrong should be corrected, and for this correction I stand committed to give the coloured man a fair chance, to develop his access to the schools, and assure him that his conduct will regulate the treatment he will receive. My efforts will be directed to the re-establishment of good feeling between the different sections of our common country, the restoration of the currency to a fixed value compared with the standard value of gold, possibly to a par with it; the construction of cheap routes, the maintenance of friendly relations with all our neighbours, as well as with distant nations, the re-establishment of our commerce, and the

recovery of our share of the carrying trade on the ocean, the encouragement of manufacturing industries, the elevation of labour, and the civilization of the aborigines under the benign influence of education—either this, or war to extermination. Our superiority in strength and the advantages we derive from civilization should make us lenient towards the Indian; the wrong already inflicted leaves a balance to his credit, and the question to be considered is, Cannot the Indian be made a useful member of society by proper teaching and treatment? In the first year of my administration a proposition was made for the admission of San Domingo into the Union as a territory. This proposition was not of my seeking, but emanated from the people of San Domingo. I believe now, as I did then, that it was best for the interests of this country and of the people of San Domingo that the proposal should be received favourably. It was, however, rejected, and it was never brought up again by me. For the future, while I hold office, the subject of the acquisition of territory must have the support of the American people before I recommend it. I do not share the apprehension that there is a danger of Governments becoming weakened or destroyed by extension. As commerce, education, and the rapid transit of thought and matter by telegraph and steam have changed everything, I rather believe that the Great Maker is preparing the world to become one nation, speaking one language—a consummation which will render armies and navies no longer necessary. I will encourage and support any recommendations of Congress tending towards such ends. The efforts for a reformation of the civil service will be continued, and the rules which have been adopted with regard to this subject will be maintained.”

The inaugural ceremonies were of an imposing character. Twelve thousand troops and the members of several civic organizations took part in the procession, which was two miles long. The members of the Diplomatic Corps were present in court-dress. On the President making his appearance on the platform to take the oaths great enthusiasm was manifested. Salvoes of artillery were fired, and the church bells were rung. A grand military review was subsequently held, and at night Washington was brilliantly illuminated, and a ball was given, at which President Grant was present, as well as the Diplomatic Body, and about one thousand persons.

Though President Grant had been obliged to confess his inability to carry public opinion with him in the matter of annexing San Domingo, a minor acquisition had been secured to the United States by the purchase of a lease for ninety-nine years, at \$150,000 per annum, of the Bay and Peninsula of Samana, in the north-eastern part of that island. Thus a certain territorial position in the Antilles was gained. The treaty gave the company absolute sovereignty over the territory leased to them, with power to make laws, to levy duties, to establish courts, and to exercise other sovereign rights. The peninsula of Samana is on the north-eastern side of the island of Hayti and San Domingo, is about thirty-two

miles long, and has an area of 225 square miles. The bay, which lies south of it, is very capacious, and offers excellent anchorage to the largest fleets within the reef which blocks a large part of its mouth. The transaction was placed before the American public as a great commercial enterprise. Nevertheless, the purchase of Samana Bay was condemned with remarkable unanimity by the United States press.

An Indian war disturbed the public serenity in the spring of the year. The Modocs were a remnant of a small aboriginal tribe formerly occupying a fertile and attractive region in Southern Oregon and Northern California. In 1864 they had come into an agreement with the local officer appointed by the United States Government wherever Indian tribes existed, by which they exchanged their domicile on "Lost River" and its vicinity for certain reservation grounds less desirable in the eyes of Government. The Klamath Indians occupied adjacent territory, and also made a treaty, in which they and the Modocs were joined in the same reservation. Upon this both tribes were placed, and for a time they remained there peaceably. In the spring of 1870, however, a band of Modocs, under a leader known as "Captain Jack," complaining of the sterility of their new home, left the reservation and roamed about the country, committing depredations upon the white settlements. Complaint against them finally became so general that the authorities in 1872 ordered them to go back to their reservation; but this they refused to do, and troops being sent against them, the hostilities began. The troops soon drove them to retreat; but they selected a stronghold of their own. This was a section on the south side of Lake Tule, which is of lava formation, and is one of the strangest regions on the continent. Indians can travel for miles through this curious region by trails known only to themselves. "Ben Wright's Cave," which they now selected as their principal fortress, is said to contain about fifteen acres of space under ground, in which there is a good spring, and many openings through which a man may crawl, while the main opening is about the size of an ordinary window. The importance of this place was not known to the military authorities, who seem to have thought that there could be no difficulty in removing Captain Jack and his people from it. For this purpose troops were concentrated and placed under the command of General Wheaton, who made an attack on January 17. A dense fog not only concealed the movements of the one from the other, but also concealed the enemy; and after a whole day's hard fighting among the lava with an invisible foe, having suffered a loss of forty killed and wounded, the troops had to retire, leaving the Modocs masters of the ground. This excited a considerable sensation through the United States. About 400 regular soldiers were "whipped" by a few savages, and it was the second defeat! "Thirty-nine millions of people are defied by fifty Modoc Indians!" Such were the outcries of the American press. Additional reinforcements, with artillery, were ordered, and General Wheaton was relieved from his command,



which was taken by General Allen C. Gillem, colonel of the 1st Cavalry. But, in spite of the efforts of the United States officers and men, the Modocs for three months baffled all attempts to dislodge them. How Captain Jack managed to victual his forces was a mystery. He lost men in his skirmishes with the enemy, but the enemy lost more. At last the Government of the United States began to think it more advisable to treat than to go on fighting. Peace Commissioners were sent to try whether terms could not be arranged with Captain Jack, and at first the wild Indians seemed to come into the arrangement. A parley was held on the 13th of April. All seemed to be going smoothly, when suddenly, whether their assent had been only feigned from the first, or some sudden impulse of rage seized them, or Captain Jack felt convinced that no compromise or amnesty would suffice to gain impunity for him personally, so it was that he, their leader, shot the chief Peace Commissioner, General Canby, dead on the spot. The rest of his party then followed his example. One only of the white envoys escaped the massacre, and he was dangerously wounded. The news of this tragedy caused no small excitement at the seat of Government. It was resolved to prosecute the destruction of the Modocs unrelentingly. The Modocs, on their part, abandoned their position in the lava beds, and sought another stronghold to the south-east. General Gillem established his camp in the old location of the Modocs, and from this place sent out several parties to find out whither they had gone. They were ultimately discovered in another almost similarly formed stronghold, full of crevices and caves. The new Indian fortress was about five miles south-east of the camp. Early on the morning of the 26th of April a reconnoitring party of a company of infantry and two batteries, numbering about seventy men, accompanied by fourteen friendly Indians, was sent out to examine the position of the Modocs. About half-past ten o'clock they halted, and a picket-line was advanced to the foot of the bluff. These pickets reported that no Indians were to be seen, and it appears that the troops then advanced some distance further, going fairly into the region of the lava formations. Suddenly firing began, and half-a-dozen shots came from a number of Indians who appeared on the bluff in front of the troops. The troops were at once thrown into skirmishing order; but they had barely got into the new position when it appeared that the Indians had outflanked them on the right, and a destructive fire was poured in upon them. The infantry broke in confusion, leaving Lieutenant Wright, their leader, with only three or four supporters. A few minutes later a number of savages appeared on the left flank and poured a raking fire into the two batteries, which disorganized them, and it became evident that the entire party were entrapped, for in a very brief time half their number had been either killed or wounded. The Modocs surrounded them, yet, owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, could not be seen. The troops were panic-stricken, all their officers being killed or mortally wounded. The few survivors crept

into crevices and hid themselves, the Modocs watching for them and shooting them down at every opportunity. In this way affairs continued until nightfall, when the Indians crept into the crevices and began scalping, stripping, and mutilating the bodies of the dead, while some of the wounded were slain with horrible tortures.

The Modoc force at this time was estimated not to exceed forty men. Eight hundred United States troops were opposed to them. To these a reinforcement of 500 was now despatched, some 400 Indian scouts being also enlisted. On the other hand, Modoc emissaries made successful efforts to stir up some of the tribes around them, and fears were entertained by the public of a general Indian war. A few days after the disaster just related the United States troops narrowly escaped another massacre. Captain Hasbrouck had been sent from the lava-bed camp with a scouting party, including a number of friendly Warm-Spring Indians, to follow the trail of the Modocs and ascertain their position. On the 9th of May, after scouting all day, they went into camp near a lake for the purpose of getting water, remaining there all night, herding their horses with special guards, as was usual. The position was about seventeen miles from the lava-bed camp. During the night the Modocs, who were anxious to get the horses, were prowling about the neighbourhood, and shortly after daybreak Captain Jack and his band suddenly rode out of a small tract of timber near by, and, coming within a hundred paces of the camp, dismounted and charged into the camp, firing rattling volleys into the herd and guards. Although surprised, however, the troops and Warm-Spring Indians were too quick in rallying to permit the Modocs to pursue and capture the horses. It took but a few minutes for the men to get under arms; and they then made a charge, accompanied with destructive firing, and drove the enemy back into the woods, from whence they continued their retreat to the mountains.

General Davis was now in command of the United States troops. He resolved to give the savages no rest. To cut them off from any supplies of water was one great point; this privation, and the loss of ammunition they had sustained, must soon reduce them to extremities. The final blow was struck in an engagement about the 20th of May. The unhappy Modocs, then reduced to an insignificant number, offered to surrender if their lives were spared. General Davis would grant no conditions. Half the savages yielded—the rest, with Captain Jack, still tried to elude the pursuit of their enemies. General Davis now utilized the services of his prisoners in the chase for their compatriots. “Bogus Charley,” “Hooker Jim,” “Shacknasty Jim,” and “Steamboat Frank,” were furnished with four days’ rations, rifles, and horses, and started on the trail of Captain Jack. By the morning of the 31st of May, the troops had captured altogether fifteen of the Modoc warriors in the two days’ scout, besides many squaws and children. On that day three parties advanced for further search, one being a band of forty Indian scouts from Oregon, who had just come into the camp. These



scouting parties struck the Modocs' trail, and, after a brief search, their hiding-place was discovered. In a few minutes they were surrounded. Then a Modoc appeared, bearing a white rag as a signal for a truce, and announced that Captain Jack desired to surrender. Scouts were sent out to meet the chief, who was discovered sitting on a rock in the middle of his camp, wrapped in a faded army blanket, and looking sullen and dejected. He was forthwith ironed to "Schonchin," the leader next in notoriety among the Modocs. The two warriors bore the indignity stolidly, neither uttering a word. The Warm-Spring Indians, who had done much to secure the final success of the campaign, celebrated their victory at night with a frantic war-dance.

A cruel outrage perpetrated on the Modoc prisoners by the Oregon volunteers, by which four of the poor savages lost their lives, raised some feeling of pity in their favour; however, Captain Jack had committed himself far too deeply to be forgiven, and after a trial by court-martial, at Fort Klamath, Oregon, he and five other Modocs were condemned to death. Two of these were subsequently pardoned; on the rest the sentence was carried out on the 3rd of October, Captain Jack and his fellow braves marching with fearless demeanour to the scaffold.

The year 1872 had closed upon a legislative contest in the State of Louisiana; the Pinchbeck and the Warmouth parties struggling for supremacy. Judge Darell, of the United States District Court, had decided in favour of the "old" board of returning officers, and enjoined the Warmouth board not to make any return. The night before this decision was rendered, the State House was occupied by United States troops, and the Assembly, as returned by the Warmouth board, was refused entrance. The Warmouth Attorney-General of the State went to Washington to appeal in the Supreme Court against Judge Darell's decision. The Pinchbeck Attorney-General hurried after him to quash his proceedings. Pinchbeck found it advisable to withdraw his claims to the Governorship, but his party elected, as a substitute for him, William Pitt Kellogg, a Republican, while the partisans of the outgoing Governor Warmouth selected as his successor John McEnery, a Democrat.

Before the session of Congress closed, President Grant sent a Message, urging it to take measures for the settlement of the Louisiana dispute, and announcing that, if nothing were done, he would continue to recognise the Kellogg Government as that existing *de facto*. Long debates took place in the Senate, but no decision was come to, and the Congress separated. Meanwhile the Louisiana factions were busy. Kellogg was in practical command of the city by virtue of his command over the Metropolitan Police Force. McEnery enrolled Volunteer Militia, and, either by himself or by his adherents, a *coup d'état* was prepared. On the evening of the 4th of March, the very day the session of Congress closed, the Militia seized possession of the Seventh District Station House, and the following morning a street conflict took place between them

and the Metropolitan Police. Kellogg invoked the interference of the Federal authority, and the police, backed by the troops of General Emory, proceeded to capture the Odd Fellows' Hall, where the McEnery Legislature had been holding its sessions. The Kellogg faction thus victorious, peace ensued at New Orleans.

But at Colfax, a county town of the State of Louisiana, a contest much resembling that at New Orleans soon afterwards broke out. One party, described as that of the Liberal Republicans, was ousted by the Republican party, and the latter, exactly according to precedent, took possession of the County Offices, and there made preparations for defending themselves. It is a notable feature of the affair that they called in the aid of the black population, and garrisoned the Court House with a contingent of 400 negroes. The Liberals on their side raised 150 whites, and, thus supported, advanced to the attack of their rivals' position. The Court House had been fortified by the erection of a breastwork of cotton bales. The whites, however, drove the negroes from the outwork, and forced them into the Court House, which was strongly barricaded. Presently the garrison sent out a flag of truce, but when the whites advanced to meet it they were fired upon. This outrage so enraged the assailants that they set the Court House on fire and shot down its defenders as they attempted to escape. In this way a hundred negroes were killed and many wounded, the whites being left in possession of the field.

Again, at the end of April, the rival Governments of Louisiana came into collision at St. Martinsville. Again the Federal Government came to the aid of the Kellogg faction, and the McEneryites, after a temporary triumph of their cause, had to abandon their attitude of opposition.

The month of September was memorable for a great financial panic, for the record of which we refer to the narrative of a contemporary journal, in substance as follows:—"For several days previously something remarkable had been expected. Confidence had been largely undermined, and the general disposition towards panic had been industriously increased by the 'Bears,' who worked in extensive and efficient concert. On Friday, the 19th, business of all kinds opened amid feverish anxiety. The 'Bears' could have done little, unless there had been matter to work upon. But the fact was that the recklessness and dishonesty which had lately ruled in some of the greatest undertakings of the Union had induced a state of chronic nervousness which any sudden shock might render acute. A New York paper observed:—"The frauds and disasters which had occurred in such rapid succession seemed to have formed a maelstrom, which threatened to engulf innocent and guilty alike. The operations of the *Crédit Mobilier*, the frauds of the Tammany Ring and the Custom House, the unblushing robberies of the Brooklyn Ring, the failure of the Warehouse and Security Company, the ruin of the *Eclectic Life Assurance Company*, the suspension of *Kenyon, Cox, and Company*, the embarrassments of the

Canada Southern, the New York, Oswego, and Midland, and other railroads, seem to have worked the utmost demoralization in the financial centre of the metropolis.' It was on this demoralization that the speculators worked. The panic seemed to have been preparing about a month previous, the immediate causes being the failures of the Brooklyn Trust Company and the New York Warehouse and Security Company. The effect was not at once visible; a calm of some three weeks supervened, during which the disquiet was deepening from hour to hour, and then the storm burst forth. The operations began by a 'tremendous raid' against Stocks of all kinds, particularly those of the various railroads and the enterprises connected with them. Rumours of the most terrifying character were circulated with an air of authenticity and circumstantiality which was irresistible. The 'Bulls,' it appears, made but a faint resistance; they were taken by surprise, though for some time it had been rumoured that the attack on the Stock Market would be made under the leadership of the redoubtable Jay Gould. That personage, more vigorous and successful than ever since the death of his associate Fisk, was to head the movement, undeterred by the defeats he had sustained in his former operations. Whether Gould was the general or not, the campaign duly commenced, and in a few hours Wall-street was in panic. The attack opened with the circulation of a definite report against a leading firm, as being embarrassed by its connexion with the New York, Oswego, and Midland Railroad. The story created intense excitement, and prices immediately began to give way. 'Then the "Bear" clique began to sell Stock in large blocks, and the "Bulls," who were almost totally unprepared for the onset, were unable to take the offering promptly.' The finances of the Western Railroads were made the subject of the most unfavourable rumours, and, as these were undoubtedly based on a large substratum of truth, no wonder they were successful. Hour after hour the panic became more general. Stocks were 'ruthlessly hammered,' and the universal tendency of quotations was to a decline. Then came the crisis. An excited movement in the crowd gave notice that something extraordinary had occurred. Jay Cooke and Company, the best known and most enterprising banking firm in the States, had succumbed. Strange news had been looked for, but nothing so startling as this. 'The Stock Markets broke, and securities were sacrificed in the most ruthless manner.' When it became known that Jay Cooke and Company had brought down the Washington and Philadelphia Houses connected with them, the collapse became complete. For three or four days the markets exhibited simply prostration. Messrs. Jay Cooke and Company are said to have held in their three American houses deposits of private persons and Corporations amounting in all to about five millions of dollars; and, besides the failure of this firm, five important Banks or Companies fell, spreading ruin and consternation around."

After a few days the worst of the crisis was over. On Monday

it was officially announced that the Government had decided to buy an unlimited amount of Five-Twenty Bonds at par, in gold; and at a public meeting the President congratulated his audience on the improved position of affairs. Nevertheless, the credit and prosperity of the country had received a shock, from the effects of which it was materially suffering through the remainder of the year; and when the forty-third Congress of the United States met for its first session, at the beginning of December, the Secretary of the Treasury had to make the unwelcome announcement that, to meet the falling off in the revenues of Government, he must needs have recourse to taxation.

The financial question formed one important portion of the President's Message, delivered on the 2nd of December. Another was the affair of the "Virginus" steamer, and the serious complications into which it had nearly led the Governments of the United States and Spain. We must give a brief account of the occurrences connected with this transaction:—On the 31st of October, the Spanish corvette "Tornado," while cruising near the Aserradero, saw a steamer of suspicious appearance, and at 2.30 p.m. began the chase. The "Tornado" attained thirteen to fourteen knots, and steadily gained on the flying steamer. Night came, but the moon shone brightly, so that both vessels were distinctly visible. The chase continued until ten p.m., when the "Tornado" had got within cannon shot. A gun was then fired as a summons to surrender, but no notice was taken of it. Three or four other shots followed, and the capture was effected. It was near the Jamaica coast, the commander of the "Tornado" stating the distance at twenty miles. There was no resistance, and all hands were made prisoners and taken on board the "Tornado." The vessel proved to be the "Virginus," a vessel built in Connecticut, and registered at New York. She bore the American flag, and was laden with military stores and reinforcements for the insurgents in Cuba. Her commander, Captain Fry, had been an officer of the Confederate Navy, and a blockade-runner during the war. The "Tornado," with her prize in tow, reached Santiago de Cuba on the 1st of November; and there the captain and several of the crew and passengers, to the number of between thirty and forty, were, with scarcely the form of a trial, put to death by orders of the Governor of the place. Some of the men were Cubans, others were American or British subjects, many of whom had taken service with the "Virginus" merely for wages' sake, and without any thoughts of political conspiracy. The news of the executions was received with horror and indignation in the United States. General Sickles, the Minister of the States at Madrid, was instructed to make instant demand for the arrest and punishment of the perpetrators of the executions, for the indemnification of the friends of the victims, and for an apology to the insult to the United States flag. Orders were given to place the Navy on a war-footing, in case these demands should be refused, and Congress should see fit to declare war—a decision which, with com-



mendable prudence, the President resolved to defer to the meeting of that body. Señor Castelar, in the difficulties which surrounded his position at the head of the Spanish Government, had no choice but to comply; and orders were sent to Havannah for the surrender to the American Government of the "Virginus," and all the surviving passengers and crew.

But then fresh difficulties arose. The Havannah authorities blustered, and threatened to refuse. Finally, however, they succumbed, the Captain-General Jovellar announcing that the orders of the Madrid Government were "final, and disobedience would produce war, in which Cuba would not have the assistance of Spain." On the 12th of December the "Virginus" was towed out of Havannah harbour, and then delivered to an American steamer sent to receive her. Then came a new phase in this curious controversy. The United States lawyers, to whom the investigation of the case was committed, decided that the vessel had carried the flag illegally at the time of her capture, and as a consequence it followed that the salute of the United States flag by Spain would no longer be required, and that as soon as the "Virginus" should arrive at New York, proceedings would be instituted against the ship and the survivors of the crew for the fraud practised on the United States. On the last day of the year but one, a telegram from New York announced that, after having been interrogated by the authorities, the survivors had been released; and it was further announced that the notorious steamer itself, the "Virginus," had foundered in a gale off Cape Fear on the 26th of December.

#### MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.

MEXICO took a decided step in the anti-clerical movement this year. By a law of Congress enacted in the month of October, it was laid down that Church and State were to be absolutely severed, and that no religion or denomination was henceforth to be specially recognized or favoured by the latter; that marriage was to be regarded as a purely civil contract, and its legitimatization an affair of the civil authorities alone; that no religious corporation might possess any property or charges on any property, except under distinct provisions recognized in the Constitution; that religious oaths in courts of justice were abolished, and a simple declaration substituted in all cases; that the State refuses to recognize any monastic vows as binding, and any person belonging to a religious order can leave it at any time at his own will. A priest at the capital itself imitated the example of Father Hyacinthe, and publicly took to himself a wife; and meetings of artisans were held, at which lectures were delivered specially to expose the gross abuses of the system of indulgences for which the Mexican and South American clergy had long been notorious. These are noteworthy events, as occurring in a



country whose teaching has been entirely in the hands of the Catholic Church ever since Cortez first conquered it.

In BRAZIL also the Church question assumed important proportions this year, and was brought into connexion with the broader principles of the European strife. A complaint was brought against the Bishop of Pernambuco for refusing religious rites to members of the Freemasons' Society. Ever since the promulgation of the Infallibility dogma at Rome, the Brazilian Bishops had chosen to ignore the *bene placitum* of Government. The Emperor referred the Freemasons' complaint to the State Council, which decided against the Bishop. But the Bishop declined to obey the orders of Government; and State and Church found themselves committed to a strife similar to that which Bismarck was waging against the Ultramontanes in Germany.

An insurrection in Entre Rios, led by Lopez Jordan, was occupying attention at Buenos Ayres in the month of October.

In BOLIVIA, Señor Adolfo Ballivian was elected President early in the year. His character was much relied upon as affording hopes for the future of the country; but serious difficulties accumulated round his path, owing to the corrupt state of public morality.

The Congress of PERU was closed by President Pardo on the 14th of May, under circumstances of unusual harmony. The elections for a new Parliament took place in October.

#### ASIATIC AND AFRICAN STATES.

The western peregrinations of the Shah of PERSIA this year brought the affairs of his country into more than usual notice. Speculations on Persian progress occupied various paragraphs of our newspapers, and some interest was felt in the Ministerial crisis which, on the Sovereign's return to his dominions, removed his Grand Vizier, Mirza Hussein Khan, from his councils. The Minister's unpopularity was connected with the great "Reuter Concession," by which the Shah had taken a bold step towards launching Persia on the road of European national civilization. To the brief notice we have given of this concession in our chapter on Germany it may now be added that the Shah was pleased simply to farm out his whole country to Baron de Reuter, who was to form a series of companies in London, with the object of changing the entire state of things in Persia, and giving it railways, canals, mines in working, and a flourishing commerce. Baron de Reuter and those claiming under him are to make any railways in Persia they please, and for seventy years no one else is to be allowed to make any. With the exception of mines of gold, silver, and precious stones, this great contractor is to be allowed to work all Government mines on paying 15 per cent. of the profit to the State. He may require the owners of private mines to hand them over to him unless they have worked those mines within five years. If he discovers a mine, he is to pay nothing

for it but the mere price of the surface. Forests and canals are handed over to him on very similar terms. The Government guarantees him six millions sterling to help him in his various enterprises, and for twenty-five years he is to receive all the Customs dues of the kingdom, giving the Shah a progressive bonus on his present revenue. No one else is to be allowed to execute any works for the material improvement of the country, or to set up any bank or credit establishment, until Baron de Reuter has had the opportunity of considering whether he would like to oust the projector and take up the scheme for himself. And, lastly, the Shah undertakes to provide the necessary labour at current prices.

#### CHINA.

A fact worth recording in the affairs of CHINA this year is the defeat and subjugation of the Panthays, a Mohammedan people inhabiting the Chinese province of Yunan, after an independent career of seventeen years' duration, and a gallant struggle against overwhelming numbers. Talifu, the capital of the Panthay Sultan Soleiman, was captured in February by a Chinese army of 200,000 men, and in the latter end of May Momien, the second great city of the Panthays, fell also into the power of the victors. A horrible massacre took place at Talifu. According to the report of the Panthays, the Chinese slew every man, woman, and child, numbering from forty to fifty thousand, within the walls. The Sultan attempted, with something of antique grandeur, to obtain mercy for his people by surrendering himself to the Chinese General. Having poisoned his wives and children with the rooted Oriental notion of saving them from possible dishonour, he entered his palanquin and ordered his bearers to carry him to the Chinese camp. When the palanquin arrived at the camp of the Chinese General, Soleiman was found dead inside; but his submission and self-sacrifice did not save Talifu.

The Chinese Emperor's reception of the foreign ambassadors on the 29th of June, the first ever accorded by the jealous rulers at Peking, is also a noteworthy event in the annals of the Celestial Kingdom. The proceedings at this reception were mainly formal, and may be stated in the words of the telegram from Peking:—"The Ministers of England, Russia, America, France, and the Netherlands were received in audience for the first time by the Emperor of China on the 29th of June. The Japanese Ambassador was received first and separately. M. de Vlangati, the Minister of Russia, read an address in French, which was translated into Chinese by Herr Bismarck, the interpreter of the German Legation. Each Minister then deposited his credentials on a table in front of the Emperor, who replied in the Manchu language to the address

read by M. de Vlangati, Prince Kung on his knees interpreting his Majesty's answer into Chinese. Eight hundred Mandarins, including the Princes, were present at the audience. The members of the Tsung Li Yamen (Foreign Board) escorted the Ministers to their chairs. The streets were crowded.

JAPAN continued in its path of improvement. The financial report presented this year was extremely flourishing. Railway making was in progress, and extensive coal-fields were discovered in the province of Musashi.

The Emperor of MOROCCO, Sidi Muley Mohammed, died in the month of September, and war broke out between his brother, Muley Abbas, and his son, who both claimed to reign in his stead.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE, IN 1873.

### LITERATURE.

THE total number of books, pamphlets, &c., published during 1873, in the United Kingdom, amounted to 4991, nearly two hundred more than the publications of the preceding year. Deducting new editions, and a comparatively small proportion of books imported from America by English publishers, the number of new English books stood at 3463, a figure hitherto unprecedented. Works of fiction formed the most numerous class this year; taking the lead of theology which has usually stood before it, but which in 1873 formed only the second rank. Scientific works showed a rapid and continuous advance. History and biography were also on the increase. December, and then November, were the great publishing months.

We shall here, according to custom, note some of the prominent books which have appeared, giving a fair sample of current opinion on their merits. And we begin our notice with that which may be said to have caused on the whole the most sensation by its intrinsic originality, by the circumstances of its authorship, and by the interest attaching to the recent death of him who was at once its subject and its producer. We refer to the "Autobiography of John Stuart Mill," which was given to the world by Miss Helen Taylor, Mr. Mill's step-daughter, late in the autumn, about six months after the philosopher's death at Avignon. The first edition, consisting of 3000 copies, was sold within six days of publication, and a second impression, about as large, was disposed of with scarcely less rapidity.

The greater part of this remarkable personal portraiture was written in or before 1861, and the "Remainder of My Life," as Mr. Mill pathetically designates the period which followed the death of his wife, in 1870. The book is composed with the thoughtful care and finish of style which have made the writer's works popular notwithstanding the dryness and abstruseness of many of the subjects of which he treated. Probably no scholar or philosopher has left an equally full and faithful history of his education and his intellectual life. The unconscious revelations of character which are often the most valuable parts of an autobiography bear an unusually small proportion to the deliberate narrative, because Mr. Mill's purpose of writing a candid account of his life was made effective by his long practice of psychological observation. Having fully attained the objects for which he was trained in youth, and which he afterwards proposed to himself as the business and duty of his life, Mr. Mill thought, with a self-confidence unmixed with vanity, that his own progress must convey useful instruction to others.

His education, under the superintendence of his father, James Mill, the historian of India, was a gigantic experiment on the formation of mind. He began Greek at three. In his eighth year he had read a number of "Greek authors, among whom I remember the whole of Herodotus, and of Xenophon's 'Cyropædia' and 'Memorials of Socrates;' some of the lives of the philosophers by Diogenes Laertius; part of Lucian, and Isocrates' 'Ad Dæmonicum' and 'Ad Nicoclem.' I also read in 1813 the first six dialogues (in the common arrangement) of Plato, from the 'Euthyphron' to the 'Theætetus' inclusive; which last dialogue," he adds with characteristic caution, "I venture to think would have been better omitted, as it was totally impossible I should understand it." In his eighth year he began Latin, and between that and his twelfth year he read an immense quantity both of Latin and Greek. At or soon after twelve he began upon logic and history, and in particular he read his father's "History of India," and shortly afterwards went through a course of political economy. At fourteen he went abroad for a year, and learned French, besides acquiring a great love for various French ways of thinking and feeling. At fifteen he read Roman law with Mr. John Austin, and studied Bentham. He also read a certain quantity of metaphysics, Locke, Helvetius, Hartley, and Condillac. In his seventeenth year (1822-3) he formed a little society called the Utilitarian Society, one of the members of which was Mr. Roebuck. In the same year he received an appointment in the India House which made him independent for life. At about nineteen (1824-5) he edited Bentham's "Rationale of Judicial Evidence," and at the same time, or rather earlier, he contributed to various newspapers and reviews. At about twenty he and about a dozen of his friends and contemporaries, of whom Mr. Grote was perhaps the best known, formed a sort of club, which met for the purpose of systematic study at Mr. Grote's house twice a week, for an hour and a half in the mornings. They studied successively in minute detail treatises by Mr. James Mill, Ricardo, Hartley, and certain writers on logic. After that he took a great part for several years in public speaking at debating societies. He was also for a great length of time a contributor to a series of reviews which were intended to be the organs of philosophical Radicalism. From about the year 1830 the events of his life have little interest, and indeed consist mainly of the production and publication of his different books. He retired from the India House when the Company was put an end to in 1858. He sat in Parliament from 1865 to 1868, and he died in 1873 at the age of sixty-seven.

In talking of his early precocity, Mr. Mill modestly says that it was all labour, for that he was singularly devoid of genius, or what is called quickness of parts. At a very early age he was reported to be a "made" or "manufactured" man, and strangers came expecting to be astonished, but without a thought that a warmer or kinder regard was possible. It was only when nature did at last break through the biggest and tightest swaddling clothes ever strapped round human soul that Mr. Mill was discovered to be a lovable and interesting person. Mr. Mill had never been allowed to be a child or a boy: but the proper elements of these stages are irrepressible, and in course of time, ever through life, he showed that he had it all in him, though with an irregular development. His father had that estimation of the wisdom of youth as to hold that men under forty might be as justly excluded from the franchise as women, on the common ground that both are



adequately represented by men of forty, or over, if that ground be admitted. It was the wisdom of forty that he intended to give his son *per saltum* without a stop at the intermediate stages. Poetry, it might almost be said, was the one point of repugnancy between the father and the son. There was a felt difference between them. The father was enough under the spell of poetry to know its beguiling and weakening influences, and he knew how to separate the wheat from the chaff. He would make poetry do good work like any other beast.

“Shakspeare my father had put into my hands for the sake of the historical plays, from which, however, I went on to the others. My father never was a great admirer of Shakspeare, the English idolatry of which he used to attack with some severity. He cared little for any English poetry except Milton (for whom he had the highest admiration), Goldsmith, Burns, and Gray’s ‘Bard,’ which he preferred to his ‘Elegy;’ perhaps I may add Cowper and Beattie. He had some value for Spenser, and I remember his reading to me (unlike his usual practice of making me read to him) the first book of the ‘Faerie Queene,’ but I took little pleasure in it. The poetry of the present century he saw scarcely any merit in, and I hardly became acquainted with any of it till I was grown up to manhood, except the metrical romances of Walter Scott, which I read at his recommendation, and was intensely delighted with, as I always was with animated narrative.”

At the age of twenty Mill was seized with one of those accesses of despondency which not unfrequently beset ardent and possibly overstrained minds in the course of their career. He says, “I frequently asked myself if I could, or if I was bound to, go on living, when life must be passed in this manner. I generally answered to myself that I did not think I could possibly bear it beyond a year. When, however, not more than half that duration of time had elapsed, a small ray of light broke in upon my gloom. I was reading, accidentally, Marmontel’s ‘Mémoires,’ and came to the passage which relates his father’s death, the distressed position of the family, and the sudden inspiration by which he, then a mere boy, felt and made them feel that he would be everything to them—supply the place of all that they had lost. A vivid conception of the scene and its feelings came over me, and I was moved to tears. From this moment my burden grew lighter. The oppression of the thought that all feeling was dead within me was gone. I was no longer hopeless; I was not a stock or a stone. I had still, it seemed, some of the material out of which all worth of character and all capacity for happiness are made. . . . Thus the cloud gradually drew off, and I again enjoyed life.”

An extraordinary proof of Mill’s susceptibility to emotion was his absorbing devotion to the lady whom he finally married. For more than twenty years all his works were, as he persuaded himself, joint productions; and those thoughts which have contributed most to the success and reputation of his writings emanated, according to his belief, from her genius. He thus refers to her his estimate of Mr. Carlyle:—“I knew that I could not see round him, and could never be certain that I saw over him, and I never presumed to judge him with any definiteness, until he was interpreted to me by one greatly the superior of us both, who was more of a poet than he, and more of a thinker than I, whose own mind and nature included his, and infinitely

more." That a lady who never wrote anything, and who, except by a passionate lover, was not known ever to have thought or said anything worth recording, was far superior in extent and degree of power to a man whose lofty genius has been proved by writings of the highest order, is a paradox not to be accepted on the authority of a blind admirer. It may be believed that Mr. Mill is justified in tracing to the influence of his wife the change or deterioration of his economic doctrines by the admixture of socialism in his later writings. The encroachment of feeling and philanthropy on science would be a natural result of feminine influence. In other respects the supposed share of Mrs. Mill in the productions of her husband was probably the result of his wishes and his fancy.

The weakest part of Mr. Mill's career is the part in which he tried to apply his theories to human life. From the age of sixteen he was eager to reform the world, but he never at any time had much of a standard to reform it by. Benthamism, however admirable as affording an answer to problems capable of clear and systematic solution, fails where the mixed conditions of human nature are in question, and the ultimate sanction of morals was a point on which Mr. Mill could never express himself without ambiguity. His uttered opinion would seem to have been that the actual world was very contemptible, and that all its arrangements ought to be broken down; but that, somehow or other, quite a different and a very much better world, of which he had no distinct notion at all, so far as can be gathered from his books, lay behind it. His career would have been more consistent and imposing if he had narrowed it a good deal, especially in his later life; but in that case it would not have been his. His true self would seem to have been most fully displayed in his later works and in his parliamentary career, his account of which has a great deal of quiet vanity in it.

The public have read with avidity the record of another great writer and thinker, whose name stands in natural connexion with that of Mill. The "Personal Life of George Grote" is told by Mrs. Grote in accordance with an intention of which she herself informed her husband in his lifetime. One morning, she tells us, she was arranging some old letters and journals when enter Mr. Grote. "'What are you so busy over there, H.?' inquired he. 'Well, I am arranging some materials for a sketch of your Life, which I have been urgently invited to write by several of our best friends.' 'My Life!' exclaimed Mr. Grote, 'why, there is absolutely nothing to tell.' 'Not in the way of adventures, I grant; but there is something, nevertheless:—your life is the history of a mind.' 'That is it!' he rejoined, with animation. 'But can you tell it?' 'It is what I intend to try. You see, unless I give some account of your youth and early manhood, no other hand can furnish the least information concerning it.' 'Nothing can be more certain—you *are* the only person living who knows anything about me during the first half of my existence.' This short colloquy ended, the subject was never renewed between us; the historian feeling, as I believe, content to leave his life's story in my hands."

Grote had none of the proud confidence with which many authors, predestined to eminence, have fearlessly confronted the judgment of contemporaries, or, like Milton, silently anticipated the verdict of posterity. Early in 1845, when he had got two octavo volumes ready for the press, he said to his wife, "I suppose I shall have to print my history at my own expense; for, you see,

having little or no literary reputation as yet, no bookseller will like to face the risk of it." Protesting that he held himself much too cheap, she proposed that they should begin by inquiring among their learned acquaintances who were the booksellers in repute. The entire arrangements being left to her, she finally resolved on giving the refusal to Mr. Murray, and on her "reporting progress" after an interview with that gentleman, Grote observed, "I only hope the poor man will not be a loser by me, and then I shall be content, come what may."

The first two volumes were published in March, 1846, and the author is described as "unusually agitated and curious as to the result." His agitation was soon over, so far as it arose from apprehension or uncertainty. Compliments and congratulations poured in from all sides, and the general feeling was expressed by Hallam when, drawing Mrs. Grote aside, he said to her, "I have been familiar with the literary world for a very long period, and I can safely say that I never knew a book take so *rapid* a flight to the highest summits of fame as George's new *History of Greece*." Mrs. Grote gave all the help she could to her husband's labours. Besides helping to correct the proofs, she was "a diligent and conscientious critic, often suggesting changes, and sometimes excisions, in the text of the work."

"The author usually manifested respect for my remarks, and eventually came to regard my humble assistance as indispensable. I well remember exclaiming to him one day, when going through his account of the 'Weeks and Days,' 'Now, really, George, *are* you obliged to publish all this absurd and incredible stuff?' 'Certainly, my love; an historian is bound to produce the materials upon which he builds, be they never so fantastic, absurd, or incredible.'"

The third and fourth volumes appeared in April, 1847; the fifth and sixth in December, 1848; the seventh and eighth in March, 1850; the ninth and tenth in February, 1852; the eleventh in April, 1853; and the twelfth and concluding one in March, 1856. The last proof of the last sheet was returned to the printer on the 23rd of December, 1855. Mrs. Grote memorialized the *finale*. "I remember that I had a bowl of punch brewed at Christmas for our little household at 'History Hut,' in celebration of the '*opus magnum*;' Grote himself sipping the delicious mixture with great satisfaction while manifesting little emotion outwardly, though I could detect unmixed signs of inward complacency as I descanted upon 'the happiness of our living to see this day,' and so forth."

The progress of the work was for a time interrupted by Grote's entrance into political life, as member for the City of London in the first Reformed Parliament. He had previously become conspicuous in the small party then called the Philosophical Radicals, including Sir W. Molesworth, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Charles Buller. He took an active part in all the proceedings of the extreme Liberals, and introduced in several sessions Bills for the establishment of Vote by Ballot; but the country was averse to further organic changes; and the progress of natural reaction reduced the handful of ultra-reformers to a powerless condition. It was without regret on his own part, and perhaps without loss to the country, that Mr. Grote retired from Parliament in 1841, to devote the rest of his life to the composition of his History and of his treatises on Greek philosophy. Thirty years later, when his early opinions were adopted by Mr. Gladstone's Government, his enthusiasm for the Ballot

had sensibly cooled. "I confess," he said to Mrs. Grote, "that, since the wide expansion of the voting element, the value of the Ballot has sunk in my estimation."

Although fond of good conversation, and eminently qualified to shine in it, Mr. Grote was with difficulty induced to become a member of the Literary Club, and was never happier than with his books. He contrived to combine a great amount of literary labour with the discharge of many and important public duties, particularly those which his Vice-Presidency of the University of London and his Trusteeship of the British Museum entailed upon him. When (November, 1869), in addition to every other description of honour that can be won or achieved by learning or literature, a peerage was pressed upon him by the present Premier, his refusal was mainly based on his conscientious reluctance to accept a position requiring more time and attention than he could spare. Yet his life was certainly shortened by his refusal to suspend exertions by which elevated and useful objects might be attained. He died on the 18th of June, 1871, and was buried with national honours in Westminster Abbey.

From Mill and Grote we turn to a very different type of literary man, as portrayed in the "Life, Journals, and Letters of Henry Alford, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury." This, too, is a work of female editorship, but we must confess that Mrs. Alford does not handle her subject well. The book fails of due proportion and organization, and it deals too much in minute and unimportant detail. Not a profound scholar, not an original thinker, not one of those creative geniuses that leave their stamp on the intellectual history of the age, the late Dean of Canterbury was essentially a good man, in the widest and truest meaning of the term. He possessed singular purity, unselfishness, simplicity, singleness of purpose, moral courage, cheerful faith, and active benevolence. Remarkable for the number and high order of his gifts, though in each failing of the very highest; as artist, as musician, as naturalist, as poet, as theologian, he devoted them all to the service of others, whom he was ever ready to assist with his counsel and encourage with his kindly sympathy. Few men were ever more generally and more deservedly loved—none had fewer enemies. His University career was one of considerable distinction. He obtained a Trinity Scholarship and the "Bell," and was classed in 1832 as 34th Wrangler and 8th in the First Class. In 1834 he obtained a Fellowship of Trinity, but soon threw it up to marry his cousin, to whom he had been engaged two years, and take the small college living of Wymeswold, on the borders of Charnwood Forest.

"This living," writes Dean Merivale, "was so small, so obscure, so much for a long period neglected, that no Senior Fellow cared to take it, and thereupon he married his wife and busied himself for a period of eighteen years." Here "he carried on his three full services single-handed, built and superintended his schools, almost rebuilt his church, and by his earnestness and evident self-sacrifice won the unbounded love of his parishioners." The restoration of Wymeswold Church, which he found "disguised by decay, filth, and unseemliness," was undertaken by him on his own responsibility; and though he was helped by voluntary contributions, a considerable portion of the whole cost, 3500*l.*, came out of his pocket. "All this time," the Dean continues, "he maintained an increasing family by constant tuition, still finding time—for I never saw him throw himself back in his chair and



lounge for one minute—for writing some books and editing others (Donne's works may be specified), for skirmishing in reviews, and lecturing in local centres."

The studies necessary for the annotated edition of the Greek Testament, in connexion with which Alford's name will be chiefly remembered by posterity, and the first volume of which was published in 1849, rendered his provincial isolation inconvenient to him, and in 1852 he accepted the incumbency of Quebec Chapel in London, offered him by the Rev. J. H. Gurney. From this he was promoted by Lord Palmerston, in 1857, to the Deanery of Canterbury. This was a position very congenial to his tastes. While it presented a field for the exercise of his musical knowledge and powers, and his acquaintance with ecclesiastical architecture and sacred art, it also afforded him the leisure he needed for the completion of his great Biblical works, and gave him continual opportunities of exercising his powers as a preacher and an expositor of the Scriptures to large and important congregations. In 1870, the last year of his life, the sixtieth of his age, the Dean undertook two separate enterprises, one being an attempt to popularize the study of the Old Testament, as in his book for "English Readers" he had done for the New. This gigantic task he began with even less previous knowledge of the Hebrew literature than he had of Greek grammar and criticism twenty-seven years before. He intended, no doubt, as then, to learn as he went on, reserving corrections and improvements for subsequent editions. On November 15 he records in his journal, "Finished Exodus xxv. and left off work for the present." That work was never resumed, nor will the portion which has been published since his death add much to his reputation. The second labour of the year could have cost him little trouble, and was full of pleasurable excitement. Immediately after putting forth a Revised Translation of the New Testament (of which 25,000 copies were sold in a few months), it became his duty to advocate in Convocation, and to help in carrying out in person, the Revision of the English Bible now in progress. He had hoped for and looked forward to it all his life long; he took his share in it with undisguised satisfaction. His short notices of the sessions in his journal are full of enthusiasm, though one of his colleagues seems to think that "in general he kept himself in the background, as if he felt that his suggestions were sufficiently before us" already. The truth is, he was ill, complaining of constant headache and sleeplessness, until at length, on the 16th of December, acting on imperative medical advice, he went to the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey in the morning, took leave of the Revision Company, gathered up his books, patiently and quietly went home, and after preaching once more in the Cathedral on New Year's Day, 1871, succumbed to the first effects of an accidental chill, and died on the 12th of January.

Mr. Chandler does duty as editor of the minor writings of the late Dean Mansel, consisting of "Letters, Lectures, and Reviews, including the Phrontisterion, or Oxford in the Nineteenth Century." This last was a witty dramatic fragment, called forth by the proposed changes in the University at the time it was written. The other papers bring vividly before us the characteristics of Mansel as a writer. He had a special faculty for abstract reasoning, but nothing could be more moderate than his estimate of what it could accomplish. The duty of philosophy, he said, is not to transcend consciousness, but to make consciousness at unity with itself; the office of



philosophy is but the articulate expression of consciousness. The thesis which he maintained in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Metaphysics was that psychology is the test of moral and metaphysical philosophy; and before the lecture was concluded, he told his hearers that, by means of a cautious psychological procedure, they might hope either to lay a foundation in facts for the construction of a metaphysical system, or at any rate to show why such a system could not be constructed, and what is the origin and real meaning of the delusion which has led men to dream of its possibility. The ardent metaphysician has a faith which is to him like that of religion, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." To such ardour Mansel could give but scanty encouragement. The very words with which he recommended the study of metaphysics sound almost like an apology for failure. He told the learners who came to listen to the first burst of his professorial energy that metaphysical inquiry, whether it succeed or fail in its ultimate object, cannot be otherwise than a wholesome and instructive discipline of the mind; like the labourers in the fable, its votaries may not succeed in finding the buried treasure for which they turn up the soil, yet their labours will have prepared the intellectual field for its proper harvest, and they may hope to attain a knowledge more valuable perhaps than that for which they sought—a knowledge of themselves and of their powers, of what they may and what they may not aspire to know, of the laws and limits of reason, and, by consequence, of the just claims of faith.

The "Reminiscences and Reflections" of the late Dr. McLeod Campbell, edited by his son, possess considerable interest for those who study the theological developments of our day. Dr. Campbell was one of a school of thought which has had among its other representatives Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, Frederick Denison Maurice, and the less distinguished Dr. Ewing, Bishop of Argyle. To Erskine and Campbell was due the impulse which afterwards moulded Maurice. Campbell's work on the Atonement was a radical contradiction to Calvinistic principles. He held that by the work of Christ the whole world had been placed, so far as God's will was concerned, in a state of reconciliation, and that men might at once abandon all anxiety for their personal safety, and surrender themselves in complete confidence to the faithful service of God, and to the gradual acquisition through the Scriptures of a full knowledge of His will. The present publication is substantially an autobiographical review by Dr. Campbell of the principles of his teaching and of their origin, but this is introduced by an Introductory Narrative, in which his son gives a brief account of his father's life.

Born in 1800, Dr. Campbell was the son of a Scotch minister, and received the careful and laborious education of Scotch youths. After an early career of some distinction, he was presented to the parish of Row, and on that occasion his father publicly declared that his son had never caused him one moment's pain from his birth till that day. He then devoted himself with extraordinary singleness of mind to promote the religious welfare of his flock. His own soul was absorbed in a rare piety, and he had no other thought than that of bringing his people to the same habit of mind. In this effort for them and for himself he was continually advancing in the appreciation of theological truth, and with a singular openness of mind and heart he gave himself up to follow the guidance of experience and study. The consequence was that before long he was led to conclusions which were at once felt by his fellow

clergy and others to be inconsistent with the rigid Calvinism of the Scotch formularies. He himself seems to have been fully convinced of the consistency of his teaching with that of his Church ; but that he should have entertained such a conviction affords another remarkable instance of the elasticity with which formularies adapt themselves to the views of those who use them. He was a great loss to the Church of Scotland, and the people of his parish were all but unanimous in desiring him to stay among them. Nineteen-twentieths of the whole population petitioned the General Assembly on his behalf. The sentiment against him, however, was so strong that a sentence of deposition was carried by a majority of 119 to 6. But though deposed from the pulpits of the Established Church, he could not be hindered from proclaiming his views. He went about the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland preaching the Gospel as he understood it, and from 1833 till 1859 he acted as minister to a congregation in Glasgow. Perhaps it was as well that he was thus enabled to develope his thoughts without the necessity of straining them to meet an authorized standard. His mind advanced, and his best book—that on the Atonement—was published when he was fifty-five years old. In the last years of his life he removed to a quiet home overlooking the scene of his early ministerial labours. Here, at the age of seventy-one, he commenced that review of his early life and teaching which constitutes the substance of this book, but he died before he could complete it, in February, 1872.

Mr. Hamilton Thom has edited the "Letters of John James Tayler." These letters have a double interest. They are interesting as giving a remarkably clear insight into the inner history of a man of a singularly refined, blameless, and thoughtful life, and as making the general reader acquainted with some of the ways of one of the least numerous but most influential of the English Nonconformist bodies. Mr. Tayler belonged to the English Presbyterian community—a community which, as we gather from these volumes, has no connexion with Scotch Presbyterianism, and seems to resemble the Congregationalists in their views of Church discipline and management. They appear to be in no way subject to the dogmatism of Scotch Presbyterianism, and the orthodoxy and the Calvinism of the northern side of the Tweed are abhorrent to all their ideas of Christianity. From what we gather from his letters, Mr. Tayler's own opinions were originally of the old-fashioned Unitarian kind, "orthodox Unitarian," as they have been sometimes oddly called, to distinguish them from the more advanced views of modern liberalism. He regarded Christianity as a "revelation" in the strictly technical sense of the word ; accepted the records of the Scriptural miracles as historically and literally true ; and was practically not much disturbed by the more recent speculation as to the value of the narrative portions of the Bible in general. Of course he never held the old Church of England and general Dissenting views on all these points. But at first he may be taken as a fair representative of a school of criticism which, we suspect, is no longer as influential in this country as it was half a century ago. The Unitarianism of to-day is, in fact, no more identical with the Unitarianism of our grandfathers than is the High Churchism of 1873 with the port-wine orthodoxy of George IV. and Lords Eldon and Sidmouth. In the end, Tayler seems to have stood midway between the two schools.

Mr. Kenyon gives as his chief reason for publishing a new "Life of Lord Kenyon," his grandfather, the unfair account of the Chief Justice given by

Lord Campbell. Mr. Kenyon may be congratulated on his success. The judicial eminence and private worth of his grandfather are now placed beyond dispute. The book, indeed, though conscientious and accurate, has not the elements of popularity as a composition. Nevertheless, it contains much valuable matter of a collateral or incidental kind, and fresh light is thrown on many curious transactions, like the quarrel between Thurlow and Pitt, by the entries in Lord Kenyon's Diaries.

As a judge, Lord Kenyon combined rapidity with soundness. He very seldom wrote a judgment and very seldom gave many reasons. "No man," said Lord Ellenborough, "ever hit so often who always shot flying." His grandson, therefore, could surely have afforded to tell a few of the amusing anecdotes illustrative of his peculiarities which have been handed down by the traditions of the Bar, and he would find it no easy matter to prove that "many of these have been applied to every judge since the days of Lord Hardwicke, and half the remainder are absolutely without foundation." Is George III. reported to have told any other judge, "My lord, by all that I can hear, it would be well if you would stick to your good law and leave off your bad Latin"? or was Coleridge merely applying an old story when (as we read in his "Table Talk") he related that Kenyon, in addressing the jury in a blasphemy case, after alluding to some eminent early Christians, went on, "Above all, gentlemen, need I name to you the Emperor Julian, who was so celebrated for the practice of every Christian virtue that he was called Julian the Apostle?"

"Memoir of Sir James Simpson," by Dr. Duns.—As a benefactor to the human race in discovering for it the boon of medical anæsthesia, Sir James Simpson deserves to have his name and fame kept in remembrance. But beyond this the life of Sir James Simpson has value and interest as that of a man of wide and varied usefulness, of extensive culture, of great mental energy, and of thorough manliness of character. His love of study and greed of knowledge were not less marked, as his biographer is at pains to show, than his high professional ideal. Of his manifold attainments, he owed more to severe and sustained effort of the will than to native brilliancy of genius. The concentrative faculty which enabled him when a boy to read without distraction amid the bustle of his father's bakehouse was rightly regarded by him as the cause which raised him from his original low estate, and it was the quality of which he most strenuously urged the cultivation upon those within his influence. The son of a small baker at Bathgate in Linlithgowshire, yet sprung of an old Scottish line of the farming class, striving and independent, he was enabled, with few advantages at starting, to raise himself to the foremost ranks in professional and intellectual eminence. A kindly warmth of heart, with a power of winning and imparting confidence, was a moral gift which stood him in good stead, both with patients and in society. The record of his last days, as told by Dr. Duns, is marked by almost child-like simplicity of trust. Without claiming to be a deep or original thinker, Sir James Simpson had powers of concentration, analysis, and logical grasp which, added to a fearless sense of truth, led him to discoveries of no common order. In his professional writings, the most important of which have been republished since his death, there remains a monument to the energy, the breadth, and the subtlety of his mind. Able as he showed himself in general culture, in archæology, and in philanthropy, he was above all a physician.

It has been said that in him were to be recognized John Bell's four ideals of the perfect Esculapius—the brain of an Apollo, the eye of an eagle, the heart of a lion, and the hand of a lady. To these must be added the humility of genius and the tenderness of perfect manhood.

In the "Life and Letters of Sir John Burgoyne," Colonel Wrottesley gives us the record of an able officer, an honourable and valued public servant, who, though not endowed with the attributes of genius, used considerable power of observation throughout an experience almost unrivalled in the history of his profession, and lived to be an important authority on all military questions. The present volumes contain a large part of a diary which Burgoyne kept during the Peninsular War, and some passages from it and from his correspondence are even now not without interest. Like many of his contemporaries, he did not at first appreciate Wellington, and he repeatedly criticized the operations of his great chief with more or less severity. There is possibly a grain of truth in the following, though it must be borne in mind that the retreat of Soult was accelerated by the abandonment of his guns :—"The French, after the passage of the Douro by the road leading to Castile, were afterwards under the necessity of changing it, by which they made a considerable détour, and had a wild country to pass, and then came into the same road by which Sir Arthur marched direct, who, however, notwithstanding, arrived at the point of junction of these roads after them, although they went at least twelve miles round." Burgoyne, too, like every one else, had no conception of the profound strategy of Wellington in 1810, and was wholly in error in condemning his not having advanced against Massena :—"We have certainly lost a fine opportunity; we might have cleared the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, raised the siege of Astorga, and destroyed the depôt of the enemy at Salamanca by moving towards the latter place a few days back."

The following shows the state of despondency which prevailed in our army at this period :—"The Emperor is about to cross once more the Pyrenees to restore tranquillity and happiness to the Peninsula. I suspect we shall be sent or driven home soon enough to embark in some American expedition."

We pass over the details of Burgoyne's earlier experiences, however, to glance at his share in the war which is still fresh in our memory. At the age of seventy-two the veteran found himself almost unexpectedly involved in the expedition to the Crimea. Of that expedition itself he strongly disapproved on military grounds. "It appears to me," he said, "to be the most desperate enterprise ever attempted. The disembarking a large force in an enemy's country must require considerable time, or you must commence your campaign most imperfectly provided. The latter is what appears to be in view at present. The communications subsequently with the shipping will be distant or very bad, and liable to be interrupted by weather in September at any moment. We shall be without a base of operations or retreat. We are to invade with a very moderate force one of the strongholds of a great military empire, having at the lowest calculation on the spot a force numerically equal to our own, and if of inferior quality, certainly not to be despised. . . . With regard to any attack on Sebastopol, it can have little strength as a fortress, and its fate will depend upon the power of obtaining firm possession of the Crimea, an attack on which must be well considered before it be undertaken. No operation is of such doubtful issue as the landing in an



enemy's country for the purpose of conquest." The landing-place was chosen in accordance with Burgoyne's opinion. The battle of the Alma was fought, and "We are all," writes Burgoyne, "in high spirits at present appearances." The moral effect of the victory was worth twenty thousand additional troops. Burgoyne suggested and urged the flank march to Balaklava. Lord Raglan desired him to discuss it with Marshal St. Arnaud. All the French staff officers, including Colonel Trochu and General Bizot of the Engineers, opposed this project, and brought forward one trivial objection after another, until the Marshal broke up the conference by saying that he thought General Burgoyne was right, that difficulties which appeared great at a distance often disappeared on nearer approach, and that it was *un mouvement en avant*, and he would undertake it. The army marched accordingly, and Burgoyne thus records his first impression of Sebastopol as seen from the south. "The fortifications," he says, "are poor concerns, but the situation is favourable for the enemy. They have an immense force of artillery mounted, and a large garrison."

Before a fortnight had elapsed his opinion of the difficulties of the undertaking had undergone a change; and, though it would be unfair to blame him for this, the fact bears witness to the great ability and energy of Kornilof and Todleben:—"The difficulties we have to face here are far greater than I could have anticipated. It would have been unjustifiable to have stormed Sebastopol when we first arrived before it, and obstacles against our taking it increase every hour. The enemy have placed a very powerful garrison in it, said to be nearly as strong as the force we have before it. They have intrenched it all round, and have innumerable guns mounted on the works, probably ship-guns from their fleet, and abundance of ammunition and seamen to man them. The ground which we necessarily occupy, and that on which we must advance, is most unfavourably circumstanced for us, and is so rocky that it is only in favourable parts that as much as one foot of earth can be excavated." During several months Burgoyne directed the principal operations of the siege so far as regards the British attacks. Until the bombardment of the 17th of October he seems to have thought the fortress might yield to a resolute and daring assault; but after the failure of the French on that day, and the immense development of the Russian batteries, he perceived that rapid success was hopeless. Burgoyne was recalled in March, 1855, in consequence of representations on the part of the Allies that he was impeding the progress of the siege; but the result fully confirmed his judgment. Honours flowed in upon him in England. He was made a baronet and Constable of the Tower, and on his retirement in 1868 from the active duties of Inspector-General of Fortifications, was elevated to the rank of Field Marshal. The tragic death of his son, the commander of the ill-fated "Captain," gave a mortal shock to his aged frame, and he died, in October, 1871, one of the oldest and most honoured soldiers of Europe.

The success of the two volumes of Sir George Jackson's Diaries and Letters, which were published last year, has induced his widow to prepare another couple of volumes, made up of a further selection from Sir George's correspondence. This brings us down to 1816—four thick volumes for some fifteen years—and, as Sir G. Jackson lived an active and busy life for many years afterwards, and no doubt kept up an equally copious correspondence and diaries, we shall probably have yet further selections from the same abundant



source. At this rate the "Bath Archives" threaten to become rather a formidable library. The two volumes now before us might with great advantage have been compressed into one. We have not only Sir George's own diaries and letters, many of which are of purely domestic interest, but his brother Francis's letters, his mother's letters, and a great many other odds and ends of correspondence, all swelling out the bulk of the collection without adding to its value.

We extract the following bridal scene of the Duchesse de Berri, which is interesting when we recollect the fortunes of the "last man" of the Bourbon line, and is characteristic of a generation in which the habits of the *vieille cour* blended curiously with those of the new era:—"The Duchesse de Berri is not handsome, but she is so well made, and looks so young, fair, and innocent, that it is impossible not to be pleased with her appearance. She not only looks, but is still, so much of a child that her great amusement is to play with some curious and ingenious toys that have been made on purpose for her. The chairs, toilet glass and table of her dressing-room are mounted in diamond-cut crystal, and by some concealed mechanism are made to play when wound up two tunes each—an appropriate fairy-like arrangement for the fairy for whose use and amusement they had been designed. On the day she was married, after coming back from church, her friends and attendants, supposing her agitated and fatigued, left her alone to rest and compose herself. The usual time allotted for this purpose having expired, the Duc de Berri thought he might take advantage of his newly-acquired privilege, and entered her apartment. Judge, then, of his astonishment when he found his *petite Duchesse* in the same grand Court costume, her train, six yards in length, and heavily embroidered in silver and diamonds, twisted many times round her arm, humming a merry tune, and dancing gaily round the chairs and tables with a favourite spaniel, which she was holding up by the forelegs!"

The book is curious because of the contrast it suggests between the England of the Regency and of the reign of Victoria. This difference appears in a thousand passages, and marks the strange revolution we have silently passed through. Thus, even as late as 1810 there was still a Jacobite tradition in Scotland:—"A new idea is that Bonaparte will put forward some pretender to the Crown, and support him with money and troops, his object being to angle for the Scotch with a Stuart bait." How sternly political differences were regarded we find when Sir Francis Burdett is thus denounced by one of the ordinary Tories of that day:—"He has not scrupled, to serve his own ends, to cause the loss of life and limb and the destruction of property. . . . As a dangerous maniac, he should be shut up for life." And the *Times* is condemned for deprecating this mild treatment of a reformer:—"You are becoming so deeply imbued with the views of the *Times* as to be in danger of losing all the good old principles," writes Jackson to one of his correspondents.

The letters of Mr. Francis Jackson and his wife contain a number of interesting details on the state of America at this time, and on the characteristics of American life; but they breathe a spirit of supercilious contempt for Republican institutions and manners, which, however natural in a Tory Envoy, was not well calculated to promote our objects. Mr. Jackson was most kindly received at Washington; but Mrs. Jackson thus expresses herself in the half French slang which was then the fashion:—"I am literally carried off in triumph when I condescend to 'dances and teas,' and am merely

stuffed to death with good things at their *grands et petits diners*. But *entre nous* again, *mon cher George*, their *cuisine* is detestable—*nappage grossière*; no claret; champagne and Madeira indifferent. One lady paid me this elegant compliment—"that in Mr. Jackson's absence everybody was glad to devour of me as much as he could." Thus sketch of Washington in those days is curious:—"The streets consist of a few scattered houses, and are intersected with wood, heath, gravel-pits, &c. I put up a covey of partridges close to it the other day, and about 300 yards from the House of Congress yeleft the capitol." Mr. Jackson speaks in this contemptuous strain of the probable future of the great Republic:—"I have remarked that it is a very general and favourite article of belief with those few Americans who look beyond the events of the day, that their country is destined, at no very distant period, to take a conspicuous and 'influential' part in the affairs of the world. And this is an idea so flattering to their vanity that even some men are found to accede to it who yet consider the present system of policy pursued by their Government as the least calculated to produce such a result."

Mr. Mac Carthy says in his preface to "Shelley's Early Life," that he ventures to offer this book to the public "as an honest contribution to those authentic materials out of which, sooner or later, a thoroughly trustworthy life may be written of Percy Bysshe Shelley." So much may be granted without hesitation. Mr. Mac Carthy has industriously gone over the early part of Shelley's life; he has carefully investigated the statements which have hitherto passed current with biographers: he has detected many errors; and he has discovered a few new facts which will have to take their place in future lives of Shelley. But his book is not an interesting one. Its most prominent topic is the discovery by Mr. Mac Carthy himself of a poem, or at least of the fact of a poem, written by Shelley during his short visit to Ireland, just after he had been expelled from Oxford. That such a poem was published is probable enough. Indeed, the advertisements quoted seem to prove it beyond all reasonable doubt. The one singular and indeed incredible statement is that the profits were nearly 100*l*. Mr. Mac Carthy, moreover, plumes himself on discovering that Shelley was potentially a great orator. It is known that whilst in Dublin he made a speech at a public meeting. Mr. Hogg, in his Life of the poet, says that it was a failure. Mr. Mac Carthy, on the other hand, calls this a "reckless misrepresentation." He says that a certain witness "bears the most unequivocal testimony to the eloquence of the young speaker," and declares this testimony to be "decisive as to the probabilities of Shelley's success as an orator had he devoted himself to a political career." On the whole, Mr. Mac Carthy's achievements as a biographer are not great. He has proved, we may admit, that Shelley published a poem which is lost, and which probably deserved to be lost. He has found some additional evidence about Shelley's single speech; but has rather confirmed than damaged the substantial accuracy of Hogg's account. Whether Shelley might have been a good orator, and whether he may have added one more poem to the quantity of bad juvenile verses already known, are matters of no great importance; but biographers are an omnivorous race, and Shelley's biographers in the future will have to read Mr. Mac Carthy's pages and be grateful for his industry, if not for his acuteness.

"Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge," edited by her daughter. These volumes will have a charm for every intelligent reader, as telling genuinely

and naturally the life, the daily thoughts and hopes and occupations, of a noble woman of a high order of mind and a pure heart. Her letter-writing is thoroughly unaffected. There is never straining for effect. Abstruse subjects are treated without the least apparent consciousness of learning, and without any studied fine writing. Sara Coleridge's metaphysical attainments were great. Mr. Hallam, a good judge, used always to speak of her Notes and Dissertations in her edition of her father's "*Biographia Literaria*" as an intellectual marvel for a woman. Literary criticisms abound in this correspondence, for various reading was a great part of her life. The following is an excellent criticism on Landor, whose "*Pentameron*" she had been reading. The book, she says, "is full of interest for the critical and poetical mind, but is sullied by some Landorisms, which are less like weeds in a fine flower-bed than some evil ingredient in the soil, revealing itself here and there by rankish odours or by stains and blotches on bud and petal." In the last letter but one of the work, she is full of her uncle Southey's letters: those unrivalled letters of one of the best and busiest of men. "I dwell on the Southey Letters. My mind is ever going back to my brighter days of youth, and all its dear people and things of other days."

Sara Coleridge produced a fairy tale, "*Phantasmion*;" and she has left some poetry, in which may be seen something of the finish and melodious rhythm of her father's verse. But her great intellectual achievement was her edition, a long labour of love, of her father's "*Biographia Literaria*." Professor Reed, of Philadelphia, an enthusiastic admirer of Sara Coleridge, said of her laborious and philosophical essays illustrative of her father's writings,—"*There have been expended in the desultory form of notes and appendices and prefaces an amount of original thought and an affluence of learning which, differently and more prominently presented, would have made her famous. There is not one woman in a thousand, not one man in ten thousand, who would have been thus prodigal of the means of celebrity.*"

We are glad to have a new contribution of praise of Coleridge for Southey, written in 1803, when they were living together at Keswick. "Southey I like more and more. He is a good man, and his interest is stupendous. Take him all in all, his regularity and domestic virtues, genius, talent, acquirements, and knowledge, and he stands by himself."

We can only briefly direct attention to the beautiful letters of Sara Coleridge on mournful occasions after her husband's death, epochs of her life; when her mother died (1846); when Wordsworth's daughter, the friend of her girlhood, Dora Quillinan, died (1847); when her brother Hartley died (1849); and when the venerable Wordsworth died (1850).

Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's "*Life and Adventures of Alexandre Dumas*" is a lively and entertaining book, but the writer lacks the sympathetic touch which should connect the biographer with his subject. It may be asserted, perhaps, that had Mr. Fitzgerald shown more of the biographer's partiality he would have produced not only a more pleasing, but a more faithful picture. There seldom lived a man who could be more differently represented than Dumas, according to the spirit you judged him in. No man lent himself more easily to misconstruction. In the matter of the literary charges brought against him, we are inclined to reproach Mr. Fitzgerald with giving undue prominence to malicious statements that are refuted in great measure by their inherent improbability; and insinuating the meaner and more calcu-



lating motives for acts which came, more likely, of the impulses of a capricious nature. His authorities are often Dumas' open enemies or jealous rivals, while for many of his most amusing stories he is indebted to such inveterate gossips as M. de Veron and M. Villemessant. Nor can we see that he has any grounds whatever for casting doubts on Dumas' personal courage or on the sincerity of his filial affection, on the contrary, there is much to show that Dumas was both a brave man and a good son. In matters of business and money he was incorrigible. Yet with all his ambition and vanity he never did injustice to the fame of a rival, nor did he ever miss an opportunity of reaching a hand to rising talent. It was his lavish prodigalities to others that ruined him, for, large as his personal expenses were, they would never have sufficed to swamp his magnificent income. He often made himself sufficiently ridiculous. Yet there was something lovable in his frank outbursts of vanity, and, contrary to the habits of French wits generally, he never gratified his own feelings by hurting those of others.

While only a rising author, he entertained all the notorieties of Paris at a ball, where Delacroix, among other artists, painted the walls for the occasion, and where the orgy finished at nine in the morning with a waltz in costume in the public streets. When his fame was established, and, apparently, his fortune, the idea of a modest cottage at St. Germain developed into the Palace of Folly of "Monte Christo," fitted by the first upholsterers of Paris, and filled with the fruits of its master's shopping in all the bazaars of the East. No literary income could have stood such extravagancies; no brain could have met the draughts Dumas was always drawing. Everything he undertook for was mortgaged in advance; the advances that were rarely refused ran through his fingers like water.

The publication of a second memoir of "Clare, the Northamptonshire Peasant Poet," can only be of service by correcting the errors or supplying the deficiencies of the first. Mr. Cherry's narrative is of the simplest kind. In many particulars he differs from Mr. Martin, Clare's former biographer, and evidently considers that Clare's unhappy lot was rather due to the visitation of God than to the neglect or unkindness of men. The book is dedicated to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the writer alludes to the Earls Spencer as the steadfast and generous friends of the unhappy poet. Ten pounds a year was the sum, according to Mr. Martin, received from this source, and when the poet died the bounty was continued to the widow. Another of Clare's noble friends or patrons was Earl Fitzwilliam, who paid eleven shillings weekly for the poor fellow's maintenance at the Northampton Asylum; and Mr. Cherry utterly denies Mr. Martin's statement that when Clare died the Earl desired that he should have a pauper's funeral. "The Fitzwilliams," he writes, "have been kind and generous friends of Clare and his family for nearly fifty years, and it is not to be credited that any member of that house ever said anything of the kind." According to Mr. Martin, Lord Milton, the son of Earl Fitzwilliam, treated Clare with neglect until he became famous, and then sought to retrieve his blunder by giving him money, which caused him deep humiliation. Mr. Cherry, on the contrary, says nothing of the neglect or of the subsequent humiliation, but merely observes that the poet was graciously received at Milton Park by Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord and Lady Milton after he had dined with the servants, and "was dismissed with a very handsome present—an earnest of greater favours to come." Mr. Cherry defends also the conduct of the different noblemen who asked Clare to visit

them, and then sent him to dine with the servants, a fact which rouses Mr. Martin's indignation,—not altogether reasonably, we think, for the manners and habits of Clare at that time were those of a day-labourer. He was very shy, very awkward, and in the presence of ladies and gentlemen very miserable. To have invited him to luncheon with the family at Milton Park or Burghley would have been to torture him. Perhaps the strangest thing recorded in Clare's sad life is the fact that his wife never visited him during the twenty-two years of his isolation from the world, and that of his children the youngest one only ever paid his father a visit. "My friends forsake me like a memory lost," he exclaims pathetically in one of his "Asylum Poems."

Mr. Solly, in his "Memoir of David Cox," relates all the little there is to be told of the painter's personal history, interspersing that little with many extracts from his letters, which Cox, always a modest and quiet man, would never have dreamt of exhibiting to the British public. He was the son of a blacksmith in the suburbs of Birmingham, who had a good and sensible wife, to whose early care Cox owed that steadiness of conduct and religious feeling which lasted with him till the end of his long life. He was physically incapable of forging horse-shoes, and began his work as an apprentice to a maker of locketts and other characteristic Birmingham manufactures of the day. Then he took to scene-painting for a travelling company of actors, under the father of the tragedian Macready, but left them after awhile, by his mother's advice, who dreaded the effect of proverbial actors' "morals" on her young son. Then he went to London and had a few lessons from Varley, who quickly found out that he had nothing that he could teach him, and refused to take any more of his money. All this time Cox found it hard work to live, but he struggled on, selling his drawings for miserable payment. He married early, but his marriage proved happy, though the wife was the elder of the pair. She proved, also, a valuable critic of his painting, and he was never satisfied with anything with which she found fault. One day, long afterwards, Mr. Solly relates that he told her she was really too hard upon him, and that nobody criticized him so severely. "No," said his wife, "that is because nobody else ever tells you the whole truth." He had one son and one daughter. Many of the letters are addressed to the son and his wife, and, like every little anecdote in the book, give a pleasant picture of an affectionate, retiring, and high-principled man, happy in his art, but, we should guess, not overburdened with an excess of physical vigour and animal spirits. When he was thirty years old he became a member of the reconstructed Water-Colour Society, which then proposed to include oil pictures in their exhibition—a scheme which quickly came to nothing. How they managed in those days, when members were few, may be judged from the fact that in the first year after his election Cox exhibited no fewer than seventeen drawings. He soon gained in popularity, and, living in his quiet way, though by no means greedy of money, he saved considerably, for at his death his property had reached 12,000*l*. When he was nearly sixty he left London for Harborne, a village near Birmingham, and there he worked on till his death, at the age of seventy-six.

Cox's best pictures are representations not merely of actual scenery, but rather of the life of nature, as felt by a mind that loved that life as a life, and to which the forms of visible beauty suggested thoughts and emotions which he put upon paper with his colours, just as the poet, whose language is that



of words, sings his poetry to the world, while every one else can only utter prose, whether or not in the shape of formal verse.

"Life of Moscheles, with Selections from his Correspondence." By his Wife. Adapted from the original German by A. D. Coleridge.—Nearly all through his life Moscheles kept a careful diary of all things that interested him, both at home and on his various journeys. He wrote incessantly to his wife when he was away from her, and it was his wish that, after his death, she should publish such portions of these writings as she thought would be interesting as a record of the musical history of his day. During his lifetime she began the task, he himself making additions with his own hand. She has here fulfilled the task with much judgment and good taste, and the result is not merely a pleasant gossiping chronicle of the musical history of about sixty years, but also the picture of a personal and domestic life only too uncommon, not merely in the world of musicians, but in the world in general. Ignace Moscheles possessed pre-eminently the *mens sana in corpore sano*. He was born at Prague in 1794, and died only three years ago. He seems to have been a Jew by birth; but though nothing is said specifically about his change of creed, after a time he appears to be manifestly a Christian, as he writes about his church-going, and notably regrets that on a visit to Berlin he was only able to hear Schleiermacher preach once. His children also were all baptized, Mendelssohn being the godfather of the only son who survived. He was clearly a man of sincere conscientiousness and of a very cheerful and thankful disposition. "His faith failed not," his wife writes in the last sentence of her book, "when the hour of departure was at hand, and he died as he had lived, in peace, and in the fear and love of God." He early settled in London, and soon attained the highest position as a pianoforte player, teacher, and composer; at the same time, unlike "professors" in general, devoting himself to the promotion of the cultivation of music in its highest and most advanced forms. As a player he belonged to the school of Hummel, and was become old-fashioned long before he died. His style was brilliant and refined, rather than pathetic or grand, but it was sound and in good taste. His writings showed unquestionable talent, but no genius, and with a rare humility and acuteness, he judged them at their true value. Long before he grew old he writes, "Hitherto I have introduced my works to the public by the medium of my own pianoforte playing. Will the musical world, when I retire, continue to take interest in them?" Some of his contemporary anecdotes are interesting. A sketch of Rossini towards the end of the second volume presents the master of the pure Italian school in a somewhat new light. In 1864, Moscheles spent his holidays in Paris, and saw Rossini several times. It will surprise many persons to hear that the composers of whom Rossini spoke most enthusiastically were Palestrina and Marcello. Talking of the great German writers, he said, "I take Beethoven twice a week, Haydn four times, and Mozart every day. The ceiling of his handsomest room was covered with pictures illustrating scenes out of Palestrina's and Mozart's lives. He regretted his ignorance of English, and said that the poetry of Dante taught him more music than all his music-masters put together.

The Life of "Henry Fothergill Chorley," which is compiled by Mr. Hewlett, was neither a very eventful nor a very happy one. Yet it had its brighter aspects. The freedom he used in the exercise of his profession as an art critic procured him some enemies, and a good many hard words; but the

sincerity and readiness to perceive real excellence which were coupled with this freedom led in many instances to friendly relations, whose value infinitely outweighed all the resentment and abuse that had to be endured from pettier natures. We learn to know Mr. Chorley's work in literature and criticism in these volumes chiefly through the impression which it made on others when it was new. Several of the letters here printed, and those from correspondents of no small eminence, relate to it. Mr. Chorley's reputation as a critic was, indeed, too well established to need any additional testimony, and the merits of his work went far beyond the mere readiness which may carry a review article safely through the period of the current number. On the one hand, he was prompt in rendering honour to Hawthorne, to Mrs. Browning and her husband, and to M. Gounod, long before their names were known to the public as they now are; on the other hand, he had no respect for popular idols, and protested against the extravagance of Mr. Ruskin's dogmatism, when Mr. Ruskin's infallibility was still commonly believed in. As an original producer he was less successful with the world; neither his plays nor his novels ever fairly laid hold of the public taste; nevertheless the biographer has devoted ten pages to the analysis of a single play, and eight to that of a single novel, with a zeal which we cannot but think somewhat misplaced. A piece which failed to please on its appearance cannot be argued into fame. However, it is to be observed about these works that they did command the serious attention and approbation of such men as Dickens, Hawthorne, and Mr. Browning; the slight favour they met with in the market was probably due to technical imperfections, disguising their real worth except from the sympathetic insight of an artist. The original compositions of Mr. Chorley which were best received were his occasional verses and words to music. Some of his lines reprinted in this book are quite felicitous enough to deserve a place in some future English anthology.

The Princess Marie Lichtenstein, well known in London society as the adopted child of the last Lord Holland and his wife, has come forward as the historian of "Holland House;" a spot so connected with the classical and historical associations of English aristocratic life, that a fitter theme for rousing the curiosity and interest of literary circles could hardly be imagined.

In the preface the Princess has herself given us her own modest estimate of the work:—

"Proceeding with the work, and gaining a deeper insight into the subject of it, a conviction has increasingly grown upon me that I was rendering but little justice to my theme. More than once have I felt tempted to lay aside the work—not from idleness, but from a sense of unworthiness. But then, encouraged by the love I bear the old house, and also by the notion that *something* is better than *nothing*, I laboured on; and I now place the result tremulously before the public. From my friends I hopefully expect to receive indulgence.

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

\*

"May I not then be forgiven for having endeavoured to disinter some of the past, and to relate what I could gather of interest about the house in which I grew up under the care of her to whom I owe so much? In my endeavour, it is true, I have often fallen short, and perhaps oftener failed entirely. But I crave forgiveness still."

Where the motive is so natural, and the self-estimate so diffident, it is with

reluctance that one refuses to accord praise to a performance; yet, except in the matter of art, the Princess, it must be confessed, shows inadequate qualifications for the task she has undertaken. Her frequent residences in Italy, with her acquired parents, gave her an insight into painting and sculpture, which enabled her to draw up sufficiently well an unambitious catalogue of the art treasures of Holland House. The enterprise of the publishers, or the wealth of the authoress, has clothed the book in a splendid exterior; the paper and print are superfine, and the engravings and woodcuts exquisite. Had this been all, we should have been satisfied. But as an anecdote-teller the Princess must be pronounced unsatisfactory and meagre, and her meditations are not always to the point. Considering she was only twenty years old when she set about her work, these deficiencies indeed are not to be wondered at. The pity is she had not more able or more attentive advisers to supply them.

The most curious and interesting of the family MS. supplied for this book are the accounts of what passed between George III. and Lady Sarah Lennox in 1761, carefully composed by her brother-in-law, the first Lord Holland, and her son, Captain Henry Napier, R.N., writing apparently at her dictation. Contrary to the prevalent understanding and belief, the king made a distinct, deliberate proposal, which was distinctly, deliberately refused. The commencement of Lady Sarah's acquaintance with royalty is a striking exemplification of the manner in which a seemingly immaterial event in childhood may influence a life. Captain Napier writes,

"My grandfather, as I said, being about the Court, his children were often taken to walk in Kensington Gardens by their French or Swiss governess to see the royal family promenade, as they usually did, on the Broad Walk; the children could speak no English, and on one of these days of public procession, while the governess and my aunt, Lady Louisa Conolly, were quietly looking on, my mother, who was of a lively, volatile disposition, suddenly broke from the astonished Frenchwoman, and, bounding up to the king, exclaimed laughing, "*Comment vous portez-vous, Monsieur le Roi, vous avez une grande et belle maison ici, n'est-ce pas?*" Old George the Second was delighted at this *naïveté*, and, soon discovering who she was, desired that she should be brought very often to see him. . . . On one occasion, after a romp with my mother, he (the king) suddenly snatched her up in his arms, and, after depositing her in a large china jar, shut down the cover to prove her courage, but soon released her when he found that the only effect was to make her, with a merry voice, begin singing the French song of "*Malbruc*," with which he was quite delighted."

Her mother dying in 1751, she remained in Ireland under the charge of her eldest sister, Lady Kildare, afterwards Duchess of Leinster, till she was past thirteen, when she took up her abode with a younger sister, Lady Holland, at Holland House. On hearing of her return to the vicinity of his palace, the old king expressed a strong desire to see her; and on her entering the circle, a shy, timid girl, just ripening into womanhood, his Majesty, entirely oblivious of the lapse of years, began "to joke and play with her as if she were still a child of five years old." Finding his cajoleries met with blushes and confusion instead of the bold vivacity of the olden time, he loudly and rudely gave vent to his disappointment, exclaiming "Pooh! she is grown quite stupid." His grandson, the Heir Apparent, was very differently

affected by the embarrassed, almost weeping, young beauty. "He was then (writes Captain Napier) struck with admiration and pity, feelings that ripened into an attachment which, as I have been told, never left him, even in his most unsettled moments, until the day of his death."

Lord Holland and Captain Napier substantially agree in the main fact, the proposal, which is also mentioned as a rumour by Mr. George Grenville in his diary. It was made thus:—

"One evening, at a private Court ball, when Lady Sarah was absent, the king entered into conversation with Lady Susan Strangways, her cousin, and among other things asked her when she meant to leave town. 'I intend to remain for the coronation, sir.' He answered that it would be a fine sight, but was not yet to take place . . . *'but there will be no coronation until there is a Queen, and I think your friend is the fittest person for it; tell your friend so from me.'*

"'When my mother next saw him at Court,' Mr. Napier continues, 'he took her alone into a recess of one of the large windows, and said, "Has your friend told you of my conversation with her?" "Yes, sir." "And what do you think of it? Tell me, for my happiness depends on it!" "Nothing, sir," was my mother's reply; upon which he left her abruptly, exclaiming pettishly, "Nothing comes of nothing."'"

She relented a little on hearing of a warm display of sympathy and feeling on the part of her royal lover when she was severely hurt by a fall in riding; and, when the die was cast by his selection of a bride, she frankly admits a natural touch of feminine pique at his want of volition and constancy.

"'I shall take care,' she writes to Lady Susan, 'to show that I am not mortified to anybody; but if it is true that one can vex anybody with a reserved cold manner, he shall have it, I promise him. Now, as to what I think about it myself, excepting this little revenge I have almost forgiven him, luckily for me I did not love him, and only liked, nor did the title weigh anything with me. So little at least that my disappointment did not affect my spirits above one hour or two, I believe. I did not cry, I assure you, which I believe you will, as I know you were more set upon it than I was. The thing I am most angry at is looking so like a fool, as I shall, for having gone so often for nothing; but I don't much care. If he was to change his mind again (which can't be, though) and not give a very, very good reason for his conduct, I would not have him; for if he is so weak as to be governed by everybody I shall have but a bad time of it.'"

The incidents of the royal marriage, at which Lady Sarah appeared as bridesmaid, are well known; but we cannot quit the topic without expressing a regret that Captain Napier's manuscript has not been printed entire, without note or comment, at least in the appendix.

Lord Houghton's "Monographs, Personal and Social," was one of the bright and genial books of the summer season. The biographical sketches which it contains, all based on some degree of personal knowledge, are seven in number. One of them refers to Harriet, Lady Ashburton, a clever and remarkable woman, and the centre, a few years ago, of a distinguished literary group, in which Mr. Carlyle was a prominent figure. Her husband was Mr. William Bingham Baring, eldest son of the great merchant, Alexander Baring, whom Sir Robert Peel made Lord Ashburton. The Princess Lieven said of her conversation, "*Qu'il vaudrait bien s'abonner pour entendre causer*



*cette femme.*" But there were many, Lord Houghton says, to whom her ways of talk were not pleasing:—

"There were many estimable people to whom the electric transition from grave to gay was thoroughly distasteful; and there were others who, distanced in the race of thought and expression, went away with a senso of humiliation or little inclination to return. Many who would not have cared for a quiet defeat shrank from the merriment of her victory. I remember one of them saying, 'I do not mind being knocked down, but I can't stand being danced upon afterwards.' It was in truth a joyous sincerity that no conventionalities, high or low, could restrain—a festive nature flowering through the artificial soil of elevated life. There could be no better guarantee of these qualities than the constant friendship that existed between Lady Ashburton and Mr Carlyle—on her part one of filial respect and dutious admiration. The frequent presence of the great moralist of itself gave to the life of Bath House and the Grange a reality that made the most ordinary worldly component parts of it more human and worthy than elsewhere. The very contact of a conversation which was always bright, and never frivolous, brought out the best elements of individual character, reconciled former politicians with free men of letters, and men of pleasure with those that bear the burden of the day . . . Patronage was neither given nor taken: if the person suited the society, and showed by his contribution or his enjoyment that he did so, he might be quite sure of its continuance; otherwise he left it, without much notice taken on one side or the other. That this was not always so, an amusing passage between Mr. Thackeray and Lady Ashburton illustrates. Having been most kindly received, he took umbrage at some hard rallying, perhaps rather of others than of himself, and not only declined her invitations, but spoke of her with discourtesy and personal dislike. After some months, when the angry feeling on his part had time to die out, he received from her a card of invitation to dinner. He returned it, with an admirable drawing on the back, representing himself kneeling at her feet with his hair all aflame from the hot coals she was energetically pouring on his head out of an ornamental brazier. This act of contrition was followed by a complete reconciliation, and much friendship on her part towards him and his family."

The monograph of Walter Savage Landor is the longest and the best—

"And that deep-mouth'd Boeotian Savage Landor,  
Has taken for a swan rogue Southey's gander."

That "deep-mouth'd Boeotian" (who was anything but a Boeotian) was one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived—a perfect bundle of contradictions. Poetic and rude, refined and coarse, gentle and violent, hating and loving both aristocracy and democracy, revolutionary and conservative in a breath, one while expressing the most exalted admiration for human virtue, and then again exclaiming that to stand at the end of a crowded street made him burn with indignation at being a man. "The open advocacy of tyrannicide as a civic duty, the indiscriminating censure of public personages, the rage against men who had raised themselves to power as well as against those born to it, the apparent hatred of law as a restraint on will, would, without his writings, have confounded him with some of the wildest and wickedest of mankind." And so would his conduct in private life, much of which closely bordered on insanity, as when he shot at a Fellow of a College for closing a



window to exclude the noise of his wine parties, knocked down a barrister who insisted on cross-examining him, and, after challenging the English Secretary of Legation at Florence for whistling in the street when Mrs. Landor passed, formally complained to the Foreign Office of "the wretches it employed." "This was the author of the 'Imaginary Conversations,' who was esteemed by many high authorities in our own and in classical literature to be the greatest living master of the Latin and English tongues." The monograph conveys a complete and vivid impression of the writer and the man. We cannot accord an equal measure of praise to the memorial sketch of "The Berrys," which, although true and just in the main, wants freshness and novelty. Lord Houghton's recollections simply confirm what we knew already from the delightful "Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry," edited by Lady Theresa Lewis, or the reviews of that publication, and he has failed exactly where he might have been expected to succeed—namely, in giving correct versions of the anecdotes associated with their set. Thus, speaking of Lady Charlotte Lindsay: "When the question happened to be asked whether *Yes* or *No* was the more important word, '*No*, of course,' she said, 'for it often means *Yes*, but *Yes* never means *No*.'" Lady Charlotte used to relate that when Princess (afterwards Queen) Caroline first arrived in England, knowing not a word of English, a discussion arose what, if only one word could be taught her, should be that word. The decision was in favour of *No*, because *No* might be so pronounced as to mean *Yes*; and on one marked occasion, when she told the story, a gentleman present quoted as an illustration:—

"A little while she strove, and then repented,  
And, vowing she would ne'er consent, consented."

"Essays, Biographical and Critical," by A. Hayward, Q.C.—These essays are like nothing so much as good talk, only the pearls are necessarily strung close together, instead of being mixed with other stones. Now, talkers of the first order can only live in certain atmospheres. They are the product of circumstances as much as of nature. Intercourse with men must supply both the matter of their conversation and the occasions when this matter can be made available. It would be as reasonable to expect a great Parliamentary orator to do without the House of Commons as to expect a really clever talker to do without the audience, fewer indeed, but not less fit, which his purpose demands. In both cases there is something electrical passing between speaker and listeners. There is no longer the field for talk in this sense that there was a generation back. In more than one of these Essays Mr. Hayward dwells with a shade of regret on the change which has come over London since it was "bounded on the south by Pall-mall, on the north by Oxford-street, on the east by Regent-street, on the west by Park-lane." Even in Paris, the native home of the salon, though other causes have been at work also, the expansion of the city has helped to produce the same effect. In London this expansion has been much greater than in Paris, and it constitutes a material obstacle to constant intimacy, which may seem slight, but is serious. It is indicated in the description of the "pleasant little gatherings in Curzon-street" while the Berrys lived there, which Mr. Hayward quotes from Lady Theresa Lewis. "Sometimes a note, sometimes a word, and more often the lamp being lighted over the door, was taken as

notice to attend." But the value of the lighted lamp over the door depended on the regularity with which those who were intimate at the house passed through Curzon-street, and how can people who live in that new world which is growing up under the shadow of the Albert Hall be sure of finding themselves in Mayfair every evening? Society has become so large that everybody can no longer live within a stone's throw of everybody else. "There are now," says Mr. Hayward, "plenty of pleasant houses, with parties of all sorts and sizes, small and select as well as large and indiscriminate; cultivated men and women abound in every quarter." But the very fact that they abound in every quarter is fatal to their being concentrated in one, and concentration is essential to the kind of society of which we are speaking.

Each succeeding volume of Professor Masson's "Life of Milton" impresses us more deeply than its predecessor with admiration of his unwearied perseverance and wide and minute industry. Already fourteen years have passed since his first volume appeared, in 1859; *magna intervallo* came the second in 1871; the third comes more quickly upon us, it brings us down to 1649, to the execution of Charles the First, and the beginning of Milton's forty-first year. Professor Masson, in his original plan, contemplated three volumes in all, and we now have three of huge size. About twenty-six years more of Milton's life are yet to be told—the Commonwealth, the Protectorates, the Restoration, fourteen years of the reign of Charles the Second, are to be narrated with the same fulness. The six years recorded in the present volume were memorable years both in Milton's fortunes and in those of his country, and so careful an account of them is not to be found elsewhere. In the first book the earliest deeds of the Westminster Assembly are narrated; the machinations, for such they may be called, of the Scottish Commissioners; Milton's marriage and first divorce treatise. The second book contains, besides a vast amount of curious matter on the religious controversies of the time, and the struggle of Independency with Presbyterianism, an account of the battle of Marston Moor, of the acts of Cromwell at this period; of the new model of the army; and of the death of Laud. The biographical section of the book exhibits to us Milton among the sectaries, and gives a summary of his divorce treatises. In Book III. we have, among other important events, the Battle of Naseby, the episode of Montrose in Scotland, the conclusion of the Civil War, and the progress of the toleration controversy. Then follows in the biographical narrative an account of Milton's domestic life, of the publication of his poems, and of the troubles of the Powell family. Book IV, which concludes the volume, records, under the "History" heading, the captivity and last days of the King; and under "Biography" the deaths of Mr. Powell and of Milton's father, Milton's removal from Barbican to High Holborn, and his literary work during that period.

Mr. Drummond, in his "Life of Erasmus," has proposed to himself a definite plan, and carried it out consistently. Avoiding generalities and historical digressions, he has kept as close as possible to the correspondence and works of his hero. Nothing could be more proper than such a course; for Erasmus, if anything, was a writer. We cannot say, indeed, that Mr. Drummond makes a very skilful use of his materials, rich and abundant as they are, but he has nevertheless produced a valuable and interesting book. He understands his subject, having spared, it is evident, no pains to make himself acquainted with it; he sympathizes with the aims and feelings of his

hero, but does not conceive himself bound to play the part of an advocate; and he holds the balance with the most praiseworthy steadiness and impartiality whenever any controversy, theological or literary, demands his attention. If he does not attract readers by his literary power or the graphic disposition of his materials, he certainly does not offend them by the faults which often make biographies so disagreeable. Erasmus is continually permitted to speak for himself, Mr. Drummond interpreting him for the benefit of the non-learned into English that is sufficiently clear and idiomatic; and Erasmus speaking for himself can always command attention. And yet it must be allowed that a writer so acute, so ingenious, so elastic as the sage of Rotterdam, becomes inevitably an object of some suspicion when an endeavour is made to interpret his life and character by means of his letters. It may be said that his letters need rather to be interpreted by his life; he was too clever to be caught tripping in words, or to be safely taken at the estimate which he himself suggests. But, in the first place, Erasmus, as we have already observed, did very little except write; and, in the second place, his letters are so varied that they must exhibit most phases of his character. Their very number is some security against unfair selection and manipulation. Eighteen hundred of them are published, including some contributions of his correspondents, and he said that he sometimes wrote them at the rate of forty a day.

The "Two Queens," whose history Mr. Hepworth Dixon takes upon himself to narrate, are Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. To use his own inflated language, he set out with the intention "to group around the figures of two crowned and starless (*sic*) women the events of which they were the leading types and memorable victims," and he undertakes his work in the style of the grand-diffuse. The volumes that form the present instalment of his history bring us down no farther than the marriage of Catherine to Henry VIII. On the whole this book may be pronounced an improvement on some of Mr. Dixon's previous writings. In the last part of the second volume especially we come upon passages of soberness and good sense. And he deserves praise on another account, i. e. for the abundance of his references and the systematic manner in which they are arranged. His elaborate portraits of Henry VII. and Isabella of Castille have an air of verisimilitude, though they differ from the ordinary estimate.

In spite of an objectionable style and a good deal of matter that has no general interest, Mr. Tyerman in his account of the "Oxford Methodists" has condensed much information which will be serviceable to the student of the period. Had he used his materials with better taste and with more charity towards those from whom he differs, we might have had to thank him for his contribution to the knowledge of a remarkable man and of a religious controversy which, in some respects, is of vital interest still. The early Methodists discussed with zeal, and sometimes with acrimony, many a topic which is outside the range of modern theological discussion; but on other questions the Methodism of a century and a half ago was in close alliance with the Ritualism of the present day, and Mr. Tyerman is correct in saying that "the Oxford Methodists, up to the time of their general dispersion from that seat of learning, were all (excepting, perhaps, Whitefield) Church of England Ritualists." They fasted rigorously every Wednesday and Friday; they mixed water with the sacramental wine; they celebrated the Holy Communion every week; they observed saint days and holydays; and they enjoined

auricular confession. The five men whose biographies are here recorded were sincere and earnest, but stability was not one of their virtues, and, like almost all ardent controversialists, they were greatly lacking in charity. Moreover, they quarrelled among themselves or with their best friends. Clayton, for instance, was at one time in close friendship with the Wesleys, but differences of opinion produced estrangement, and Charles Wesley writes: "I stood close to Mr. Clayton in church (as all the week past), but not a look would he cast towards me." Ingham had his quarrels also with Wesley and with other friends. At one time he joined the Moravians; afterwards he seceded from them, and established a sort of sect of his own with several thousand followers; then he became a Sandemanian. Gambold, another Church of England clergyman, joined the Moravians, and told Wesley he was ashamed of his company. "Who but Count Zinzendorf," wrote Wesley several years afterwards, "could have separated such friends as we were?"

Before turning from biographies, we must mention a few more which came out late in the year, and from which we have not space to make extracts. The "Life of Bishop Patteson," by Charlotte Yonge, in two thick volumes, contains, perhaps in superabundance, the letters, journals, and other memorials of the noble-hearted missionary prelate whose tragic end was so deeply deplored.

The "Life of Lord Denman," by Sir Joseph Arnould, carries our minds to a legal career now of the historic past, and reproduces to our memory the character of as virtuous and honourable judge as ever sat on the English bench.

The "Memoirs of Archibald Constable," by his son, contain records of Scottish life and society in the classic times of Sir Walter Scott, and unfortunately do not add to the creditable fame of that great writer himself, in so far as concerns his dealings with the bookselling trade, in which he had suffered himself to be involved.

In the "Personal Recollections of Mrs. Somerville" we have a simple and interesting record of the most remarkable woman of science of this or perhaps any age; a philosopher as modest and feminine in her character as she was powerful in the grasp of her genius.

In his interesting volume on "Human Longevity, its Facts and its Fictions," Mr. Thoms, following in the steps of the late Mr. Dilke and Sir George Lewis, examines the nature of the evidence commonly relied upon in support of alleged centenarianism, points out the defects to which it is liable, and the tests to which it should be submitted, enforcing the propositions he advances by a detailed criticism of various particular cases of people who are said to have reached or exceeded their hundredth year, principally in recent times and within these islands. In the three notorious examples of Old Jenkins, Old Parr, and the old Countess of Desmond, Mr. Thoms shows conclusively that the ages of the first and second are attested by nothing better than their own assertion and vulgar report, while in the third case he has succeeded in establishing the fact that the Countess of Desmond who danced with Richard III. and the Countess of Desmond who petitioned James I were two countesses, and not one countess. The accumulated experience of assurance companies supplies only one, and of the Government offices only one, well-authenticated case of centenarianism. The industry of Mr. Thoms has brought two other cases to light, making the number of persons who



undoubtedly lived for a hundred years in this country just four—namely, Mrs. Williams, of Bridehead, 102; Mr. William Plank, of the Salters' Company, 100; Mr. Jacob William Luning, to whose representatives the Equitable Society paid the proceeds of a policy effected sixty-seven years before his death, when his age was stated to be thirty-six, 103; and Mrs. Catherine Duncombe Shafto, who, when she was nineteen, eighty-two years before her death, was selected as one of the Government nominees in the tontine of 1790. The five points usually relied on as proofs of centenarianism are classified by Mr. Thoms under five heads:—1. Baptismal certificates; 2. Tombstone inscriptions; 3. Number of descendants; 4. Early recollections; and 5. the statements of old people who remember the subject of inquiry to have been old when they were young. But baptismal certificates often afford no guarantee against mistaken identity, while the other sources of information are to the highest degree uncertain and vague. In cases where several of these elements of proof have concurred, Mr. Thoms has demonstrated their insufficiency. It is very likely, indeed, that the majority of his readers will think him a little too incredulous. It is needless to say that physiologists and naturalists have, as a rule, declined to fix any such limit to human life as Mr. Thoms would draw. Haller held that it might be stretched to 200 years, and much may be said for Buffon's argument that the "duration of life is regulated by duration of growth"—an argument which the French physiologist Fleurens uses to justify the limit of fivescore, if not sixscore years.

Mr. Timbs's "Doctors and Patients" is a gossiping compilation of anecdotes and statistics. The anecdotes are mostly old, and the statistics vague and untrustworthy. Still the book is amusing, and the world's interest in death and disease is too familiar not to procure it many readers. The following advice, quoted from an eminent physician, has its value:—"Dr. Anderson was often heard to say that clergymen, authors, teachers, and other men of reflective habits lose much health by losing sleep, and this because they carry their trains of thought to bed with them. In my earlier years I greatly injured myself by studying my sermons in bed. The best thing one can do is to take care of *the last half-hour before retiring*. Devotion being ended, something may be done to quiet the strings of the harp, which otherwise would go on to vibrate. Let me commend to you this maxim which I somewhere learnt from Dr. Watts, who says that in his boyhood he received it from the lips of Dr. John Owen, a very good pedigree for a maxim:—*Break the chain of thought at bedtime by something at once serious and agreeable*.

Mr. Timbs gives us the following anecdote as an instance of the effect produced on the vital powers by a doctor's confident assurance:—"He," the clergyman, "told me," the doctor, "the room was full of friends and neighbours, all telling her she could not last long; and, said he, 'I make no doubt she will not; she is sinking, because she thinks she is dying; yet I see no other reason why she should, and I could not get one to leave the room.' I entered, and my authority had a better effect. I turned all but one out of the room, and addressed the woman, who was apparently exhausted and speechless. I told her exactly what the surgeon had said, and that she would not die, but be restored to her husband and children. The woman positively started, raised herself in bed, and said, with an energy of which I did not think her capable, 'What, am I not dying? Shan't I die? No! Then, thank the



Lord, I shan't die.' I gave strict orders that none should be admitted, and the woman did recover, and has often thanked me for saving her life."

Among the subjects dealt with by Mr. Timbs are olden medicine, notable practitioners, magic and Saxon medicine, quacks and quackeries, barber-surgeons, Bantingism, care of the hair and beard, epidemics, dietetics, gout, drunkenness, anaesthetics, sleep, dreams, insanity, suicide, and death. Under the head of "Olden Medicine" and the sub-head of "Early Surgeons," we read that early in 1512 physicians and surgeons had to be approved of by the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Paul's, and that in that distant period—yet more advanced than is generally supposed—"females were everywhere to be met with practising the healing art."

Mr Charles Buxton's "Notes on Thought" called to the minds of many sorrowing friends, at the beginning of this year, the delightful converse of a gentleman widely known and much regretted in his, comparatively speaking, early death. The book, which was left nearly ready for publication, is introduced by a brief biographical sketch by Mr. Llewelyn Davies. Mr Davies has done his duty, as it seems to us, with admirable delicacy and skill. He has brought into full relief the estimable qualities of Mr. Buxton's character, without putting forward any untenable pretensions. Born in 1822, Mr. Buxton became a partner, on leaving College, in the great brewery of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, and Co. He wrote his father's life; he married the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Holland, and he was a member of the House of Commons from 1857 till his death in 1871. These are the main facts of a not very eventful, though a thoroughly honourable, life. He was a prosperous English gentleman, who met with as few trials as are generally encountered by a member of the favoured classes. Those who merely looked upon Mr. Buxton from the outside, who had only met him in the hunting-field or in the House of Commons, might easily have failed to understand how much genuine wisdom and intellectual power was concealed beneath a gentle and unobtrusive manner. He was one of the rare cases, as Mr. W. E. Forster observes, in which the gap left by a man's departure seems to be greater than the space which he filled when alive. The explanation is, in Mr. Forster's language, that he was "one of those the full measure of whose faculties was hardly available for himself, but was, as it were, a force in reserve to be used for others under the pressure of their wants, their sorrows, and their wrongs, and even their intellectual needs; for instance, his conversation was curiously helpful in its suggestiveness."

The book derives much of its interest from the unconscious indications of its author's character. It consists of a series of reflections, written down apparently as they presented themselves, on a variety of subjects, religious, social, or political. In all such books there are of course a good many comparative failures. Nobody could put together nearly seven hundred reflections on all manner of subjects without frequently sinking into platitude or becoming occasionally trifling. To describe so miscellaneous a collection is far from easy. From its nature, there is not much unity except that which is derived from the family likeness of the various thoughts. They all, as may be supposed, indicate a generous, observant, and contemplative mind, with occasionally an agreeable dash of humour. The speculation, though it frequently turns upon such awful subjects as the origin of evil, does not show

any great metaphysical acuteness, and the humour might perhaps be better described by the milder name of playfulness.

As a general rule, Mr. Buxton's remarks upon life are of an optimist, perhaps too optimist, tendency. Thus: "Every year more varied and intimate intercourse with my countrymen and countrywomen makes me more deeply sensible of the prodigious amount of goodness of head and heart amongst them." And again: "'Tis amazing to find out what hosts there are of delightful people." However, the optimism is never offensive, for it is accompanied by true tenderness and thoughtfulness, and occasionally counterbalanced by a shrewd hit at the foibles of various classes. We quote one reflection of moderate length, which is a favourable specimen of style and sentiment, though there are many equally good:—"It sometimes strikes me as the strangest thing in the world to hear this man or that spoken of with absolute contempt when, after all, *what* is this being who is thus set down at two minutes' notice? What a boundless ocean of thoughts and images has flowed through his mind since the day he was born! What millions of feelings have swayed his heart! What a vast variety of incidents have made up his career! What countless good traits there are in his nature! What a future lies before him! What a sphere of action around him! Is this infinite, complex, unutterable, inconceivable being to be sneered down because he is ill-dressed or has clumsy manners?"

In a work which is reproduced from chapters in "Blackwood's Magazine," the "True Reformer" aims at creating again his own past experiences in the form of a tale, and, whilst doing this, the brilliant visions of youth, which were once as present as the events of the life he shared in, have rushed in upon him and become woven into its threads. He becomes—as he may once have dreamed of becoming—the companion, the equal, the guide of the leaders of the land. And what so likely to bring these visions within the scope of reason as the supposed crisis abroad which would make the War Minister of the day the most important functionary we possessed, and the profoundest thinker on military matters the most fitting War Minister? And since to invent lay figures of politicians to fill this act of the drama would be as tedious a process as uninteresting, what more natural than that those who are now before the world should each bear their parts as in real life they would bear them if the crisis came? Be the foundation of the tale what it may, no one who studies it can wholly separate either of the three purposes from the rest. The author has contrived to write a story as remarkable for its pathos as for the fine natural touches of description and humour with which it abounds. He has grafted on these a series of political portraits, so true, so sharply sketched, and yet so pleasantly withal, that, as none can mistake the originals, so none should take offence at the introduction of their counterparts. Finally, he makes both story and sketches contribute to the development of a thorough and complete scheme of army reorganization which has but the single fault that it is altogether beyond and above our unpractical ways and our faltering legislation, unless it be granted that there might come such a crisis to be faced as the tale supposes.

Professor Cairnes has followed up the publication of his "Essays on Political Economy," by publishing a similar collection of "Political Essays." The present volume is no less remarkable for the qualities of clear statement, sound logic, and candid treatment of opponents, which were conspicuous in

its predecessor. Although some of the subjects treated by Professor Cairnes have lost their immediate interest, owing to political changes which have taken place since their appearance, none of them, with one exception, can be regarded as altogether obsolete. One, and by no means the least able, of the present articles is a lecture upon the American Revolution, in which Professor Cairnes maintains the doctrine that slavery was the only cause of the Civil War, and that the extension or limitation of slavery was the only point at issue between North and South. The abolition of slavery has removed this question from the sphere of politics to that of history; though, of course, many topics more or less directly connected with it are likely enough to come again before the world. Of Professor Cairnes's treatment of the subject we need only say that it is what might be expected from the author of the remarkable essay on the "Slave Power." That book was the most powerful defence of the doctrine of the Republican party which appeared in England during the war; and this essay is little more than a corollary from the propositions laid down in the larger treatise. A considerable part of the book is taken up by discussions on the social condition of Ireland, and on the questions connected with the Irish University system. On these topics Professor Cairnes has the advantage of intimate personal knowledge, and probably this, although we have not space to examine it, will be found to be the most permanently valuable part of his book.

A second series of "Historical Essays," by Mr. Edward Freeman, exhibits the usual force and learning of the writer. Those which deal with Roman history are especially good. The fulness of Mr. Freeman's knowledge, the activity of his understanding, and the manliness of his character, stand him in as good stead for criticism as for original handling of his subjects. He is one of the few habitual contributors to serious periodical literature who are thoroughly competent to criticize such men as Grote and Curtius and Mommsen. One of Mr. Freeman's characteristic merits is particularly valuable in essays that treat of Greek and Roman history; his perseverance, namely, in keeping before the reader's mind the close organic connexion between Greece and Rome on the one hand, and the life of Europe since the fall of the Empire on the other. He seems, indeed, to think this notion of the unity of history much more of a novelty than it really is, just as he thought the notion of the duration of the Holy Roman Empire a novelty to modern readers, though it stared us in the face in accepted text-books like Hallam, and in widely-read books of a more popular kind, like Carlyle's "Frederick." But though the idea of the unity of history has been really familiar as the alphabet to all well-read people since the days of Bossuet in France and Lessing in Germany, it is an idea which we cannot have too often pressed upon us or too diligently illustrated. And Mr. Freeman gives precision to a thought that is apt to taper off into an elegant vagueness. Besides this, he makes the past vivid by constant reference to modern counterparts or quasi-counterparts. The Achaian League, which is a shadow to so many people, acquires a sort of reality and intelligible significance when we are bidden to think of the federation of the Swiss cantons. As he says, "the highest side of history is its political side," and it is because his interest in politics is sincere and whole-hearted that he has acquired such firm grasp over the greater movements of the old States. If Mr. Freeman was less keen in caring about these modern events, to which he seems sometimes to make

superfluous reference, he would have been less keen in his exploration of past events. If he could only attain the same sort of sobriety and the same truly historical attitude when he refers to the men of the present, as when he refers to those of the past, we should have nothing but unmixed praise to bestow on him. This unhappily he does not always do. There is often rather too much of a personal element about his writing; there are references in notes, for instance, which had better have been omitted, to his own previous opinions or to comparatively trivial occurrences and feelings of the hour. We regret, too, the tone of asperity in which he sometimes allows himself to speak of others from whom he differs, who may very probably be wrong and deserve to be censured, yet hardly to be censured with so much iteration and so much vehemence. Mr. Freeman's view of the character of Alexander the Great is interesting, if not quite convincingly argued. He disputes Grote's view that Alexander was substantially a barbarian, and maintains that he was not only an extraordinary military genius (which is indeed beyond question), but also for most purposes really a Greek, with Greek interests and sympathies, regarding himself as the leader of united Hellas against the Persian Empire, the avenger of the invasions of Darius and Xerxes, and animated by the desire of spreading Greek ideas and Greek culture over the East.

"A History of the Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul in London."—Mr. William Longman tells us in his preface that this pretty volume owes its origin to the "increased interest which he took in the Cathedral, under the shadow of which he had spent a considerable portion of his life, when he became a member of the Committee for its completion." A great stimulus was given to the praiseworthy movement for appropriately adorning the majestic pile which crowns the highest hill in the City between Ludgate and the Tower by the National Thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, celebrated within its walls in the spring of 1872, and with a view to aid in that movement Mr. William Longman began to write on St. Paul's, with little intention of entering so deeply into architectural details; but writing is not unlike letting out of water—a man takes up his goose-quill, and cannot tell when he will lay it down. So it is that "St. Paul's" expanded under the pen of our author into a goodly volume, illustrated with six engravings on steel and nearly fifty woodcuts. The actual Cathedral—its genesis, construction, and future adornment—being very clearly the object for which Mr. Longman mainly writes, he rather sets himself to discourse pleasantly round the old church than systematically to work out the description of it in its architectural, monumental, and ritual character. With the help of Mr. Ferry's drawings, he has done much to restore Old St. Paul's, and to present it to his readers as the thing of beauty that it must have been in Catholic times, when, with its wall, cloister, chapter-house, and cross, it must have been the pride of all the citizens' eyes. But to the period of its bloom followed in the sixteenth century that of desecration and decay. At no time could it have been easy to keep such a vast pile in repair. In the middle of the sixteenth century, and probably long before that date, the progress of the doctrines of the Reformation slackened that religious ardour which found its vent in contributions for ecclesiastical objects.

Dr. Maurice Davies's works on "Orthodox London" and "Unorthodox London" are amusing, and not without historical interest. What would we



not give for an equally fair and graphic picture of the religious bill of fare furnished for the England of two or three centuries ago? Dr. Davies finds differences as great among the "orthodox" divines themselves as among some of the "orthodox" and those on the other side of the border. Among Ritualistic clergymen he gives prominence to "Father" Stanton, at St. Alban's, who, to prove how extremes meet, is a member of the Liberation Society. Mr. Stanton is not a rigid priest. "When he established the St. Alban's Club for Working Men, he allowed spirits and beer to be sold there, and did not prohibit the use of cards. 'I like my rubber of whist and night-cap; why should not they?' he asked. 'As long as they don't get drunk or gamble, where is the harm in a glass of grog or a game at cards?'" This genial Father was "interviewed" by Dr. Davies, who told him, after describing the numerous guilds, sisterhoods, &c., that at the mothers' meeting a titled lady once came in and said, "I suppose, Father Stanton, you read these women a chapter in the Bible while they are at work?" "Not so," he said; "I am at present reading 'Nicholas Nickleby,' and have just finished 'Adam Bede.'" Dr. Davies, attracted, perhaps, by Mr. Stanton, attended St. Alban's more than once, and was present at midnight mass on Christmas Eve, when he says he could not have formed an idea of the number of candles had he not seen the actual lighting up. "It took three gentlemen in puce cassocks a quarter of an hour by the clock to light the candles only, the gas being undertaken by another. On New Year's Eve he visited this church again, and heard a sermon from Father Stanton which he thinks would have been called "rant" in a Dissenting chapel. Among the "unorthodox" his range is vast. To adopt his own metaphor, he has wandered from the North Pole of Nonconformity to the most torrid regions of Romanism. He began his researches at South-place Chapel, Finsbury, where religionists of the destructive school rejoice in the wreck of opinions as a preliminary to clearing the ground, and are half inclined to canonize Voltaire. Before his labours were closed he found himself once more at Finsbury Circus, but in a spiritual atmosphere wholly unlike that in which Mr. Moncure D. Conway moves while directing the aspirations of "the chief Free Theistic Society in London." The Greek Church in London Wall, though a close neighbour to South-place Chapel, Finsbury, represents a form of belief and worship which throws Archbishop Manning, as he ministers at the Pro-Cathedral at Kensington, into the position of a modern and revolutionary innovator. Going still further up the stream of time and of ideas, Dr. Davies investigated the service of the Synagogue; and here too he was met by the same phenomenon that occurs in all religions which have life enough in themselves to bear varieties of development—the opposition between the school of tradition and that of reason. But he never found himself in a stranger place than when he was spending a Saturday afternoon with the Seventh-day Baptists in Goodman's-fields. These delightfully inconsistent people accept the New Testament, but prefer the Jewish Sabbath to the Lord's Day, and think that a fragment of the law remains unmoved, and for practical purposes unburied, though the whole current of Christian tradition has swept boldly over it ever since the Resurrection. In London they have a little chapel and a less congregation, buried in one of those quaint corners which sometimes, in great towns, imitate the solitude of the country. To make them still more anomalous, these advocates of the perpetual obligation of the



Fourth Commandment literally understood, while they are dying out in England, are a body of some small importance in America, and their minister, when Dr. Davies visited their retreat, was an aged man of antiquarian tastes, with much learning and a decided tendency to rationalism.

"Essays on the Rise and Progress of the Christian Religion in the West of Europe," by Earl Russell, attract attention from the circumstance of their authorship, but not from their originality or intrinsic merit. In themselves they are dry performances, far richer in quotation than in argument.

Earl Russell, with the simplicity and candour which are among his most favourable characteristics, gives in the preface to his essays a list of the works on which he has principally relied. First and foremost come Dean Milman's "History of Latin Christianity" and Jortin's "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History;" in another rank are Mr. Matthew Arnold's "St. Paul and Protestantism," Dr. Newman's "Grammar of Assent," Mr. Lecky's "History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe," and Dean Alford's "New Testament for English Readers." He has of course consulted other works; thus he quotes at some length Dr. Samuel Clarke as an authority on the Christian faith, observing at the same time, with a pleasing ingenuousness, that "his Arian heresies may as well be omitted." Gibbon is also referred to, and so is Bishop Butler, not to mention a variety of modern writers; and the Bible is used freely in a broad and uncritical spirit. But when these qualifications have been made, it will still appear that Earl Russell is quite right in placing Milman and Jortin at the head of his authorities, and giving a secondary but yet important place to Mr. Arnold, Dr. Newman, Mr. Lecky, and Dean Alford. The list of books is one which points to fearlessness and openness of mind on the part of the inquirer who uses them, rather than to thoroughness of research. Early in his essays he sees his way to asserting that the religion of Christ has three main foundations; the first foundation being, that God is a Spirit, the Maker of heaven and earth; the second, that Christ was sent from God, and revealed to men the message of God; and the third, that Christ died for mankind. The assertion of these three foundations is introduced with long quotations from the Gospels, in which, however, there is no peculiar relevancy to the form of Earl Russell's statement. The following passage shows the fair-mindedness of his religious appreciations:—

"With all her failings and with all her forgeries and all her impostures, the Roman Catholic Church has preserved the precept 'Faith, Hope, Love—these three, but the best of these is Love.' There is among Roman Catholics, in their relations to each other, a pure essence of affection which does not appear in the moral writings of Greece or Rome. . . . The Roman Catholics, who have never practised, or have relinquished the vices of an erring youth, are humble, loving, compassionate, abounding in good works; kind to all classes of their fellow-creatures; ever ready to say, 'Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner;' ready to give of their substance to the needy; ready to forgive their trespasses and to kneel in humble devotion to their Maker. On the other side, the Huguenots of France, the Reformers of Switzerland, the Lutherans of Germany, the Presbyterians of Scotland, while they assumed no merit for their good works, are often distinguished by a stern and consistent morality. Intolerant to all who will not tread their narrow paths, they

follow a standard of purity held aloft before them, which they keep steadily in sight. . . . Shaking off a slavish obedience to Pope and Prelate, to King and Dictator, they preserved for mankind the germ of free thought and the right of maintaining liberty for their family, their village, their town, their nation. Thus, amid the dominant Churches and the rebellious sectaries of modern times, there is, as in all human affairs, a web of the brightest virtues twined with the most odious vices. The pure river and the turbid stream flow on together, and he who follows their course must meet much that provokes his disgust, with much that excites his admiration."

Mr Pater, in his "Studies in the History of the Renaissance," observes:—"The word Renaissance is now generally used to denote not merely that revival of classical antiquity which took place in the fifteenth century, and to which the word was first applied, but a whole complex movement, of which that revival of classical antiquity was but one element or symptom. For us the Renaissance is the name of a many-sided but yet united movement, in which the love of the things of the intellect and the imagination for their own sake, the desire for a more liberal and comely way of conceiving life, make themselves felt, prompting those who experience this desire to seek first one and then another means of intellectual or imaginative enjoyment, and directing them not merely to the discovery of old and forgotten sources of this enjoyment, but to divine new sources of it, new experiences, new subjects for poetry, new forms of art."

Starting with this just and comprehensive view of what the Renaissance means, Mr Pater has gone over a wide field for episodes, both of art and literature, with which to illustrate it. He begins early, with one of the Provençal love-pieces, in which there makes itself heard the cry of human passion calling out for liberty, and in its ardour slighting alike the threats and promises of the Church. And he ends, late, with the new stage reached by the study of antiquity, or man's curiosity about the past, with Winckelmann in the middle of the last century—a stage where research and sympathy, scholarship and the artistic sense, for the first time threw clear light upon each other, and a vital knowledge of antiquity through its monuments began to emerge without impediment. Between those two remote points, between the Provençal poet and the German antiquarian, the writer takes the princely scholar Picus of Mirandula as a representative of what is more commonly called the Renaissance in its encyclopedic guess-work, and its ambition of finding harmony between conflicting theosophies. He takes the painter Botticelli and the sculptor Robbia as representatives of it in its introduction into fine art of an unfettered and intimate spirit of individuality. He takes Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci as leading representatives of it at its many-sided consummation, in order to define the impressions he has received from particular points in the genius of the two masters. He takes the poet Joachim Du Bellay as representative of it after its dissemination from Italy into other countries, and especially into France, where from the time of Lewis XII. to the time of Lewis XIII. it produced a growth of peculiar and fascinating brilliancy.

"Literature and Dogma," by Matthew Arnold.—Among the many gospels of the day, that given to us as an interpretation of Christianity by the Apostle of "sweetness and light" in culture, will not be the most devoid of attraction to the reader, though this more on account of its graceful style, and its

sympathetic genial tone, than because it tends really to meet the wants and questionings of human nature.

Mr. Arnold's book, according to its second title, is an essay towards the better apprehension of the Bible. He speaks of the Bible as a whole with much respect, and without showing the least inclination to sacrifice the Old to the New Testament. He tells us that we can as well imagine a man with a sense for sculpture not cultivating it by the help of the remains of Greek art, or a man with a sense for poetry not cultivating it by the help of Homer and Shakspeare, as a man with a sense for conduct not cultivating it by the help of the Bible. As long as the world lasts, all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have had the sense for righteousness most glowing and strongest. If men during some general convulsion of thought throw away the Bible, they will return to it for this simple reason, that they cannot do without it. And, as Mr. Arnold holds religion to have been given to the Jews in Old Testament times, he holds it to have been given anew by Christ. We are told that there is undoubtedly in the Old Testament the germ of Christianity, and that the incomparable greatness of the religion founded by Christ comes from his having developed it. If we inquire more precisely respecting the nature and contents of this development, Mr. Arnold has a formula in readiness. Jesus, he informs us, had a method, a secret, and an element. The method of Jesus is repentance, involving an appeal to conscience or consciousness, and a life-giving change of the inner man. The secret of Jesus turns on the idea of two lives, one life being connected with the lower and transient self, and the other being full of joy, endurance, and felicity in connexion with the higher and permanent self. As Repentance is the great word attaching to the method of Jesus, so the key-word of His secret is Peace—peace considered as the result of living to one's real and higher self, and dying to one's lower and apparent self.

Associated with both the method and the secret of Jesus is the element in which, in Jesus, both method and secret worked; the medium through which both the method and the secret were exhibited. The Greek name of this element is *epieikeia*, the English, mildness; and Mr. Arnold is careful to tell us that this total stamp of grace and truth, this exquisite conjunction and balance, in an element of mildness, of a method of inwardness perfectly handled and a self-renouncement perfectly kept, was found in Jesus alone. But traces of the forms of excellence which were once so thoroughly united may be seen scattered elsewhere, both among individuals and communities. Thus Protestantism, with its inwardness and sincerity, and its direct appeal to the individual conscience, may be considered as an effort of return to the "method," while Catholicism has laid hold on the "secret" of self-renouncement, and has strenuously, however blindly, employed it. Protestantism has the method of Jesus, with His secret too much left out of mind; Catholicism has His secret, with His method too much left out of mind; neither has His unerring balance, His intuition, His sweet reasonableness.

Mr. Arnold happens to live in an epoch when sceptical speculation is the fashion. Perhaps, if he had "flourished" at another period, among other influences, his refined and sensitive genius would have exhibited itself in a more dogmatic theology. As it is, he is prepared to defend the claims of culture and literature as determining man's inward law, not only against

theologians, but also against the advocates of physical science. But opinions and sentiments in our present era proceed at a rapid rate, and before long Mr. Arnold may find it difficult to answer when asked what he means by saying that spirit is influence; whether he holds mind to be a function of matter, or matter a function of mind; what reason he has for maintaining that "righteousness leadeth to life," or any similar formula, is a synthetical proposition conveying a moral truth, and not a physical statement in disguise, embodying a piece of pure utilitarianism.

Mr. Fitz-James Stephen, in an essay on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which appeared first in the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, combats the doctrines advanced by John Stuart Mill in his "Essay on Liberty." The general result of Mr. Stephen's inquiry into Liberty is that, according to circumstances, it may be good, or bad, or neutral. "Who is left at liberty to do what, and what is the restraint from which he is liberated?" If every man has a right to be on an equality with every other man, "you certainly give a very distinct sense of Equality and Fraternity, but you must absolutely exclude Liberty. Experience has proved that this is not merely a theoretical, but also a practical, difficulty. It is the standing and insuperable obstacle to all socialist schemes, and it explains their failure." Mr. Stephen thinks that Mr. Mill's estimate of average human nature is unduly low, and he wonders how "a man who thinks thus of his fellow-creatures can with any degree of consistency be the advocate of liberty in the sense of a negation of all government, and of equality in any sense at all. Given a herd of stupid fools who are never to be coerced, and who are to keep every one from rising above their own level, and what will you ever get to the end of time except a herd of stupid fools? Mankind upon this system would be like a set of what Strauss calls the Ur-Affen, or primeval apes of Mr. Darwin's theory, with just sense enough to defeat the principle of natural selection. Their one maxim would be to single out every ape who had got a few rudiments of human qualities in him, and, instead of making him their king, stone him to death." On the whole, Mr. Stephen concludes that "equality, like liberty, is a big name for a small thing." "What little can be truly said of equality is that, as a fact, human beings are not equal; that in their dealings with one another they ought to recognize real inequalities," &c. On the foundation of morals he observes, "Many persons in these days wish to retain the morality which they like after getting rid of the religion which they disbelieve." "Many persons in these days appear to me to think that they can reconcile the morals of Jesus Christ with the theology of Julius Cæsar by masquerading in the Pope's old clothes, and asking the world at large to take their word of honour that all is well." It is impossible, Mr. Stephen says, to define the limits of artificial sentiment and of organized imagination. If a great community had, under the influence of some powerful teacher, become convinced of the transcendent excellence of devotion to the service of humanity, every effort would be made to educate the next generation in a firm belief of the popular creed. The original enthusiasm might be maintained and propagated for a longer or shorter period, notwithstanding the absence of the personal motives which have operated in support of other religions. After a time sceptical inquirers would dispute the validity of the arbitrary dogma of universal benevolence; nor could they fail to arrive at the conclusion that the foundation of their faith was an amiable fiction. Eventually, however, to



the heretics who might claim the right of raising themselves above the common level, the dominant representatives of the religion of humanity would have to present the old alternative of fraternity or death. Equality and the affectionate relations which are supposed to accompany it can only be maintained by force. Liberty of thought permits disbelief in the religion of humanity, and liberty of action would imply possible rebellion against a system of fraternal equality.

Professor Huxley's "Critiques and Addresses" treat of School-boards and Science. In the latter department he is masterly. The formation of coal, for instance, has never perhaps been treated in a popular form and within so short a space with equal fulness and perspicuity. The successive steps by which the true nature of the vegetable constituents of our coal-seams has been made clear, and the process through which the deposit has been subsequently mineralized, are succinctly and lucidly set forth. So far from being referable to vegetable organisms of a former age, now extinct, it has been established that the saccular matter of which the greater part of bituminous coal is made up, as distinct from mineral charcoal, consists of the spores and sporangia or spore cases of lepidodendroid and other plants closely allied to the club mosses of our day, other parts of which have furnished the carbonized stems and the mineral charcoal, or have left their impression on the surfaces of the layer. Ordinary coal may in general, Professor Huxley believes, be demonstrated to be nothing more than saccular matter of this kind, which has undergone a certain amount of that alteration which, if continued, would convert it into anthracite. Depressions and elevations, many in number, must needs have taken place to have resulted in the alternate layers of coal and sandstone or shale, with the invariable under-clay, which mark the carboniferous formations. In some places the original forest bed of sigillariæ or lepidodendrons has sunk three or more miles to its present place of rest, leaving it doubtful whether it will ever repay the labour of man to draw forth its bottled sunbeams. In his calculation of the time over which these stupendous changes of the earth's crust and these rich deposits of vegetable wealth must have extended, we question whether he has taken proper account of the evidence yielded by the roots and stools or broken trunks of trees *in situ* common among our coal measures. These stumps retain in places a height of many feet above the level at which the deposit of leaves, spores, and sporangia must have begun. Exposed to the process of weathering, and preyed upon by parasite or insect life, could they have retained their present cylindrical form intact for anything like the immensity of time during which it has been held the accumulation of the surrounding bed must have been going on? Anything like a definite scheme of chronology must, as Professor Huxley allows, be in this case as much beyond the existing resources of science as in the case of the accumulation of coral reefs, on which subject he also gives us an interesting and valuable paper.

Dr. Tyndall has published the "Lectures on Light" which he delivered lately on the other side of the Atlantic. His exposition is a masterpiece of method and clearness. Starting in the first lecture from certain elementary phenomena, illustrated by a well-chosen and successful series of experiments, he makes it his object to point out how those theoretic principles by which phenomena are explained take root and flourish in the mind of man, tracing



the special stages of growth which have more emphatically marked the science of optics. We can hardly imagine a better exposition in simpler terms of the analysis of solar light and the composition of the spectrum than that in which Dr. Tyndall follows the great discovery of Newton to its more recent modifications in the hands of Young, Helmholtz, and Maxwell, reducing all differences of hue to the three primaries, red, green, and violet, curiously as this conclusion is shown to have been anticipated in the rare work of Christian Ernest Wünsch (Leipzig, 1792) which was brought recently by Sir Charles Wheatstone to the knowledge of the lecturer. The history of the emission theory, as evolved by Newton and retained so lately by Brewster, together with that of the wave theory due to the genius of Young and developed by Fresnel and Arago, harmonizing as it does with the phenomena of sound, will be appreciated by all whose notions of the subject are hazy or imperfect, or who have to clear up the ideas of others upon it. Though many portions of the series are of course more novel or original, yet none will be found more masterly or thorough. The last lecture is mainly given to the subject of spectrum analysis, with a sketch of its discovery, its application to solar and molecular physics, yielding, as it already has for practical results, new primary substances in the metals Rubidium, Cæsium, and Thallium. This attractive subject is further illustrated in the appendix by some extracts from Mr. Spottiswoode's recent discourse at the Royal Institution, setting forth the phenomena of polarized light by experiments with his large Nicol's prisms, in continuation of those of Foucault and Fizeau.

“Caliban, the Missing Link.”—Dr. Daniel Wilson, Professor of History and English Literature at University College, Toronto, having studied with some care the doctrine of evolution as taught by Mr. Darwin and his disciples, finds, as many have found before him, a gap in the chain which ought continuously to connect the highest with the lowest organization. Convinced that we must look elsewhere than in the kraal or lair of the Australian or Borneo savage if we would find that intermediate brute-man which, on any theory of evolution, must have actually existed in some early state of the world, Mr. Wilson fails to discover the “missing link” in the realm of reality. He wants a being superior to the very wisest ape in every reasoning power short of rationality, but inferior to the most anthropoid ape in those natural provisions for covering, defence, and subsistence which are the substitutes for the reasoning foresight and inherited knowledge on which the naked, defenceless savage relies. This being, not appearing in the realm of reality, Mr. Wilson discovers in the Caliban of Shakspeare, who, in company with the Caliban of Mr. Robert Browning, is carefully considered as a Monster, a Metaphysician, and a Theologian. But when his case is made out, Mr. Wilson virtually confesses that the title of his book is, after all, a misnomer. Shakspeare, he affirms, has supplied a link more consistent with any conceivable evolution of which the anthropomorpha are susceptible than any idea based on assumed stages of the lowest degradation of savage man. “But”—and here is the grand result—“the lines of evolution of the anthropoid and the savage, according to such ideal, are parallels. They may admit of endless development, but they will not coalesce.”

“When I compare the most wonderful evidence of canine intelligence with the every-day operations of the savage or the child, they seem to have such

an essential difference between them that I cannot conceive of the one changing with the other. They differ in kind; or, if not, the process is still wanting which shows them to be the same; and surely the enormous difference acknowledged on all hands is not to be dismissed as though it were the one missing link in an otherwise continuous chain. At best there seems in the highest animals but a scanty minimum of intellectual power, and no adequate initiative for anything bearing even a shadowy resemblance to the moral elements of humanity, out of which to evolve the being only 'a little lower than the angels.'"

In his work on "Australia and New Zealand," published at the beginning of the year, Mr. Trollope appears in the character of a politician and an economist. He gives us disquisitions upon colonial institutions, upon land laws, upon the effect of the gold discoveries, upon the labour question, upon the fate of the aborigines, upon railways, upon preserved meat, upon ecclesiastical arrangements, and upon a number of other questions of the gravest, and occasionally of the driest, character. On all these subjects Mr. Trollope has much that is interesting to say. But owing to the rapid, hand-to-mouth way in which his book is written, we find ourselves somewhat oppressed and confused in its perusal. In those "qualities that should accompany" a work of literature, its method, finish, and conciseness, these volumes are provokingly deficient. As Mr. Trollope, however, is too pleasant and too clever a writer to waste time in quarrelling with, we prefer to give some of the results of his observations in the Southern Hemisphere.

The point of most interest to Englishmen in every picture of colonial life is to ascertain how he would like to live that life himself. As regards the working man, at all events the agricultural working man, the question is soon settled. "Let the delver," says Mr. Trollope, "get to Queensland and he will at any rate have legs of mutton. . . . He is provided, as a matter of course, with rations—fourteen pounds of meat a week is the ordinary allowance for a labourer." If he can work hard, and is neither nice about his work nor slow in adapting himself to new work, a young man will find plenty of employment at good wages open to him. On the average Mr. Trollope reckons that, besides his food and usually a hut in which to cook, sleep, and eat, a labouring man will earn about 45*l.* a year. Out of this he will obviously be able to save money, and in Queensland money is very easily convertible into land. Even in Tasmania, the least prosperous of the Australian colonies, the labourer gets liberal rations, a cottage, and 30*l.* a year. Unfortunately the cases in which the labourer does save are not many. His life is very monotonous; for long periods together he has nothing to drink but tea; and the result is that when his wages are paid, as they usually are, in a cheque for what is to him a large sum, and one on which there are few urgent demands, he takes the cheque off to a tavern, and there stays till he has drunk it out. In spite of this, he may work well and steadily at other times, and in that case is never likely to find himself in a worse condition. On the other hand, he will be tempted to betake himself to an infinitely lower kind of life. There is a class of pastoral labourers with whom work is little more than a pretext. They go from station to station, getting food and a night's shelter from each squatter, and often doing nothing in return for it. In one establishment, the entertainment thus dispensed cost the owner 1000*l.* a year. If it were refused, or if any real task of work

were exacted in return for it, the squatter's sheep would be killed and his fences burnt. It is a miserable life that these vagrants lead, but it is an idle one, and so long as idleness does not involve hunger it has its attractive side. Still, if the labourer can resist the temptations to drink and vagabondage, he may certainly, Mr. Trollope says, save money enough in three years to set himself up as a landowner. There is an appreciable difference, in Mr. Trollope's opinion, between the Australian of Victoria and the Australian of New South Wales. The former belongs to a younger, a more prosperous, and a more energetic community, and he has approached proportionately nearer to the American type of character. This is very conspicuous in the women of all classes. Self-dependence, early intelligence, absence of reverence, contempt for weakness—even feminine weakness—indifference to the claims of age, these are the qualities which Mr. Trollope regards as typical in them.

The following is an amusing passage in the Trollopian vein:—"The subject of heat is one of extreme delicacy in Queensland, as indeed it is also in the other colonies. One does not allude to heat in a host's house any more than to a bad bottle of wine or an ill-cooked joint of meat. You may remark that it is very cool in your friend's verandah, your friend of the moment being present, and may hint that the whole of your absent friend's establishment is as hot as a furnace; but though you be constrained to keep your handkerchief to your brow, and hardly dare to walk to the garden gate, you must never complain of the heat then and there. You may call an inn hot, or a court-house, but not a gentleman's paddock or a lady's drawing-room; and you should never own to a mosquito. I once, unfortunately, stated to a Queensland gentleman that my coat had been bitten by cockroaches at his brother's house, which I had just left. 'You must have brought them with you then,' was the fraternal defence immediately set up. I was compelled at once to antedate the cockroaches to my previous resting-place, owned by a friend, not by a brother. 'It is possible,' said the squatter, 'but I think you must have had them with you longer than that.'"

Mr. Clements Markham, the Secretary of the Geographical Society, in his work entitled "The Threshold of the Unknown Region," puts forth in substance a manifesto on behalf of further Arctic exploration. In form, the book is a brief historical summary of what has been done by Arctic adventurers from the earliest times towards tracing out the ice frontier of the unknown Polar region. The facts are well arranged, and the narrative agreeably written. The tale itself is one of endless fascination, whether treating of Old Burrough, who started from Gravesend in 1556, and discovered the strait between Nova Zembla and the island of Vaigats; of the Dutchman Barents, who was frozen in with sixteen companions on Nova Zembla; of Henry Hudson, most daring discoverer, mysterious in his end; of Davis and Baffin—all these heroes of an early generation—or in later times, of that numerous band of hardy adventurers, some destined to come back to ease and honour, some to vanish leaving no trace behind, whose names are familiar in our ears. Of the scientific aims to be realized by further exploration, and the real extent of the dangers to be encountered, a full and judicious account will be found in this volume.

Captain Wells, in his "Gateway to the Polynia," shows himself an ardent advocate of the approach to the North Pole by way of Spitzbergen, in

opposition to that by Baffin's Bay and Smith's Sound, which is generally favoured by English voyagers and geographers, by Captain Sherard Osborn in particular. As one who has himself made acquaintance with that route, and who feels himself fortified by experience in facing the risks and uncertainties of new advances in the same direction, he is entitled to an attentive hearing for the arguments he has to propound on its behalf. Apart from this immediate object, his narrative of recent Arctic adventure has in it much to interest and instruct the ordinary reader. Without pretending to the fulness of matter or the artistic finish which made Mr. Hayes's volume so attractive, Captain Wells's book is straightforward and clear in style, securing our confidence by its unaffected simplicity and sterling sense. One of the most interesting facts recorded by Captain Wells is that of the cruise of a skipper, Nils Jonson, of Tromsö, in his little yacht of thirty tons, during the summer of last year. Micha Land, eastward of Spitzbergen and south of Gillis Land, instead of forming three islands, as laid down by Altmann, was found by Jonson to form one island 240 miles long, piled with driftwood and abounding with animals, the deer being the fattest he had ever seen. From a high mountain (latitude  $74^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $30^{\circ} 15'$  E.) the island was seen to be nearly bare of ice, showing one small glacier alone towards the South. The water to the South and East was free from ice, with a bright sky above. In this sea Captain Wells considers we have passed to the eastward of the great iceberg system, since bergs would be found drifting from the eastward if they were generated anywhere in that direction. No ice-bound coasts are therefore to be encountered in this quarter, no floating barriers exist whose frozen walls offer no portal for the Polar explorer. The flat ice that is found floating upon these waters will surely yield a passage to the steam-ship, and open a way to the mythical Polynia.

Mr. Tristram deserves great commendation for the zeal and thoroughness of his research in "The Land of Moab." The verification of the site of Machærus, the discovery of that of Zoar, and above all the exploration of Mashita, would suffice to raise this expedition above the level of similar journeys. On the eastern side of Jordan, and, above all, in Moab, the scenery is often on a scale which needs no enthusiasm to enjoy, while the remains of the past have an interest to the architect and the antiquary which can hardly be equalled elsewhere. He comes upon limestone knolls crowned with the ruins of a forsaken city, Greek, Herodian, Roman—in one memorable case Persian—here and there turned in later times into the fortress of the Crusader or the hold of the Arab chieftain, but for the most part abandoned and left to quiet decay ever since the Saracen wave rolled over them in the first years after the death of the Prophet. A ride of a few hours carries the traveller past buildings which would be notable anywhere, and which exercise a strange fascination as they stand silent in the Moabite waste. On the ride from Rabba Mr. Tristram traverses a Roman road with three Roman milestones prostrate beside it. In an hour's time he comes upon "a tolerably perfect little Roman temple," with its adytum still standing, and the pillars thrown down beside their bases. A few more miles bring him to the great temple of Kasr Rabba, its gigantic columns still lying shattered as the earthquake left them. Another ride leads through terrace-gardens walled by blocks of basalt to the Roman *débris* of Shihon,

with a vast view from its hill-top far away to Jerusalem and Mount Hor. There is hardly one of these ruins at which one is not tempted to stop and ask for a little digging and delving, but the interest of none of them equals that of the exquisite palace of Mashita, whose discovery would alone have made Mr. Tristram's excursion a very memorable one. Mr. Tristram has added a conjectural restoration of the ruins by Mr. Fergusson, which seems to us to be built upon a number of very loose guesses and hypotheses. But Mr. Fergusson's familiarity with the architecture of India gives a very different importance to his conclusion that in the palace of Mashita, which he believes to have been erected by Chosroes as a hunting-lodge during the few years before the reconquests of Heraclius in which he remained master of Syria and Asia Minor, we possess the only known link between the Roman architecture of the West and the great lines of Eastern buildings which are represented by the Jumna Musjid at Delhi.

Three enterprising Englishmen, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Forsyth, and Dr. Henderson, made an expedition in the year 1870 from "Lahore to Yarkand," of which Dr. Henderson, aided by Mr. Allan Hume, has this year published an account. The party started in the middle of May from Kashmir, and reached Yarkand on the 23rd of August. They remained only thirteen days in the city, and they returned to Ladak, as far as we can make out, some time in October. The accurate information acquired as to the climate, the fauna and flora, the aspect of the country, and the peculiarities of the inhabitants, is a sufficient justification of the expense incurred by Lord Mayo in sending a party across desolate passes, and into unknown regions, where more than one European had previously lost his life. In some respects there is something peculiarly seductive in the descriptions of the climate of some of those high lands over which Mr. Forsyth and his party travelled. Ladak, like Egypt, has little or no rainfall. The total yearly amount does not exceed four inches, and even snow, which falls to the extent of eight inches at a time, evaporates "without perceptibly liquefying." In the same tract the atmosphere is so clear that hills fifty miles distant appear to be within a short day's march. At a higher elevation animal flesh "desiccated" instead of putrefying, and it was the practice of travellers to leave horseflesh hanging by strips on the bushes, so as to serve as food for future caravans. On the other hand, in spite of the exhilarating clearness of the atmosphere, and the purity of the air, the travellers were exposed to occasional discomforts, and even to serious hardships. Floods came down, without any notice, from rains in the highest passes; severe winds blew all day in one direction and all night in another; the cold was so intense that the baggage animals thrust themselves into the sleeping-tents; and though water was generally wholesome and abundant, vegetation and fodder entirely failed. The eyes were blinded and the skin was taken off by a violent wind, which raised sulphate of magnesia in clouds, and writing ink froze on the top of the passes. At one place a quail and a species of rail were caught, completely exhausted, and the Tibetan porters appeared to be able to withstand the low temperature only by means of filthy sheepskins and incrustations of dirt. The conclusion would seem to be that, owing to the great height, the want of vegetation, and the violent winds, this lofty region, lying between the Pangong Lake and the descent to Sanjù, is not fitted for the permanent quarters of either man, beast, or bird.



Captain Colomb's "Slave-catching in the Indian Ocean" is both an entertaining book and a useful one, as furnishing trustworthy evidence concerning the Eastern Slave-trade. He was appointed to the command of the "Dryad" in 1868, with orders to take part in the suppression of that trade; orders so vaguely expressed, however, that if he was afraid of responsibility, he could not do his duty effectually; and if he did his duty effectually, he would very probably get into a scrape. He seems to have accepted his position in the best spirit, and, notwithstanding treaties and rules of international law, to have succeeded in inflicting a good deal of injury upon the slave-traders. Captain Colomb's operations resulted in the release of 175 slaves in the course of a month's cruising. His description of their manners and customs when on board is graphic, if not complimentary. According to him, they were little better than dumb animals; accepting their change of fate with stolid indifference, and not showing the smallest sign of surprise at the novel sight of a man-of-war, or of the ponderous engines working close beside them. It does not appear that the slaves captured by Captain Colomb were suffering from ill-treatment. In the case of the largest capture which he made he describes the rescued cargo as consisting of "plump, well fed, healthy-looking negroes." Occasionally indeed there is great suffering; and crews of famished skeletons may be found crammed into an insufficient space. Captain Colomb, however, seems to be of opinion that, as a rule, the slaves and their masters fare pretty much alike, and that the sufferings are due rather to the want of foresight characteristic of the Arabs in general than to any cruelty in the traders.

"Station Amusements," by Lady Barker, appears as a sequel to "Station Life in New Zealand," and, as the authoress tells us in the preface, it deals rather with the idle hours of a settler's life than with matters more practical. But, in truth, amusements and graver occupations mix themselves up so naturally there, that it is difficult to draw distinctions between the one and the other. Lady Barker has the happy knack of blending the gay and the serious, with a touch of genuine but unobtrusive sentiment here, and in another place a comical turn of a sentence or the choice of a humorous expression. But the gay and the cheerful predominate, and, in spite of herself and a thorough honesty of intention, we suspect she somewhat overcolours the charms of a station life. She is obliged to confess that the island is very deficient in what an English country gentleman understands by "amusements." The field sports are few and generally tame, although they often involve a great deal of labour and suffering. Her chapter on eel-fishing is as lively to read as the pursuit would seem to be dismal in reality. Pig-stalking had its local character too. Like most of the amusements, it combines business with pleasure. For an old sow with a litter of little ones will hang on the rear of a "mob" of sheep, on the look-out for the weakly lambs that may be left behind to fall easy victims. The actual mortality she causes may not be very great; but she keeps the mob on the move and prevents the sheep from fattening. Lady Barker assures us that an old New Zealand boar is to the full as wary as a Scotch red deer, as sharp of eye, and as keen of scent. It is no easy matter getting within range, and he is very hard to hit when feeding among the grey boulders that are almost the colour of his hide. Then, if merely wounded, he may take refuge in the almost impenetrable bush, and should you succeed in discovering his whereabouts by the help of

your dog and forcing your way to him, he is an exceedingly ugly customer at close quarters.

Mr. J. S. Shepard leads us "Over the Dovrefjelds" in a singularly pleasant book of travel. The tour is a very brief one. It carries us by lake, river, and mountain—Miösen, Logen, and Sneehatten—to Trondhjem, thence by fjord and many an islet to Molde, and so back again, through the Romsdal—which put on, for July, a provokingly wintry and forbidding aspect preventing the mountain journey to Bergen—to the Guldbrandsdal and Christiania. The defects of the book are, perhaps, a little tediousness about St. Olaf and Harald Harfager, and a little too much of the cathedral at Trondhjem. That is, these are the defects of Mr. Shepard's authorship, from which we can preserve ourself by judicious skipping. The defect of his compilership is the want of a map, and this is not so easily got over. We quote the following passage, as a picturesque description of the Norway Fjords:—"The rocks, forming their shores, generally rise perpendicularly, their summits, thousands of feet above, being often clothed in perpetual snow, while their bases are laved in well-nigh unfathomable waters. The main channel of the fiord rarely exceeds four or five miles in width, and that of the branch fiords from one to two, while here and there they contract to a mere rift in the rocks, like the Naero (narrow) Fiord, a tributary of the Sogne, which is barely 500 yards from shore to shore. There is something very peculiar and weird-like in the aspect of these fiords, their most striking feature being the almost utter absence of life, human or animal, throughout their extent. Save at the mouths of the mountain rivers that here and there run into them, scarce a habitation is to be seen, for so steep and sterile are the overhanging rocks, that hardly a goat can with difficulty keep its footing and snatch a precarious subsistence. Now and then a sail glimmers on the horizon, and the smoke of the little steamer, that at regular intervals carries all the advantages of civilization into these secluded inlets, darkens the blue sky; but these are rare occurrences, and days often pass away without the still waters being disturbed by even a fishing-boat."

"Santo Domingo, Past and Present: with a glance at Hayti."—Mr. Hazard, the author of this interesting work, is an American. He possesses not only a large knowledge of his subject, but understands how to turn his knowledge to the best account. He is an intelligent traveller, a competent historian, and a skilful artist alike with the pencil and the pen. Moreover, he appears to have spared no labour in the production of this volume, and combines the facts gained by the historical student with the results of his own observation as a traveller in the land. Mr. Hazard makes no pretension, he says, to be the historian of St. Domingo, but his clear and concise account of the island from the time when the first European set foot upon its shores, until the final departure of the Spaniards in 1865, will probably satisfy the curiosity of the general reader. It is a sad story enough, for it describes one of the loveliest and most productive islands in the world as suffering in different periods from superstition, treachery, religious intolerance, and the worst kind of slavery; so that instead of plenty we sometimes read of famine, instead of successful commerce, of continual bloodshed, while at the best the prosperity of the planters has been earned at the bitter cost of the slave. Mr. Hazard's glance at Hayti is melancholy. He considers the condition of this negro Republic to be utterly hopeless; but perhaps his

adventures on first landing at Cape Haytian sufficed to disgust him with the whole concern. The more he saw of the Haytians the less he liked them. Moreover, as the Government likes neither the Americans nor the Commissioners, the traveller, although not himself a Commissioner, found himself in uncomfortable quarters, and thwarted at every turn. "God forbid," he exclaims, "that the annexation of this part of the island should be thought of by us for one moment, even though Dominica become one of our States."

Mr. Gallenga and Mr. Goodman have both written descriptions of the island of Cuba, under the same somewhat sensational title, "The Pearl of the Antilles." Mr. Gallenga visited Cuba as an intelligent observer of political phenomena, and gives us a very clear account of the complex relations of the various races in the island, and of the difficulties which have led to the insurrection. Mr. Goodman, on the other hand, treats us to a purely picturesque account of Cuban life and manners. He has nothing, or next to nothing, to say about politics. The insurrection was accidentally the cause of his having to leave the island, but he tells us nothing of the evils by which it was provoked. He describes beggars, priests, planters, shopkeepers, slaves, and other varieties of the Cuban population, but he does not express any opinion as to their relations or the reforms which may be needed. He is utterly unstatistical, profoundly indifferent to political economy, and, for anything that appears, cares nothing for religious or political disputes.

"Walks in Florence," by Susan and Joanna Horner.—The two sisters who conduct the traveller in these pleasant "Walks" have made themselves by residence and reading familiar with the streets, the churches, and the galleries of that city of flowers. The work may be used as a trustworthy guide-book; throughout we find the most painstaking compilation from the best authorities. The comprehensive completeness is perhaps all that the public has a right to look for in a work which is of the nature of a handbook, and yet the general reader would have been glad if it had been compatible with the authors' plan to throw more life into the narrative and greater individuality into the criticisms. The accounts of the picture-galleries are careful and even critical, in proof of which may be quoted the well-considered verdicts passed upon works that have been for some time under controversy. Thus the genuineness of the "celebrated picture," "The Three Fates," by Michael Angelo, in the Pitti Palace, is properly called in question; in like manner doubt, at least as to the name, is thrown on the so-called portrait of the "Fornarina" in the Uffizii.

In her two volumes on "Old Court Life in France" Mrs. Elliot desires to "portray the substance and spirit of history, without affecting to maintain its form and dress." She sketches the Court life of France under different Sovereigns in a series of lively chapters written in a half-dramatic style, drawing the materials from that memoir-literature which has been a mine of wealth to Dumas, De Vigny, James, and a whole host of French and English novelists. Even from these inexhaustible memoirs it is hard now-a-days to extract anything that is new, and such stories as that of Cinq Mars, Lauzun, and La Vallière were already, one would think, worn threadbare. But Mrs. Elliot has done more than read the memoirs. To judge from her minute descriptions of buildings and furniture, she has herself visited the palaces and châteaux, or such of them as remain, in which are laid the various scenes of her historical novelettes; and her knowledge of the dress of the

different periods is curiously exact. She throws herself into the midst of each group of characters with great spirit, taking pains to work into her dialogue all recorded sayings of the different persons, and having in her own mind a vivid conception of their individuality. This conception is set before the reader in chapters largely composed of conversations between the heroes and heroines; and out of the multitude of historical personages dealt with we would pick the portraits of Gabrielle d'Estrées, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Richelieu, and Mazarin, as being those which are best executed. The men and women in "Old Court Life" have, indeed, always too much colour in them to be mere shadows; but Mrs. Elliot's painting is sometimes flat and thin, abundant in its representation of detail, yet lacking that heat and power of art needful to fuse the parts and parcels of a character into one living whole; and after all it may be doubted whether it can really answer any end either of amusement or instruction to reproduce the legends of royal vice and courtly scandal which form the burden of this book.

In the record of "Court and Social Life under Napoleon III.," by Mr. Whitehurst, lately the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, we find a record which would be ludicrous if we could forget the tragedy in which all this corruption and infatuation ended—an endless and monotonous round of masked balls, races, and scandal, with occasional duels and pigeon-shooting. There are the fancy costumes to describe as often as the carnival comes round, every year more extravagant than the last, and the carriages at the races and in the Champs Elysées in their due season, and there are truffles and champagne without stint—the latter very dry and curious—at the Imperial *bal intime*. What more can be required to make a people happy and prosperous? Now that we have witnessed the storm which wrecked the dynasty and overwhelmed France with ruin, it is curious to look back at the thickening signs of it as they blow up in Mr. Whitehurst's pages. For the first volume and a half it is all peace and the tranquil consciousness of strength; the Government can afford to listen to an occasional philippic from M. Thiers, backed as he is by his Opposition minority of a vote or two; gradually one grows aware that the Government becomes nervously sensible of an ugly ground-swell in popular feeling, and after the catastrophe of Mexico there are actual breakers to be heard and seen on the surface. The capital would be troublesome if it only dared. But the immediate cause of the final catastrophe was the cessation of that system of repression which had been more or less of a necessity all along. Permitting men like Raspail to agitate and attack authority in terms of unmeasured abuse was like tapping so many spirit casks in the midst of an excitable crowd. Giving free rein to unscrupulous satirists like Rochefort was to bring the Empire actually into hatred and contempt, and to turn all the laughter on the side of the Socialists and the Republican adventurers. Many a comfortable citizen must later on have repented at his leisure the pleasure he took in the fierce sarcasms and scurrilous personalities of Rochefort. Mr. Whitehurst's volumes may be said to come to a close appropriately enough with the *plébiscite*. We cannot say they have even the value the preface claims for them, of "*Mémoires à servir à*" the history of the Second Empire. They are fragmentary and superficial even for a style of literature that is dashed off hastily, as it is meant to be ephemeral; and they owe their chief attractions to a lamentable absence of good taste and delicacy.

In "French Home Life," a collection of sketches originally published in



*Blackwood's Magazine*, we have a series of admirable studies of French domestic life by an English observer, who has evidently lived domesticated among our neighbours. It leaves us with the impression that the French won his heart without convincing his judgment. He likes and admires their women; but while he finds much that is amiable and admirable in their men, and makes the very most of all that is attractive in them, he pronounces them lamentably deficient in the sterling qualities which make up a great nation. So far as that goes, it is little to the purpose that he demonstrates the almost universal existence of strong family affections, which unite relations in innumerable happy homes. But in demonstrating that point, he dissipates a variety of delusions which are too general in England, and it is to be hoped that his book will persuade us to take more charitable views of our friends across the Channel in enlightening us as to their real natures and actual habits.

"Colymbia" is one of the numerous literary echoes from the "Coming Race." The Colymbians—hence their name—do not live on the earth, like the Erewhonians, or under the earth, like the members of the Coming Race, but under the water. Colymbia is an aquarium, stocked with men and women. They are, as may be supposed from their domicile, a people of great scientific attainments. By a series of ingenious engineering works, they are enabled to provide themselves with a complete supply of air in the depths of the ocean. Natural selection has indeed provided them in the course of centuries with some faculties highly useful for life in a new medium. The preliminary difficulties once surmounted, there are manifest conveniences in life passed in a denser medium than the atmosphere. The uniformity of temperature makes clothes almost a superfluity; unrestrained by the bandages in which we envelope our limbs, the Colymbians have developed a physical type of singular perfection—a consummation which has been aided by certain social peculiarities which may be afterwards mentioned. The slightest effort enables them to rise and fall like fish, their weight being adjusted to the specific gravity of the sea by certain belts which may either be inflated or made heavy. The writer also informs us that it is as easy to stand on your head as on your feet in Colymbia, because the equable pressure of the water prevents a flow of blood to the head. The moral which the writer uses this whimsical means of inculcating is not very evident. He seems to fluctuate between different points of view. Sometimes, as in the description of the machinery by which a subaqueous life is rendered possible, and of the various sports in which the Colymbians delight, he is treating us to a mere play of fancy without any particular moral; sometimes the Colymbians appear to be introduced to rebuke our follies by their remarkably wise arrangements; and sometimes they caricature us by being even more absurd than we are ourselves.

To the same class of semi-satirical Utopian fictions belong "By-and-by," by Edward Maitland; and "Another World, or Fragments from the Star-City of Montalluyah," by Hermes, this last being a production of more merit than most of its fellows.

The lamented death of Lord Lytton this year gives more than ordinary interest to the appearance of his latest works before the public eye. Shortly after the event which told us that no more work was to be expected from that vigorous hand, the novel of "Kenelm Chillingly" was advertised. The post-



humorous work of one of the most able and popular of English writers of fiction was eagerly read, and at once its merits secured it favourable opinions. But in "Kenelm Chillingly," as in his other works, Lord Lytton shows himself to be not a man of creative genius. Quite as much as "The Caxtons" owes to "Tristram Shandy" does "Kenelm Chillingly" owe to "Wilhelm Meister." Borrowed though it is, however, it is yet a most skilful adaptation. It is not only in the broad fact that it is the history of a young man's apprenticeship that the resemblance lies. There are many minor incidents which pleasantly call to mind the most pleasant parts of "Wilhelm Meister." The two heroes are in most respects unlike enough, but the means taken to unfold the character of each are curiously alike. By far the best part of "Kenelm Chillingly" is the description contained in the first volume of his wanderings, knapsack on shoulder; but it calls to mind at once the admirable description of Wilhelm's tour. We also venture to say that there is more than an accidental coincidence between Kenelm's meeting the Wandering Minstrel and Wilhelm's meeting the stranger who looked like a country parson on the banks of rivers. The description of the scenery is so pretty that we must quote it:—"He had travelled for some hours, and the sun was beginning to slope towards a range of blue hills in the west, when he came to the margin of a fresh rivulet, overshadowed by feathery willows and the quivering leaves of silvery Italian poplars." The coincidence is scarcely accidental, for both these strangers have much the same influence on the heroes, turn up unexpectedly, and then are not seen again for a long time, while they are shrouded in a certain mystery which is kept up till close on the end. Had we space, we could point out other resemblances, which, however, only the readers of Goethe would enjoy, and which they will find out for themselves. They will be curious to see how like and yet how different are Mignon and Lily, though perhaps it is scarcely fair to the Englishman to place his imitation or adaptation side by side with the admirable creation of the great German poet. Great as are the merits of "Kenelm Chillingly," still great, also, are the faults. The first volume till close upon the end is so admirably done that the reader would not willingly see many passages omitted or many lines changed. But with the introduction of a village farrier, who, after a good beating from the hero, becomes, if still muscular, a muscular Christian, the book becomes most faulty. On the whole, the story is an odd mixture of really shrewd and able writing and the flimsiest sentimental philosophy. Much of it is really excellent, and then we are annoyed by the mere tinsel which is offered to us for genuine gold. Readers of Lord Lytton's novels are indeed familiar with this mixture. Those who believe in his claims to real genius will probably consider "Kenelm Chillingly" as a fair specimen of his powers, and perhaps improved by comparative freedom from some of his earlier extravagances. Others will see in it one more proof that careful workmanship and real talent cannot supply the place of higher qualities.

The other novel, not entirely a posthumous publication, yet mostly so, which struck mournfully on the public ear as the last utterance of the same noble author, was "The Parisians." The serial numbers of this novel were appearing anonymously in *Blackwood's Magazine* when Lord Lytton died. The veil that wrapped the authorship of "The Parisians" and of the "Coming Race" in the same mystery was then drawn aside. The chapters of "The Parisians" have since been collected in consecutive

volumes. The story is a powerful one, written in Lord Lytton's best style, and its reference to the events which have lately befallen France, and to their effect on the social life of its once brilliant capital, give it thrilling interest.

One of the most popular novels of the year has been Miss Thackeray's "Old Kensington." Those who know her other novels will hardly need to be told that the interest of this one does not lie mainly in the plot or the narrative. Of plot there is comparatively little. Few events of consequence happen, and even those minor incidents without which no tale can move seem to us introduced not so much because they determine the fate of the personages as for the sake of revealing their characters and modes of feeling. In Miss Thackeray's hands the events and their results on the outer life of the personages are almost swept out of sight and forgotten in the feeling with which the whole is suffused, and which gives us an interest in them altogether above the novel-reader's commonplace curiosity "to know how it all ended." In the dreamy, half-hopeful, half-regretful effect it produces, her book seems like a piece of plaintive music, which for its chords has the ever-varying lights and shadows of human feeling, and those colours of the sky and clouds which she brings before us as the background to every scene. The story is indeed exquisitely tender and harmonious; but along with its dreaminess there is a curiously keen power of observation, and of throwing out striking reflections upon character and society. We make no attempt here to give the story, but we subjoin a few of those detached reflections in which Miss Thackeray's refinement and sympathetic delicacy of observation are shown in so striking a manner:—

"A great many people seem to miss their vocations because their bodies do not happen to fit their souls. This is one of the advantages of middle age. People have got used to their bodies and to their faults; they know how to use them, to spare them, and they do not expect too much."

"'How funny to see so many books!' said Zoe, who was a very stupid girl (clever people generally make the same remarks as stupid ones, only they are in different words)."

"Let us do justice to the reluctant prayers that people offer up. They are not the less true because they are half-hearted, and because those who pray would sometimes gladly be spared an answer to their petitions."

"'God bless you,' he said, deserting his post with a prayer, as people do sometimes."

"She had but little experience, and coldness of heart comes more often from ignorance than from want of kindness or will to sympathize. Sometimes the fire of adversity warms a cold heart, and then the story is not all sorrowful. The saddest story is that of some ice-bound souls whom the very fires of adversity cannot reach."

"Thoughts seem occasionally to have a life of their own—a life independent—sometimes they are even stronger than the thinkers, and draw them relentlessly along. They seize hold of outward circumstances with their strong grip. How strangely a dominant thought sometimes runs through a whole epoch of life!"

"It was a dinner-party just like any other. They are pretty festivals on the whole, though we affect to decry them. . . . It is fortunate, perhaps, that other people are not silent always because we are sad. With all its

objections—I have read this in some other book—there is a bracing atmosphere in society, a Spartan-like determination to leave cares at home, and to try to forget all the ills and woes and rubs to which we are subject, and to think only of the present and the neighbours fate has assigned for the time. Little by little Dolly felt happier and more reassured. Where everything was so commonplace and unquestioning, it seemed as if tragedy could not exist. Comedy seems much more real at times than tragedy. Three or four tragedies befall us in the course of our existence, and a hundred daily comedies pass before our eyes.”

“Helpless as Philippa was, her helplessness always leant in the direction in which she wished to go, and in some mysterious fashion she seemed to get on as well as other stronger people. Some young officer in a complimentary copy of verses had once likened her to a lily. If so, it was a water-lily that she resembled most, with its beautiful pale head drifting on the water, while underneath was a long, limp, straggling stalk, firmly rooted. Only those who had tried to influence her knew of its existence.”

“The Wooing o’t,” by Mrs. Alexander, and the “Princess of Thule,” by William Black, may be mentioned as among the most attractive novels of the year.

Dr. Hayman’s edition of the *Odyssey* is a volume of high intrinsic value as a textual and illustrative commentary, with a preface so logical, elaborate, and exhaustive as to be calculated to give a quietus (if commentators can see when they are beaten) to the modern “craze” that Homer represents a comparatively late poet, coeval, it is averred, with Herodotus and Antimachus. Dr. Hayman has conferred a weighty obligation on those who have a leaning towards reasonable probability and old beliefs by coming to the front, like one of Homer’s heroes, to meet exorbitant demands with a lance of sharpness and precision. We are much mistaken if in England, as already in Germany, a reaction to the old faith in an embodied father of poetry, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, is not destined to follow from the skilful array of arguments with which, in the pages of his learned preface, he has weighed *seriatim* the windy postulates of Mr. Paley and his followers.

We have a new translator of Sophocles in Professor Lewis Campbell, whose rendering of the *Antigone*, *Electra*, and *Dejanira*, exhibits great merit.

Miss Swanwick also has put forth a revised edition of her Oresteian Trilogy, accompanied by a version of the remaining plays of Æschylus—a work which must rank very highly among standard translations, and which, as a specimen of female culture in the nineteenth century, is in every way remarkable.

## ART.

THE Exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House was open for the fourth year, and no indication was apparent of any exhaustion of the Art treasures of the country. In some respects this year’s display surpassed those of earlier occasions. For example, the finest Holbein yet seen in Burlington House is

undoubtedly "The Two Ambassadors;" and a most important picture of the Præ-Raffaellite period is "The Assumption of Our Lady," by Sandro Botticelli. This year's Exhibition, too, was fortified by several new contributors. The Duke of Hamilton's eleven pictures had scarcely been seen before. The Earl of Radnor sent nineteen works, several of which are of the highest value. Further novelty was gained by the admission of 125 water-colour drawings, and by an effective assemblage of statues in the Octagon Gallery, among which was conspicuous a coloured "Hebe," by the late John Gibson. Deceased painters of the English school, among whom stand prominent Reynolds and Turner, again took their place with infinite credit among the great masters assembled from all times and countries.

The early masters of Italy this year made but a scanty show. We may quote as an interesting curiosity the "Virgin and Child with Angels," bearing as a monogram a fly, corresponding with the supposed name of the artist, Mosca. The first half of the sixteenth century, however, to which this artist belongs, is too late for the style of the little work now exhibited. The manner is severe and detailed, the technique thin and dry as a tempera picture on panel.

The gem of the collection is Raffaele's "Agony in the Garden." There are pictures more striking in effect, more grand and original in conception, and there are canvases or panels ten, nay twenty, times the size; but this little work is in its sphere faultless—it may truly be called a gem because of its purity, its lustre, its perfection.

Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough represent finely the English school of portrait-painting. It may truly be said that these great painters form a triad which has never been equalled at home or abroad since the time when Vandyke, Rubens, and Velasquez were contemporaries. "The Countess of Warwick and her Children," included among "National Portraits," in 1868, exemplifies Romney's merits and defects; the colour is more than usually silvery, the reds are not so obnoxious as often, the white satin rivals the sheeny dresses of Terbourg, and no one will forget the beseeching gaze of the little girl looking lovingly into her mother's face. This happy attitude the artist repeats in another graceful composition, "The Countess of Albemarle." Reynolds, too, reflects the same thought in a group emulous of Romney's grace—the family portrait of "Mrs. Powis and her Daughter." Romney fell into routine; it is no wonder that his effects are conventional, and his execution hasty and slight, when we remember that in his prosperity he painted on an average at least one portrait a day. And yet "Mrs. Drummond Smith" is beyond the reach of criticism. Pearly greys and blushing pinks delicately blend; and a wondrous hat, large as an umbrella, is so managed as to enhance the charm. Gainsborough, compared with Romney, was the child of nature—simple, true, and honest. His art, too, was the growth of our English soil. Gainsborough's landscapes were not less famous than his portraits. How sensitive an eye he had for nature, when simple and unadorned, may be seen in a "Landscape with Cattle." Neither Crome, Cotman, nor Cuyp was ever more warm and liquid in sunset glow. Burlington House contains several noteworthy examples of the distinctive ways in which landscape was made to bear upon portraiture by the three great portrait-painters of the period.

In the Venetian school Titian again was pre-eminent. His picture of

"The Cornaro Family" is a spacious panorama, brilliant as a sunny day, dramatic as a group of richly-robed senators on the stage. It would not be quite correct to say that the canvas has been covered carelessly or coarsely, and yet throughout the handling is rapid and broad almost to a fault: indeed, some have surmised, though only on slight internal evidence, that Tintoret may have knocked in certain dashing passages.

Of historic importance are the two portraits by Velasquez, of the first and second wives of Philip IV. The first scarcely bears out, perhaps, the words of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell:—"The beautiful Queen Isabella de Bourbon—Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry IV. and sister of our Henrietta Maria—the first wife of Philip IV., was the star of the Court, and the loveliest subject of the pencil of Velasquez." And the exhaustive Catalogue to the "Annals" makes no mention of the picture now exhibited; it possibly is a replica. Mariana of Austria, the second queen of Philip IV.—the subject of the other portrait—which was formerly in the royal palace at Madrid; it subsequently fell into the possession of General Meade, at whose sale in London, in 1847, it was purchased for thirteen guineas—another proof of how vastly prices have changed within the last quarter of a century. From the collection of the Earl of Radnor come two noble figures which again show Velasquez the greatest of portrait-painters.

Some interesting Spanish pictures come from the collection of the late Mr. Richard Ford, the well-known author of the "Handbook of Spain."

The Royal Academy this year has been pronounced by competent criticism to be decidedly below the average of merit in its paintings, and about the average in its sculpture. There was scarcely a picture calculated to take the public by surprise—scarcely any instance of an artist having signally surpassed his former achievements. Nevertheless, the number of meritorious works calling for notice has seldom been greater than it was this year; and that because, though leading artists may be in decadence, there is a vast abundance of working talent afloat.

Sir F. Grant occupied the post of honour with his equestrian portraits of the Earl and Countess of Coventry. But such subjects are hopeless save in the hands of a Rubens, Vandyke, or Titian. Also conspicuous is another large equestrian portrait, "A Sketch of Her Majesty the Queen," by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. It may be a question whether a work very far from completion should not have been withheld altogether. The portrait of "Mrs. Bischoffsheim," by Millais, is in its way triumphant. Among many masterly portraits of the year by this artist and others, none is so defiant in bravura of brush and daring concatenation of colour. But Mr. Millais has contracted a mannerism of which, we fear, he can scarcely fail in the end to become the slave.

The largest picture of the year is dedicated by Mr. Poynter, A.R.A., to the "Dragon of Wantley," whose legend has been set forth at length in the "Percy Reliques." Mr. Poynter is understood to be engaged on four bulky dragon pictures, of which this is only the second; the story of "Perseus and Andromeda" having last year furnished him with an introduction to the series. In the present instance the spectator may imagine himself near a Yorkshire village called Wantley, within a mile of the seat of the late Mr. Wortley Montagu. The spot chosen is a wooded and rocky headland which overlooks a wide sweep of hill and dale, a line of country common to York-



shire. As we stand before the picture it would appear that the painter has been careful to reproduce the actual scene associated with the song, and assuredly no locality could be better suited to his purpose. Grandly conceived are the tree trunks which assume tragic contortions as if in response to the dragon's writhings; and the dragon himself, described in the poem as of "furious wings," "long claws," and "jaws of four-and-forty teeth of iron," rises to the nobility which distinguishes the higher order of dragons from the meaner and more extravagant of the species. "More of More Hall," the "peerless knight of these woods," is seen with arm and sword raised ready to give the final thrust. The drama sustains its action well, the drawing is firm and true. Perhaps to the general public the style may still seem rather dry and hard; yet the grand treatment of the lines, and the solemnity of the colours, show that Mr. Poynter in his eclecticism has not excluded Titian from his studies.

Mr. E. M. Ward, R.A., has a powerful composition, "The Eve of St. Bartholomew." Admiral Coligny, after the attempt to assassinate him before the massacre, is visited in bed by the King, Catherine de Medici, and the Duke of Anjou. The situation is striking, and the figures have a dignity befitting historic art; yet they would appear to more advantage if less heavy and dark; the colours, too, might be improved by the presence of quiet and retiring greys in the place of hot pigments. But the artist has evidently been ready to sacrifice much to manly strength. Mrs. E. M. Ward finds a congenial theme for her dexterous pencil in the "marvellous boy" Chatterton. The story is pleasantly told, and the picture capitally painted, especially in its realistic details. Indeed, the artist has been so careful of local circumstances that the work may be accepted almost as an historic record.

One of the most artistic and pleasing pictures of the year is "Subsiding of the Nile" by Mr. Goodall, R.A. This artist has in seasons past made us familiar with the ancient monuments and the modern inhabitants of Egypt, but never do we remember from the same easel a picture so lovely and impressive for scale and distance, for silvery haze in atmosphere, and for the silence which reigns habitually in the Desert. The spirit of tranquil beauty rests on this canvas. Notice must of necessity be taken of the noble group, "After the Expulsion," by Mr. Elmore, R.A. To paint Eve is always to encounter no ordinary difficulties, but the triumph has been complete; the treatment is refined, the form is instinct with beauty.

Landscape has this year assumed a prominence and importance quite without precedents in the practice of the Academy; and the present Exhibition, like its immediate predecessors, proclaims that the vast majority of our English painters have pledged themselves to the prevailing school of naturalism. It is but too evident, nevertheless, that our artists are not agreed as to what nature really is. Thus Mr. Hodgson, A.R.A., Mr. Marks, A.R.A., Mr. Hook, R.A., Mr. Faed, R.A., and Mr. Eyre-Crowe, severally study nature as closely as they can, and yet the works they exhibit are as widely dissimilar as if they were guided by opposite principles. This divergence of styles is avowedly caused by the varied complexions of individual minds; not only do tastes differ, but eyes see diversely, and thus no picture can be what nature is, but only what nature seems. In short, all critics now receive as an axiom that every work of art is the union of outward

nature with inward thought. It is also obvious that the varieties of tastes affect the choice as much as the treatment of a subject; thus, among the above-named artists, Mr Hook chooses a fisher-boy, Mr. Faed a Highland lassie, Mr. Marks an ornithologist, Mr Hodgson an Arab.

Mr. Hook, in a scene from "The Shetlands," wherein children on a rocky cliff overhanging the sea rob the nests of enraged birds hovering in the air above, tells us once more that art is endless and nature inexhaustible. It is no easy matter to combine into unison figures and birds on this scale with a landscape which in its outline and aerial perspective would remain perfect even were its living inhabitants taken away. In such a composition, as in others which we would gladly mention did space permit, the public may be taught to recognize the immutable relation between nature and art; the true painter knows how to subject nature to the conditions of art, a process which the so-called Præ-Raffaellites of the last decade ignored. We are glad to be able to add that the present Exhibition makes known the final extinction of that pretentious and mistaken school.

Mr. Poole, R.A., is Poussinesque; "A Lion in the Path" presents an imposing composition of rocks, trees, and figure, deep in shadow, solemn in colour, grandly negligent of minor details which might militate against breadth and power. The manner intrudes as a not unwelcome anachronism into the midst of our modern art; it is as shadow falling among sunshine, or as tragedy darkening the light-hearted joy of life. We may here remark that this dramatic interpretation of nature belongs all but exclusively to figure-painters; thus it dates back to the times of Titian, Nicolas Poussin, and Salvator Rosa. There are yet others of our landscape-painters, who, though too naturalistic to fall under the influence of historic styles, come to nature with preconceived ideas of what is essential to grandeur of motive. Mr. Peter Graham almost impersonates the elements when, under the title of "Wind," he throws a storm across a pine forest, fills a wild sky with gusty rain, and makes the swollen torrent tear headlong over its rocky bed.

Some landscape-painters strive how much they can leave out; others, on the contrary, study how much they can put in. Mr. Vicat Cole, A.R.A., the only exclusively landscape-painter within the pale of the Academy, has endeavoured this year as heretofore to throw into "Hay-time" the fulness of "fresh verdure," the pretty fancy of "unnumbered flowers." He at the same time reconciles a detail which is perplexing and even trivial in the foreground with a sweep of wide-stretching woodland in the distance; there has seldom been seen a picture of more acreage, from grassy meadow to the distance of blue hills on the verge of the horizon the range is amazing, while scope and altitude are given to the cloudy canopy of sky. And yet the picture has less of the spontaneity of genius than of the dull deadness of taskwork, the painter's execution has become muzzy and uncertain.

Sir Robert Collier deserves to be named as an amateur and something more; "Morning Light in a Swiss Valley" is marked by a detail and thoroughness denied to other public men who take to art as a pastime. Mr. Cooke, R.A., is an example of how far it is possible for an artist with little imagination or emotion to reach the true aspects of nature simply by means of a shrewd intellect. "Steeple Rock (of Serpentine), Kynance Cove, Cornwall," is one of the very few studies which satisfy the scientific mind. The fractures in the stone, and the play of yellows and reds into greys,

approach to the literal transcript of a diagram. And yet we here come upon the impassable barriers which divide science from art. The work, judged by art standards, is hard, mechanical, and colourless; it is photographic and little more—yet perfect of its kind. In such facsimile portraiture of angular rocks the artist gives as it were the anatomy, the backbone, of nature; landscape art is thus absolutely denuded.

Cattle, sheep, and goats have of late years in English art been growing wooden and Dutch-built; indeed, the Academy boasts a show of animals in what may be termed the Noah's Ark style. We need only refer to the bovine productions of Mr. Cooper, R.A., and of Mr. Ansdell, R.A., in proof of the inevitable fate of artists who for half a century paint carcasses and skins, and little more. In contrast Mr. Davis, the newly-elected Associate, endows with life, movement, and intelligence a fine group of cattle enjoying a "Summer Afternoon." The modelling is soft yet firm, the hair turns up fresh facets with the undulations of surface as in the best studies of Paul Potter; each head, too, is an intelligent portraiture of character. The artist has formed an independent style, different from, yet scarcely inferior to, contemporary modes in Belgium and France, as may be seen by comparison with a cattle-piece by M. Auguste Bonheur.

"The ideal in art" is almost unknown within our modern picture-galleries, and yet from time to time there appears an exceptional work, such as Mr. Leighton's design, "The Industrial Arts of Peace," which affords pleasant proof that the prevailing realism of the period is giving way to styles more abstract and generic. The idea or idealism in this composition is in part seen in the unity and simplicity educed from component elements which are varied and complex. The centre of the canvas is held by a bevy of fair women who have nothing more "industrial" on hand than the milliner's art; one and all are studiously occupied in developing their natural charms by the aid of artificial draperies. This by no means profound motive gives opportunity for the manifestation of supreme grace; such movement as is here needed is but one remove from rest; indeed, the beauty which resides in repose is not in this middle portion of the composition broken at a single point. The remaining two-third parts—one on either hand—are surrendered to the business and the bustle of the world. On the left appear upon the scene men sinewy as if drawn by Signorelli, bearing products of the vintage across the quay; on the opposite side are figures to match concerned with the classic drama, and at work on Greek vases. The composition is compactly knit together by a semicircular colonnade, which forms a background to the figures after the manner of the Italian masters, who reduced mural painting to a system; and thus the design which is intended as "part of a projected decoration in the South Kensington Museum" observes the laws and conforms to the proportions of "monumental art." A work of this imaginative character is scarcely restricted within the categories of time and space; accordingly, the locality has been left to conjecture, yet the presence of the palm pleasantly suggests a Southern land where life is surrendered to luxury and sweetened by *dolce far niente*. In like manner as to date, fancy is permitted in agreeable freedom to wander pretty much where it listeth; but at all events the presence of one of the latest forms of Greek vases prohibits the possibility of so early a period as the age of Pericles. The work, judged by historic standards, is eclectic, and yet not quite in the

Bolognese sense, because modern eclecticism comes down later and comprises more. Thus in this elegant combination we seem to pass from the ancient Greeks to the middle-age Italians, down even to the time of our English Flaxman or Stothard.

It is curious to observe how ideal standards change from time to time within the Academy—how types once new have become, by common use, stale, conventional, and worn out. The figures served up year after year by Mr. Frith, R.A., may possibly, in the eyes of some, still pass for the acme of perfection; but they have appeared so often, not only at “The Winning Hazard” and among “English Archers,” but also at gambling-tables and race-courses, that their further presence may well be spared.

Mr. W. V. Herbert must be remembered among those painters who are giving to the art of the immediate future promise of noble range of thought. “Deus justus et misericors” represents a gondola crowded with gay revellers, among whom we may fancy a mediæval Lord Byron; suddenly the boat comes before a life-size crucifix on a palace wall; the festive company are at once thrown into consternation and contrition; the reality of life and of death dawns on them in their dissipation. The situation is almost too sensational; the old masters pointed a moral more gravely; our modern art is garish, unquiet, spasmodic. The colour is as the sentiment, hectic; the contrast between golden sunlight and purple shadows heightens an effect which verges on violence and scarcely escapes extravagance. Another composition which has deservedly attracted attention is “Ærgus,” by Mr. Riviere, a young painter of something more than promise, remembered in last Academy by “Daniel in the Lions’ Den.” Mr. Riviere manages to tell his story briefly, clearly, and impressively. The old and melancholy Ulysses disguised as a beggar, returning home after an absence of many years, is recognized by his dog. The painter has a happy way of so isolating his principal figure as to fix the eye of the spectator upon the focus of composition. In fact, composition, story, and sentiment are the secrets of Mr. Riviere’s success; he owes little to colour, save the suggestion of a sicklied cast of thought which seems responsive to his moody and melancholy monotonies. Indeed, as is almost universally found, a complete reciprocity subsists between the painter’s play of colour and his range of human sympathy; sickness and sentimentality have become this artist’s bane. “All that was left of the Homeward-Bound” tells us how little of simple nature is left for Mr. Riviere. A dog and a girl on a drifting mast in a tempestuous sea reach that agony point at which an artist bids adieu to the moderation of nature and the manliness of genius. The idea is a platitude, the picture a piece of sensationalism.

Portraits are more than ever prominent, partly because there are few great figure compositions to throw them into due subordination. The number of all sorts and sizes we estimate at over two hundred; the styles offer little novelty. It is scarcely necessary to speak of Sir Francis Grant, Mr. Knight, R.A., Mr. O’Neil, A.R.A., Mr. Buckner, or Mr. Weigall, inasmuch as their art has long been stationary. Mr. Millais too, the most fertile in resource of any portrait-painter now living, is contracting a mannerism which has already placed a limit to his further development. No pictures have been so much talked about as the portraits of Mrs. Bischoffsheim and Mrs. Heugh. This last we cannot rank, as some critics have done, with the mother of

Rembrandt; the work is not that of a painter, but of a wall-plasterer; the artist has emptied his colour-box on his canvas.

The sculpture at the Royal Academy Exhibition this year was, as we have said, better than the painting. There are many pieces deserving high praise, if none of absolutely first-class interest. But the unideal character of the art of the day is abundantly manifest in this department also. Passing over the portrait busts, which are of course very numerous, we will here merely mention two statuesque works, the "Whewell" by Mr. Woolner, and Mr. Foley's equestrian group of Outram.

Whether as the representation of a more sculptural figure, or as the artist's maturer work, we should rank the "Whewell" as Woolner's highest achievement in the style. The action is simply that of a student breaking off from his book to enter upon argument—one characteristic enough of the late distinguished master—yet the whole figure has an air of such mobile vitality, that, like the famous old statue at Florence, one would expect it to answer if spoken to. This result, which testifies to what we might call the complete vitalization of the material, is due in part to the lively likeness in the head, in part to the perfect truth to natural form which underlies every part of the draperies, in part to the skilful arrangement of the lines. Every fold has its intention, and plays its portion, recognized or not, in the total effect.

Of Foley's work we may say that we had not known that his art was likely to reach a point of such masterly animation. Yet, animated as the group is, it does not transcend the rule that repose is of the essence of sculpture. It is the momentary pause of arrested action which Mr. Foley has given, "the wave at the instant of bursting," as we have seen it somewhere characterized. Some small points may be observed in the "Outram" open to criticism. But, on the whole, considering what this arduous art has been in old days and is now elsewhere, we think that Englishmen (and the Academy also) may be well satisfied with a school which has produced in the same year two pieces so grand in style and so masterly in technical rendering as Woolner's "Whewell" and Foley's "Outram."

Academicians and Associates lend the prestige of their names and contributions to the Dudley Gallery, which has more than supplied the gap left by the disappearance of the British Institution. Here are pictures—most of them sketches or studies—by Watts, Armitage, George Leslie, Marks, and Hodgson. Of Mr. Watts's study of Eve we can say little, but that it is a pity that even the slightest designs by eminent men should be shown to the public, unless they are right as far as they go. In this case the proportion of Eve's figure and the drawing of her lower limbs would seem to indicate that the painter must have either felt himself safe from criticism or careless of it. Mr. Armitage's small study of "Jezebel counselling Evil to Ahab" is of particular interest now that the picture has sustained, we believe, irreparable injury from fire. Mr. Marks contributes several little landscape studies of admirable truth to homely English nature, together with one of his well-conceived figure subjects, "The Convent Drudge," a brown-frocked, beefy-cheeked, coarse-handed Capuchin friar, furbishing a latten salver, with other convent properties waiting his cleansing hand. Nobody in such subjects keeps with such nice observance as Mr. Marks on this side of the line which divides humorous character from farcical exaggeration. A slight



encroachment across this line will be found detracting from an otherwise cleverly-treated convent subject, "A Disputed Point at Bowls," by a young painter, H. Cauty. Mr. Hodgson, always sober and self-restrained, is the painter of a very faithful and well-characterized scene of Tunisian life—a coral-seller haggling with a customer. The brotherhood of the Leslies has always been well represented at the Dudley. Besides a full length of a pretty girl in Greek costume—neither damsel nor dress, by the way, particularly Greek—a figure from his Fountain picture in last Academy Exhibition, by Mr. G. Leslie, A.R.A., the subject of which warrants us in asking finer drawing of form and more delicate modelling of features—we have a series of cabinet sea-subjects by R. Leslie, having the value which all work has into which a competent painter has put his heart, and some less conspicuous contributions, having also the merit of thoroughness and simplicity, by his son, H. Leslie. We remember no similar instance of a family with a thorough gift of art showing in so many members and three generations.

The owners of Mr. Mason's works have lent them, to the number of about seventy, for one of those exhibitions in the rooms of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, in Savile-row, which are in strictness private, but to which the courtesy of the society makes access obtainable with little difficulty. No more delightful exhibition has been held there. The visitor feels himself in the presence of an artist who, in spite of a late beginning, in spite of an early death, in spite of adversity and disease in the interval, has enrolled himself among the company of the great. The little picture of "Children Fishing" is one of Mason's best pictures. No Dutchman ever painted a daylight with more luminous and breathing reality. The flood of atmosphere makes one think of De Hooghe. The scene, of course, is anything but Dutch; it is English, and the artist's own—the brook and stepping-stones, the two or three tall sedges, the hither bank with its stray blooms of poppy, cornflower, and marigold, its ducks waddling and pluming themselves; the water running, and casting up the light of a white sky and images of the children upside down; the children, two girls in long pinafores with a smaller brother in a short smock, standing together right side up above their images, and waiting for the float to bob; the green sloping field behind them, with the linen lying out to dry; the hedge and hay-ricks at the end of the field; and the alternate crest and dip of blue hills last of all. That is a catalogue of items, and sounds as if it might describe an ordinary kind of English picture enough. But between an ordinary English picture and a picture of Mr. Mason's there are all the differences that cannot be described in words. Mr. Mason not only depicts the English country with a peculiar and manifest truth and freshness; he goes further, and draws out from the country's aspect an exquisite inner poetry and harmony which, though they are really there, seem as if they lay too far within to yield themselves to less loving seekers.

England displayed so little of her art achievements at the great Vienna Exhibition, that the progress she has avowedly made could scarcely be appreciated. The only exhibitors were Mr. Blasbill, who displayed "Warehouses, Ludgate Hill;" Mr. Seddon, who again exhibited "University of Wales, Aberystwith;" Mr. Street, R.A., who sent designs for "the New Law Courts;" and Mr. Waterhouse, who displayed "the Plan and Elevation of Eaton Hall, Cheshire." Under the important group "Art applied to

Religion" there were but two entries, the first being a "Stained Glass Window for a Staircase, Watteau Style." In what relation a "staircase" and the "Watteau style" stand to "religion" the Royal Commissioners do not explain. It might have been almost better not to have exhibited at all than to do such injustice to the best talent of England.

The chief art-sensation of 1873 has still to be mentioned. Near the close of the year Mr. Holman Hunt exhibited in Old Bond-street his picture of the "Shadow of Death," accompanying it with a brief, modest, and well-written pamphlet, describing his aim in the work, with some particulars of interest as to the objects and personages represented, and the circumstances under which the picture was executed. We have here before us the fruit of three years' intense toil by a man of rare earnestness, tenacity, and originality. Besides the actual labour, no small part of the thought and knowledge of a very industrious life has passed into this canvas. The work challenges, if for this reason alone, the most respectful and thoughtful attention. This challenge is strengthened by the manner of treatment, which is opposed in almost all respects to the accepted traditions and rules of painting, and is the result at once of the strongly-marked individuality of the painter and of the conception, both of the purposes and methods of his art, to which this has guided him. The scene is a vaulted chamber, at once workshop and humble dwelling, in Nazareth, filled with rush chair, carpenter's bench, trestle, and planks under the saw, with the blade still in the cleft, piles of shavings, and tools lying about, and fixed in a rack against the wall. The arched window of two lights, surmounted by a pierced star, looks out through the branches of an olive-tree on to the hills of Galilee and the plains of Jezreel. On the window-sill lie two pomegranates, and near them a written scroll. There are more such scrolls on a shelf below. By the bench stands a waterpot of green earthenware, with a bunch of aromatic herbs stuck in its mouth to keep out the flies, and in the corner rests a bundle of long reeds from the brook. It is the hour of sunset, when men rest from their labour. The sun, low on the horizon at this time of day, irradiates what it falls on with a light of peculiar brilliance, and throws shadows more closely resembling the forms that cast them than those projected at any other hour. This radiance fills the earth-floored chamber, and falls full on the figure of Jesus, as, in the prime of His manhood, with His single white garment girt about His loins by a wrought girdle, He stands in the doorway, drawn to His full height, with His arms outstretched and His head thrown slightly back, with an expression and attitude suggesting at once the act of one who straightens and stretches a body cramped with long labour, while He blends with a grateful sense of relief and rest an involuntary and habitual utterance of worship and thankfulness to God, if it be not rather an absorption of what is human in Him in thought and feeling into the Divine. Standing thus against the low and level sunlight, the body throws upon the wall behind it a sharply-defined purple shadow, the incidence of which on a cross-beam, nailed up as a tool-rack, and some drills projecting above the beam, suggests naturally a figure nailed to a cross. There is a second figure in the picture—the mother of Jesus. In the common dress of a woman of Nazareth, the blue linen robe and white head-veil, she kneels, with her back to the spectator, in the act of opening an ivory coffer, supposed to be the one left by the wise men of the East, with the offerings laid before the star-heralded Babe in the manger of the inn at

Bethlehem. The coffer is of carved ivory, lined with geranium-coloured satin, and in it are an Eastern crown of gold, an incense-burner with ornaments of green enamel, and an urn for holding precious spices. The coffer has been covered with a richly-embroidered veil, wrought in designs of regal purple and crimson. Just as the mother, after lifting the veil, opens the coffer, her attention is drawn aside from its costly contents to the ominous shadow on the wall, and our eye and thought follow hers from the crown to the cross. The picture is painted in a key of colour to which the eye requires to become reconciled before it can accept it as true to nature, but no doubt faithful to Eastern fact as it presented itself to the painter. Every detail is painted with a determined and equal completeness, the same care having been bestowed apparently on every one of the hundreds of shavings which litter the floor as on the face and figure of Jesus. "Scripturally," says Mr. Hunt, in his own description of his picture, "the subject is 'The Shadow of Death,' the bearing of the first burden of the curse of Adam: morally, it is this also—the bestowing of life in trust for future universal good rather than for immediate personal joy. Surely there are enough of every class who have felt the burdensomeness of toil, the relief at its cessation; and enough also of those who have battled against the temptation to seek this world's glory at the expense of their peace with the silent Father, and who may be encouraged to persevere while thinking of this scene in the workshop of Nazareth as taking place at the end of a long autumn day, during which 'the servant waiteth for his shadow.'" This picture was painted between 1868 and 1872, chiefly at Jerusalem, but from a smaller design executed at Bethlehem and Nazareth, in the open air, on a terraced roof, where the horizontal sunlight shone uninterruptedly.

## SCIENCE.

At the forty-third annual meeting of the British Association, held this year at Bradfield, Professor Williamson, placed unexpectedly in the Presidential chair owing to the illness of Dr. Joule, delivered an address which was partly a treatise on his own special subject of chemistry, and partly the exposition of a plan for the reorganization of all schools, colleges, and universities, in order to the prosecution of chemical and other scientific studies and inquiries. Any primary school ought, the Professor conceived, to discover and bring out one or two hopeful pupils in natural science. These ought at once to be draughted to schools of special instruction, and a selection of them to still higher schools, till by a repeated selection we should have scientific colleges well filled with students whose natural abilities had received continual development from their earliest years. From the time they leave the primary school they should be the children of the State, taught, lodged, and boarded at its sole cost. After explaining his scheme, he said, "If I have succeeded in making clear to you the leading principles of the plan to be adopted for the advancement of science, including, as it necessarily must do, national education generally, you will, I think, agree with me that, from the very

magnitude and variety of the interests involved in its action, such system must of necessity be under the supreme control of Government. Science will never take its proper place among the chief elements of national greatness and advancement until it is acknowledged as such by that embodiment of the national will which we call the Government. Nor can the various institutions for its advancement develop duly their usefulness until the chaos in which they are now plunged gives place to such order as it is the proper function of Government to establish and maintain. But Government has already taken, and is continuing to take, action in various matters affecting elementary popular education and higher scientific education, and it would be difficult to arrest such action, even if it were thought desirable to do so. The only practical question to be considered is how the action of Government can be systematized so as to give free play to the natural forces which have to do the work." In expounding the present state of chemical science in the terms of the atomic theory, he said, "Every good analysis of a pure compound leads to results which approximate to those required by the atomic theory, and chemists trust so thoroughly to the truth of that guide that they correct the results of such analysis by the aid of it. The chemical idea of atoms serves for two purposes—1. It gives a clear and consistent explanation of an immense number of facts discovered by experiment, and enables us to compare them with one another and to classify them. 2. It leads to the anticipation of new facts by suggesting new compounds which may be made; at the same time, it teaches us that no compounds can exist with their constituents in any other than atomic proportions, and that experiments which imply the existence of any such compound are faulty. We have the testimony of the great Berzelius to the flood of light which the idea of atoms at once threw on the facts respecting combining proportions which had been accumulated before it was made known, and from that time forward its value has rapidly increased as each succeeding year augmented the number of facts which it explained. . . . Numberless new compounds have been discovered under the guidance of the idea of atoms, and in proportion as our knowledge of substances and of their properties becomes more extensive, and our view of their characteristics more accurate and general, we shall be able to perceive the outlines of their general arrangement, and to recognize the characteristics of various classes of substances. I wish I could have the pleasure of describing to you the origin and nature of some of these admirable discoveries, such as homologous series, types, radicals, &c.; but it is more to our purpose to consider the effect which they have had upon the idea of atoms—an idea which, still in its infancy, was plunged into the intellectual turmoil arising from a variety of novel and original theories suggested respectively by independent workers as best suited for the explanation of the particular phenomena to which their attention was mainly directed. Each of these workers was inclined to attach quite sufficient importance to his own new idea, and to sacrifice for its sake any other one capable of interfering with its due development. The father of the atomic theory was no more, and the little infant had no chance of life unless from its own sterling merits it were found useful in the work still going on. What, then, was the result? Did it perish like an ephemeral creation of human fancy, or did it survive and gain strength by the inquiries of those who questioned Nature and knew how to read her answers? Although anticipating my answer to these questions, you will probably be surprised to hear the

actual result which I have to record—a result so wonderful that the more I think of it the more I marvel at it. Not only did these various theories contain nothing at variance with the atomic theory; they were found to be natural and necessary developments of it, and to serve for its application to a variety of phenomena which were unknown to its founder. Among the improvements of our knowledge of atoms which have taken place I ought to mention the better evaluations of the relative weight of atoms of different kinds which have been made since Dalton's time. More accurate experiments than those which were then on record have shown us that certain atoms are a little heavier or lighter than was then believed, and the work of perfecting our observations is constantly going on with the aid of better instruments and methods of operation. But, apart from these special corrections, a more sweeping change has taken place, not in consequence of more accurate experiments interpreted in the usual way, but in consequence of a more comprehensive view of the best experimental results which had been obtained, and a more consistent interpretation of them." After giving some examples, he continued: "This change was brought about by what I may be permitted to call the operation of stock-taking. Dalton first took stock of our quantitative facts in a business-like manner; but the amount and variety of our chemical stock increased so enormously after his time that the second stock-taking absorbed the labours of several men for a good many years. They were men of different countries and very various turns of mind, but, as I mentioned just now, they found no other fundamental idea to work with than Dalton's, and the result of their labours has been to confirm the truth of that idea and to extend greatly its application." In advocating the merits of the atomic theory, however, the Professor was compelled to glance at its opponents. After dwelling on some technical details, he said, "I cannot quit this part of our subject without alluding to the fact that some few chemists, of such eminence as to be entitled to the most respectful attention, have of late years expressed an opinion that the idea of atoms is not necessary for the explanation of the changes in the chemical constitution of matter, and have sought as far as possible to exclude from their language any allusion to atoms. It would be out of place on this occasion to enter into any discussion of the questions thus raised, but I think it right to point out—1. That these objectors have not shown us any inconsistency in the atomic theory, nor in the conclusions to which it leads. 2. That neither those nor any other philosophers have been able to explain the facts of chemistry on the assumption that there are no atoms, but that matter is infinitely divisible. 3. That when they interpret their analyses these chemists allow themselves neither more nor less latitude than the atomic theory allows—in fact, they are unconsciously guided by it."

On the interesting subject of coal, Professor Phillips in the Geological Section said that to determine the extent of the British coal-fields, and the probable duration of the treasures which they yield, and to discover, if possible, other fields quite undreamt of by practical colliers, were problems which geology had been invited to solve, and much progress has been made in these important inquiries by private research and the aid of a public Commission. "The questions most interesting to the community—the extent to which known coal-fields reach beneath superior strata, and the situation of other fields having no outcrop to the surface—can," he said, "often be



answered on purely geological grounds, within not very wide limits of probability. If, for example, we ask how far to the eastward the known coal-strata may extend under the Vale of York, a reasonable answer is furnished by Mr. Hull and the Government Commission. The whole great coal deposit, extending from Bradford to Nottingham, passes under the magnesian limestone, and may be found for at least a few miles in breadth within attainable depths. It passes under a part of the Vale of York, probably south of the city. But before attempting to give a practical value to this opinion, it may be well to remember that, fully tried, the experiment would be too costly for individual enterprise, while if successful it would benefit more than a county; and that not only a large outlay must be provided for it, but arrangements made for persevering through several years in the face of many difficulties, and perhaps eventual disappointment. Still, sooner or later the trial must be made, and geology must direct the operation."

In a paper on the ethnology of Yorkshire, Dr. John Beddoe made some amusing practical observations. He said, "The breadth of the head is on the average somewhat greater in Yorkshire than in other parts of Britain; so we are informed by the hatters. In this the natives of Yorkshire agree with those of Denmark and Norway, who have rather broader heads than those of Sweden and of Friesland. As to the colours of the eyes and hair, the latter is on the whole lighter in Yorkshire than in most parts of England, but dull rather than bright shades prevail. In the east, at Whitby, Bridlington, and Beverley, in Teesdale and Middle Airedale, light hair is particularly abundant; in Craven, as might have been expected, it is less so. As to the stature and bulk of the people, he had much and accurate information, through the kindness of numerous observers, some of them of repute as naturalists. The general result is," said Dr. Beddoe, "that in the rural districts they are remarkably tall and stalwart, though not, except in parts of the west, so heavy as their apparent size would indicate; but that in the towns, and especially in Sheffield, they are rapidly degenerating; and he concluded from the Haworth report that the same is the case in the manufacturing villages. In few parts of Britain does there exist a more clearly marked moral type. To that of the Irish it has hardly any affinity; but the Scotchman and the Southern Englishman alike recognize the differences which distinguish the Yorkshire character from their own, but are not so apt to appreciate the numerous respective points of resemblance. The character is essentially Teutonic, including the shrewdness, the truthfulness without candour, the perseverance, energy, and industry of the Scotch, but little of their frugality, or of the theological instinct common to the Welsh and Scotch, or of the imaginative genius, or the more brilliant qualities which sometimes light up the Scottish character. The sound judgment, the spirit of fair play, the love of comfort, order, and cleanliness, and the fondness for heavy feeding are shared with the Saxon Englishman; but some of them are still more strongly marked in the Yorkshireman, as is also the bluff independence—a very fine quality when it does not degenerate into selfish rudeness. The aptitude for music was remarked by Giraldus Cambrensis seven centuries ago; and the taste for horseflesh seems to have descended from the old Norsemen, though it may have been fostered by local circumstances. The mind, like the body, is generally very vigorous and energetic, and extremely well adapted to commercial and industrial pursuits, as well as to the culti-

vation of the exact sciences; but a certain defect in imaginative power must be admitted, and is probably one reason, though obviously not the only one, why Yorkshire until quite modern times was generally behindhand in politics and religion, and why the number of her sons who since Cædmon have attained to high eminence in literature is not above the average of England."

Professor Allman delivered an address on the present aspects of biology and the method of biological study. He dwelt at length on the doctrine of evolution, because it has given a new direction to biological study, and must powerfully influence all future researches; and whether we do or do not accept it as firmly established, it is at all events certain that it embraces a greater number of phenomena and suggests a more satisfactory explanation of them than any other hypothesis which has been yet proposed. He did not, however, wish to shut his eyes to difficulties in the way of accepting it when carried to the extreme length for which some of its advocates contend, and he regarded as the chief of these the unbroken continuity of inherited life which it necessarily requires through a period of time whose vastness is such that the mind of man is utterly incapable of comprehending it. But even though we admit all these difficulties, it still remains as a working hypothesis, which, like certain algebraic fictions, may yet be of inestimable value as an instrument of research. For as the higher calculus becomes to the physical inquirer a power by which he unfolds the laws of the inorganic world, so may the hypothesis of evolution, though only an hypothesis, furnish the biologist with a key to the order and hidden forces of the world of life; and what Leibnitz and Newton and Hamilton have been to the physicist, is it not this which Darwin has been to the biologist? But even accepting as a great truth the doctrine of evolution, he would not attribute to it more than it can fully claim, for there remains a residual phenomenon still unaccounted for. No physical hypothesis founded on any indisputable fact has yet explained the origin of the primordial protoplasm, and, above all, of its marvellous properties, which render evolution possible—in heredity and in adaptivity, for these properties are the cause and not the effect of evolution. For the cause of this cause we have sought in vain among the physical forces which surround us, until we are at last compelled to rest upon an independent volition, a far-seeing, intelligent design. Science may yet discover, even among the laws of physics, the cause it looks for, but all this is only carrying one step back in the grand generalization. All science is but the intercalation, each more comprehensive than that which it endeavours to explain, between the great primal cause and the ultimate effect.

In the Geographical Section Mr. Clements Markham strongly advocated further Arctic exploration with Government aid. The event, he said, which, during the present year, has added most powerfully to the arguments in favour of an Arctic Expedition by way of Smith Sound, is the news of the remarkable success of Captain Hall's Expedition. That intrepid explorer sailed in a wooden river gun-boat of 387 tons, without the aid of naval discipline or of experienced officers, and with a crew consisting partly of Esquimaux and their wives. Yet, during the month of August, 1871, he sailed up the long strait or channel, the entrance to which is alone called Smith Sound, and reached a latitude of 82° 16' N. This is the most northern point that any vessel has ever yet reached. Here the little steamer was beset, but there was a water horizon to the north-east,

and this point had been attained without check or obstacle of any kind Captain Hall died during the winter, and has the glory of finding a final resting-place in the midst of his discoveries. A current of about a knot an hour carried the vessel out into Baffin's Bay, and disasters followed, which are exclusively referable to the organization of the expedition, and would not have occurred to a ship commanded by naval officers and manned by man-of-war's men. On this point, after the experience of the "Polaris," Mr. Robeson, the American Secretary of the Navy, is fully in accord with all English Arctic authorities. He says, "There is little of either success or safety in any trying, dangerous, and distant expedition which is not organized, prosecuted, and controlled under the sanctions of naval discipline. This voyage of the "Polaris" is very encouraging. We know now that a mere river steamer of small power passed up Smith Sound, without any check, for a direct distance of 250 miles. If she could make such a voyage without difficulty, it may fairly be anticipated that a properly equipped expedition, consisting of powerfully-built steamers thoroughly adapted for ice navigation, would do more. Another most important feature in this voyage is the fact that the "Polaris" was safely drifted out into Baffin's Bay from a high northern position in the strait. This proves that the current keeps the ice in motion, and carries it south, thus preventing any long interruption of navigation. A third feature in the voyage of the "Polaris" is that at the winter quarters in  $81^{\circ} 38' N.$  the climate was milder than it is further south, and animal life abounded, including musk oxen. This account corroborates that of Dr. Hayes, who was able to supply his men with plenty of fresh provisions in the less hospitable region near the entrance of Smith Sound. A Government Expedition, with properly organized hunting parties, will thus be able to obtain considerable supplies of fresh meat, and thus add to the prospect of keeping the men in health and vigour. These considerations add force to the already convincing arguments in favour of Arctic exploration by a naval expedition. All disasters of late years have been due to expeditions being equipped by private persons without proper means, and without the advantage of naval discipline. Thus none of the brave Americans who have attempted to explore Smith Sound have even been sailors, and Dr. Kane's vessel was so badly equipped that his crew was actually living on salt meat. But, in a well-supplied vessel, under naval auspices, the Arctic regions have proved to be of all seas visited by men-of-war the most healthy. It is to increased knowledge in naval hygiene, to the attention paid to the cleanliness, warmth, and ventilation of the ships, to the good quality of the provisions, and, above all, to the preservation of discipline and cheerfulness among the crews, that this immunity from sickness is due. In ten expeditions engaged in the search for Sir John Franklin, out of 1878 men the percentage of deaths was only 1.7. This is lower than on any other naval station, and proves that the risk from climate and accidents, which is run during an Arctic Government Expedition, is not greater than that which the "Challenger" will incur during her cruise round the world.

The subject of the origin of life, which came prominently into notice in our last year's scientific summary, was taken up by Professor B. Sanderson, who read a paper entitled "Remarks on Professor Huizinger's Experiments on Spontaneous Generation." He said the controversy upon Dr. Bastian's celebrated infusions had now waxed so warm that the advocates upon each

side had received distinguishing names, the party of Dr. Bastian being termed heterogenists, and the opponents of his theory physiologists. The former were continually making new experiments, and the latter were continually showing that the proofs derived from those experiments would not hold water. He was ready to admit that Bastian had produced bacteria from infusions of turnip and cheese exposed to a temperature of 212° Fahrenheit; but he had already published experiments, undertaken by himself, which proved if the boiling of the liquids were made to occur under pressure, that on cooling no trace of living matter occurred in the liquids after standing even for months. Huizinger—who was a disciple of Bastian on this question—had experimented upon another mixture consisting of peptone, a substance prepared by the action of albumen on gastric juice, and another mixture intended to be more stable than cheese, which Dr. Bastian used. Instead of flasks with capillary necks, he employed porous porcelain plate as stoppers in his flasks, the object being to exclude all germinal matter and yet allow air to enter. He found that after boiling these infusions for ten minutes, and then allowing them to stand for two or three days, a plentiful crop of bacteria was always produced. The author had now submitted the mixtures mentioned by Professor Huizinger to the same test that he had applied to Dr. Bastian's mixtures—namely, boiling under pressure—and he had found again that no bacteria was produced; and to confirm his observation he had added a drop of distilled water—which was well known to contain bacteria—to one of the infusions, and in a quarter of an hour a plentiful crop resulted, proving that the liquid was quite capable of supplying the nourishment necessary for bacteria, had they been generated. He was far from agreeing with those who looked upon the believers in spontaneous generation as scientific heretics, but he was compelled to say that, so far as his experiments had gone, spontaneous generation had not been proved.

Of all the papers read before the British Association this year, none were more important than that of Professor Ferrier, on the localization of the functions of the brain. He pointed towards the realization of a surmise which men of science had long cherished, though mistaken modes of verifying it had been from time to time attempted. Almost from the time when it was established that the brain, as a whole, is the organ of feeling, of thought, and of voluntary motion, it became manifestly probable that each of these functions has its especial seat in the nervous tissue, and that their partial operations might also be localized in a similar manner. On this question, however, the researches of anatomists were almost wholly fruitless. They showed that the brain consisted of two kinds of material—a grey substance, which was found spread over the surface of the hemispheres, and collected here and there into masses in the interior, and a white substance, fibrous in its character, which lined the grey matter of the hemispheres, and surrounded the masses within. A variety of evidence, partly experimental, partly derived from the actions of the lower animals, and partly from the observation of disease, proved that only the grey matter originated action, and that the function of the white fibres was to establish communication between different parts of the whole. Between nervous action and electricity there is a resemblance nearly approaching to identity, and the grey matter was early compared to a galvanic battery and the white to the conductors proceeding

from it. In the lower animals, as they rose in the scale of intelligence, the brain was found to become larger relatively to the bulk of the body, and also more complicated in structure; and an increased amount of superficial grey matter was gained by the surface being intersected by deep grooves, which marked out convolutions of corresponding prominence. In man the whole bulk of the brain, the complexity of its several parts, and the size and definite character of the convolutions reached their highest point; and in all these particulars, as a general rule, cultivated races and gifted individuals were believed to surpass savage races and the ordinary mass of mankind. At this point, however, inquiry was arrested; and a German anatomist, who devoted thirty years of his life to the dissection of human brains in the hope of throwing some light upon the functions of their several parts, committed suicide in his laboratory in despair at the fruitlessness of his researches. Dr. Gall in this country, and Spurzheim in Germany, attempted to find the solution of the problem in another way, by tracing out some relation between the shape and development of the brain, as exhibited by the shape and development of the head, and the varieties of individual capacity and character. They started with the assumption that clever men have not only fully-developed heads, but also fully-developed foreheads; and they placed the "intellectual qualities" in the front portion, the "moral qualities" in the middle portion, and the "animal propensities" towards the back of the head. Their mistakes and contradictions became notorious, however, and Lord Jeffrey's articles in the *Edinburgh Review* for the time extinguished its pretensions. A revival took place about five-and-twenty or thirty years ago, and the theory was again much discussed till it received its *coup de grâce* at the hands of Dr. Carpenter, who showed, in an elaborate essay—first, that the configuration of the outside of the skull bore no necessary relation to that of the brain; secondly, that in ascending the animal scale the first appearance of the hemispheres of the brain was as a rudiment of the anterior lobes, that the middle and posterior lobes were gradually superadded, and that the latter attained their full development only in man; so that the hypothesis that the anterior lobes were the seats of the intelligence and the posterior lobes of the animal propensities was one which could not be sustained; thirdly, that the phrenologists, in their professedly complete system, left out of account more than half of the grey matter—that of the opposed surfaces of the two hemispheres, and that of the base of the brain. Dr. Carpenter then put forward his own view, which was that the masses of grey matter towards the base of the brain were the centres of sensation and motion, that the hemispheres were the organs of thought, and that in this capacity they did not act in isolated portions, but as a whole. This view was maintained by many ingenious arguments, and for a long time it commanded the general assent of physiologists. Of late years, however, much attention has been directed to the parts which have been found diseased after death in persons who have exhibited definite symptoms during life; and in this way evidence of the localization of function in different portions of the hemisphere has gradually been accumulated. Mr. Broca announced that, in a disease called aphasia, or loss of the memory and power of utterance of words, a certain convolution of the left side was frequently affected; and Dr. Hughlings Jackson has been able on several occasions to predict from symptoms the precise situation of morbid action. Still in many instances, the ordinary



relation has been wanting; and endeavours to extend the evidence by experiment were for a long time without result, probably in both cases because a local injury had produced extensive and general disturbance. Recently, however, Professor Ferrier, following up a clue afforded by some imperfect experiments of the German physiologists, Fritsch and Hitzig, succeeded in localizing the action of a stimulus in certain parts of the brain. His method of proceeding, as he described it to the British Association, was to place an animal under chloroform, to remove a portion of the skull and of the dura mater, or dense membrane, beneath it, and then to apply two electric conductors to the brain itself, or rather to the inner membranes which immediately cover it. In these experiments the Faradic or induced electric current had been employed, and it was found that if the current should exceed a certain strength general excitement or disturbance is produced. When, however, the current is very feeble, so that it may be presumed to flow only along the most direct path from conductor to conductor, and to influence only the portion of brain lying between them, it is found that the results are constant and definite, and that stimulation of the same part of the surface of a hemisphere produces always the same movement, not only in the same animal, but in all animals. Thus, when the conductors include one portion of brain, a front limb is moved in some determinate direction; when they include another, a hind limb is moved instead; and a great variety of actions may thus be called forth with absolute certainty, and the limbs of the unconscious animal may be played upon, so to speak, at the will of the operator. It seems that some light has already been thrown by these inquiries upon the conditions which produce epileptic and other convulsions; and, as far as can at present be determined, it is probable that Dr. Carpenter's view of the functions of the hemispheres will have to be modified or abandoned. As yet, however, it would be premature to form any definite conclusions, except that Dr. Ferrier has given to science a method of research which cannot fail to be of incalculable value, and which marks an æra in the progress of Physiology. It is almost sure that at no distant time this method will add enormously to our knowledge of the diseases of the nervous system, at once the most obscure and the most afflicting of the evils incident to humanity.

Later on in the year, Dr. Carpenter made the researches of Dr. Ferrier the subject of the Sunday Lectures which he delivered in St. George's Hall. After describing the experiments, he deduced from them a confirmation of the doctrine that the cerebrum has a proper reflex action of its own, ordinarily called forth by sensorial changes; and that this action may be exerted unconsciously, so that a connected series of cerebral modifications may take place, of which only the results come within the sphere of consciousness as ideas or emotions. As to the question whether the centres of the movements of expression are also the "organs" of the ideas or emotions which call forth those movements, the lecturer expressed himself more doubtfully. Dr. Ferrier had ingeniously endeavoured to deduce from the phenomena of aphasia (or morbid loss of the memory and power of utterance of words) an indication that such may possibly be the case, but Dr. Carpenter said he himself considered that a much more careful analysis and classification of these phenomena would be required in order to justify such an inference, the general term "aphasia" having been used to include states which are really

from it. In the lower animals, as they rose in the scale of intelligence, the brain was found to become larger relatively to the bulk of the body, and also more complicated in structure; and an increased amount of superficial grey matter was gained by the surface being intersected by deep grooves, which marked out convolutions of corresponding prominence. In man the whole bulk of the brain, the complexity of its several parts, and the size and definite character of the convolutions reached their highest point; and in all these particulars, as a general rule, cultivated races and gifted individuals were believed to surpass savage races and the ordinary mass of mankind. At this point, however, inquiry was arrested; and a German anatomist, who devoted thirty years of his life to the dissection of human brains in the hope of throwing some light upon the functions of their several parts, committed suicide in his laboratory in despair at the fruitlessness of his researches. Dr. Gall in this country, and Spurzheim in Germany, attempted to find the solution of the problem in another way, by tracing out some relation between the shape and development of the brain, as exhibited by the shape and development of the head, and the varieties of individual capacity and character. They started with the assumption that clever men have not only fully-developed heads, but also fully-developed foreheads; and they placed the "intellectual qualities" in the front portion, the "moral qualities" in the middle portion, and the "animal propensities" towards the back of the head. Their mistakes and contradictions became notorious, however, and Lord Jeffrey's articles in the *Edinburgh Review* for the time extinguished its pretensions. A revival took place about five-and-twenty or thirty years ago, and the theory was again much discussed till it received its *coup de grâce* at the hands of Dr. Carpenter, who showed, in an elaborate essay—first, that the configuration of the outside of the skull bore no necessary relation to that of the brain; secondly, that in ascending the animal scale the first appearance of the hemispheres of the brain was as a rudiment of the anterior lobes, that the middle and posterior lobes were gradually superadded, and that the latter attained their full development only in man; so that the hypothesis that the anterior lobes were the seats of the intelligence and the posterior lobes of the animal propensities was one which could not be sustained; thirdly, that the phrenologists, in their professedly complete system, left out of account more than half of the grey matter—that of the opposed surfaces of the two hemispheres, and that of the base of the brain. Dr. Carpenter then put forward his own view, which was that the masses of grey matter towards the base of the brain were the centres of sensation, and motion, that the hemispheres were the organs of thought, and that in this capacity they did not act in isolated portions, but as a whole. This view was maintained by many ingenious arguments, and for a long time it commanded the general assent of physiologists. Of late years, however, much attention has been directed to the parts which have been found diseased after death in persons who have exhibited definite symptoms during life; and in this way evidence of the localization of function in different portions of the hemispheres has gradually been accumulated. M. Broca announced that, in a disorder called aphasia, or loss of the memory and power of utterance of words, a certain convolution of the left side was frequently affected; and Dr. Hughlings Jackson has been able on several occasions to predict from symptoms the precise situation of morbid action. Still, in many instances, the ordinary

relation has been wanting; and endeavours to extend the evidence by experiment were for a long time without result, probably in both cases because a local injury had produced extensive and general disturbance. Recently, however, Professor Ferrier, following up a clue afforded by some imperfect experiments of the German physiologists, Fritsch and Hitzig, succeeded in localizing the action of a stimulus in certain parts of the brain. His method of proceeding, as he described it to the British Association, was to place an animal under chloroform, to remove a portion of the skull and of the dura mater, or dense membrane, beneath it, and then to apply two electric conductors to the brain itself, or rather to the inner membranes which immediately cover it. In these experiments the Faradic or induced electric current had been employed, and it was found that if the current should exceed a certain strength general excitement or disturbance is produced. When, however, the current is very feeble, so that it may be presumed to flow only along the most direct path from conductor to conductor, and to influence only the portion of brain lying between them, it is found that the results are constant and definite, and that stimulation of the same part of the surface of a hemisphere produces always the same movement, not only in the same animal, but in all animals. Thus, when the conductors include one portion of brain, a front limb is moved in some determinate direction; when they include another, a hind limb is moved instead; and a great variety of actions may thus be called forth with absolute certainty, and the limbs of the unconscious animal may be played upon, so to speak, at the will of the operator. It seems that some light has already been thrown by these inquiries upon the conditions which produce epileptic and other convulsions; and, as far as can at present be determined, it is probable that Dr. Carpenter's view of the functions of the hemispheres will have to be modified or abandoned. As yet, however, it would be premature to form any definite conclusions, except that Dr. Ferrier has given to science a method of research which cannot fail to be of incalculable value, and which marks an æra in the progress of Physiology. It is almost sure that at no distant time this method will add enormously to our knowledge of the diseases of the nervous system, at once the most obscure and the most afflicting of the evils incident to humanity.

Later on in the year, Dr. Carpenter made the researches of Dr. Ferrier the subject of the Sunday Lectures which he delivered in St. George's Hall. After describing the experiments, he deduced from them a confirmation of the doctrine that the cerebrum has a proper reflex action of its own, ordinarily called forth by sensorial changes; and that this action may be exerted unconsciously, so that a connected series of cerebral modifications may take place, of which only the results come within the sphere of consciousness as ideas or emotions. As to the question whether the centres of the movements of expression are also the "organs" of the ideas or emotions which call forth those movements, the lecturer expressed himself more doubtfully. Dr. Ferrier had ingeniously endeavoured to deduce from the phenomena of aphasia (or morbid loss of the memory and power of utterance of words) an indication that such may possibly be the case, but Dr. Carpenter said he himself considered that a much more careful analysis and classification of these phenomena would be required in order to justify such an inference, the general term "aphasia" having been used to include states which are really

very different from each other. Much, he said, was to be hoped from the continued prosecution of the experimental inquiries which Dr. Ferrier had so well begun, and from the constant and careful observation of the phenomena of disease.

The arrangements in progress for carrying out observations on the Transit of Venus, anticipated in 1874, gave rise to a somewhat angry controversy in the public press. Mr. Proctor agitated strongly for additional guarantees of accuracy, indeed for an almost total change of plan, and wrote in the *Times*, "It is a common mistake to suppose that a few good observations will satisfy all requirements. But every astronomer knows that the whole matter depends on securing many observations, for not otherwise can the probable error of the result be sufficiently reduced. It was thus that the observations made in 1769, though individually affected by considerable errors, gave, in Mr. Stone's able hands, a result affected by only a small probable error." Yet this confessedly satisfactory result (we quote from the *Athenæum*) was obtained from a much smaller number of observations than that which every reasonable precaution has been taken to secure in 1874. Two parties only were sent to the southern hemisphere in 1769; one of these, a French one, was unsuccessful through not reaching land before the transit came on; the other, our own, commanded by Captain Cook, made the only southern observations, which Mr. Stone long afterwards correctly reduced. Next year, on the other hand (not to speak now of other nations), three of the principal English stations (New Zealand, Kerguelen's Land, and the island of Rodriguez) are in the southern hemisphere; and we are to have other ones besides, subsidiary to these. Well, therefore, might the Edinburgh Reviewer write (in the *Times* of July 29), "I have been led by a somewhat careful consideration of the bearings of the case to a belief that, in all human probability, a good and entirely satisfactory result will be secured from the proceedings of the Astronomer-Royal."

In connexion with this subject we may mention M. Janssen's ingenious invention of a method for photographing the apparent contact of Venus with the edge of the sun. The photographic plate is in the form of a disc, fixed upon a plate which rotates upon an axis parallel to that of the telescope. Before it is placed another disc, forming a screen, in which is a small aperture, in order to limit the photographic action to the edge of the sun. The plate which carries the sensitive disc has 180 teeth, and is placed in communication with an escapement apparatus actuated by an electric current. At each second the pendulum of a clock interrupts the current, and the plate turns one tooth, so that at each second a fresh portion of the photographic plate is exposed. Thus, in as many seconds, 180 images of the sun and the planet can be obtained. When the series relating to the first contact is obtained, the plate is withdrawn and another substituted, which gives the second contact, and so on for the four.

Mr. St. George Mivart, the author of the "Genesis of Species," has attacked the Darwinian hypothesis of the descent of man in a treatise devoted to an examination of the structural resemblances and differences between man and apes. In his opening paragraphs Mr. Mivart speaks of the frequent injustice of popular awards, and points out that the doctrine of evolution—i.e., that the various new species of animals and plants have manifested themselves through a purely natural process of

hereditary succession—is widely spoken of by the term Darwinism, just as America is named after Amerigo Vespucci, and Swammerdamm is forgotten in the term “Galvanism,” while, as a matter of fact, evolution is far older than Mr. Darwin, whose hypothesis is really “the origin of species by natural selection.” Again, the gorilla is popularly supposed to have been first made known to science by M. du Chaillu, and, if not the direct ancestor of man, is thought to be very closely related to that ancestor—the other side of the “gap” in fact. Dr. Thomas Savage was the discoverer of the gorilla, and Professor Wyman first described it in the United States, as Professor Owen did in this country.

Mr. Mivart is a redoubtable antagonist on the question of man’s descent from the apes, and the arguments he brings forward in support of his position will not be readily set aside by his opponents. It is manifest, he says, that man, the ape, and the half-apes, cannot be arranged in a single ascending series, of which man is the term and culmination. By confining our attention to one organ, or to one set of parts, we may arrange the different forms in a more or less simple manner, but if we take all the organs into consideration, the cross relations and interdependencies become in the highest degree complex. Mr. Darwin has asserted, and his hypothesis has been widely accepted, that, looking to the general resemblances between man and apes, it is possible to conceive that the former may have descended from the latter. It may be acknowledged, for it is certainly true, that the anatomical features of man’s body have more resemblance to those found in the latisternal group of Primates, than to those exhibited by any other section of that order. But what then? Does similarity of structure afford conclusive evidence of common origin? On the contrary, human structural characteristics are shared by so many and such diverse forms, that it is impossible to arrange even groups of genera in a single ascending series from the Aye-aye to man, if all the resemblances are taken into account. If the number of wrist-bones is deemed a special mark of affinity between the Troglodytes and man, why not also between him and the Indris, the Diadem Lemur? If the arms are supposed to evidence descent from the Chimpanzee, why not look upon the legs as evidence of descent from the gibbons? If the “bridging convolutions” in the Orang’s brain help to sustain its claim to supremacy, what weight is to be attached to similar characteristics in the long-tailed, thumbless, Spider Monkeys? The tongue of the orang is more like a man’s than is that of any other animal, but the gibbons have a liver and a stomach which resemble man’s more than do those of any other animal. The orang and chimpanzee possess a liver approximating to that of man, but that of the gorilla is of a very degraded type. The ear lobule of the gorilla, however, makes him at least our cousin, but his tongue betrays his want of relationship. Schroeder, Van der Kolk, and Vrolik say that the lines of affinity existing between different Primates construct a network rather than a ladder, and turn which way we will there is always a network of difficulties when we attempt to account for existing structural characters through the influence of inheritance and “natural selection.”

But if the above-mentioned facts tell against a belief in the origin of man, as descending from the apes by the accidental preservation in the struggle of life of minute and fortuitous structural variations, they do not tell against the evolution hypothesis, if we have reason to think that a law has been



imposed upon nature, by which new and definite species, under definite conditions, emerge from a latent and potential being into manifest existence. The Axolotl, or Mexican eft, is an existing sample of the evolution process. This animal exhibits occasionally a transformation as remarkable as sudden: the whole structure is metamorphosed in a most marvellous manner, and the animal, zoologically speaking, actually changes its genus. The more general form possesses characters of immaturity, but the rare, fully-developed adult is absolutely sterile, the race being kept up by the immature Axolotls.

In a few lines towards the end of his book, the "case for the defence" is well put by Mr. Mivart, and if his premises are granted, the conclusion is obvious, that no natural process will account for the origin of the human body, just as no natural process will account for its entirely different kind of soul. Mr. Mivart has at least demolished the gorilla hypothesis. With whatever genus of ape the preponderance of resemblance to man may rest, it is not with the gorilla, "which is essentially no less a brute, and no more a man, than is the humblest member of the family to which it belongs." Mr. Mivart's little book is an admirable account of the resemblances of the apes amongst themselves and to man. That he has conclusively settled the question of man's descent from the apes we cannot say; but he has pointed out the many defects of the hypothesis; and so far the facts, and consequently the weight of the argument, is on his side. We have but one fault to find with his book—a fault that can be remedied in a second edition, which we think will be speedily required—and that is, the unusual number of typographical errors for a work of this class.



## PART II.

# CHRONICLE OF REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN 1873.

### JANUARY.

1. THE IRON TRADE STRIKE.—The most extensive strike ever known in the iron-works of South Wales, and collieries which are connected with them, has begun. Nearly 70,000 men and boys, one-third of whom belonged to the collieries, have stopped working. Every large establishment in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth, including those of Dowlais, Cyfarthfa, and Plymouth, near Merthyr Tydvil, with Rhymney, Tredegar, Blaina, Nantyglo, Ebbw Vale, Blaenavon, Llynvi, Maesteg, and Cwmavon, has been closed for an indefinite time. The cause of the dispute is the refusal of the workmen to submit to a reduction of ten per cent. in wages, of which the iron-masters gave notice on December 7, and which was followed by most of the coal-owners. The iron-masters allege that this reduction of wages was necessary in consequence of the state of trade. This was denied by the workmen, and the controversy went on till it was arranged that there should be a conference between the masters and delegates of the men to talk it over. The conference took place at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff. Mr. R. Fothergill, M.P., accompanied by Mr. Crawshay, and Mr. Menelaus, manager of the Dowlais Works, who was in the chair, endeavoured to convince the delegates of the true state of the case. They refused, however, to submit the whole question to an arbitration. This was followed by a mass meeting of the workmen next day, at Merthyr Tydvil, when the proposals of the masters were rejected and the strike commenced. On Saturday evening, the 4th, the leading works paid off their last account. At Dowlais, Cyfarthfa, and Plymouth the men were settled with up to date. In every instance the cottage-holders under the respective companies were obliged to include in

their last account the rent of houses for the forthcoming month, the medical relief and school account being also deducted. At Cyfarthfa Works the number of persons paid off was about 4700. The Dowlais Works also paid off on Saturday evening. There no less than 11,000 men were employed, and 10,000*l.* per week paid in wages. The Dowlais Company in full fire keep sixteen furnaces in blast, whilst at Cyfarthfa they have nine in blast. On the other side of the parish the Plymouth Iron Company's Works form a branch of the concern, under the direction of Mr. Fothergill, M.P., and about 5000 men are usually employed there. The unsettled state of affairs formed a subject of comment on Sunday in the chapels. The preachers fervently invoked Divine aid to avert dissension and strife, to which the congregations heartily responded. The colliers of the Forest of Dean held a meeting on Saturday night, and decided to assist their brethren on strike in South Wales. At the same meeting it was resolved by the Park-end Coal Company's colliers to demand the weight of their coals on the pit-bank, as proposed at the termination of their strike fifteen months ago. The iron-workers of South Staffordshire and Worcestershire have agreed to go on working at present prices for three months longer.

9. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.—This Thursday morning, at forty-five minutes past ten, the Emperor Napoleon died at Camden House, Chiselmurst. His Majesty had during the last few days twice undergone the operation of lithotomy while under chloroform, and the bulletins daily issued encouraged the hope that the most favourable results would ensue. The tone of the latest bulletin of Wednesday, which was to the effect that the local symptoms were more severe, and the subsequent report of Sir Henry Thompson, at nine o'clock in the evening, that "the situation was then the same," gave rise to grave apprehensions; but so very sudden a termination to the sufferings of the patient was hardly expected. That there was great danger attending the case was admitted, and every symptom, whether aggravated or otherwise, was keenly observed. Up to past ten o'clock on Wednesday night there was no marked improvement in the Emperor's condition, but later on he had some quiet rest and sound sleep. At a quarter to ten o'clock yesterday morning a consultation took place between Sir Henry Thompson, Dr. Conneau, Dr. le Baron Corvisart, Mr. Clover, and Mr. Foster, at which a third operation was considered desirable, and it was decided that it should take place at noon. At eleven o'clock, however, the following announcement was published at the lodge at Camden House:—

"Camden Place, Chiselmurst, January 9, 11 a.m.

"The Emperor was visited by his medical attendants at eleven o'clock last night, again at 2 a.m. by Dr. Conneau, at 4 a.m. by Dr. le Baron Corvisart, and at 6 a.m. by Sir Henry Thompson, each of whom found him sleeping soundly and materially better than on the preceding night. Pulse between eighty and eighty-four. At 9.45 this morning his Majesty was seen by the above-named, and

also by Mr. Clover, and an operation at noon was decided on. The pulse was then eighty-four, strong and regular, and the local symptoms improved. At 10.25 signs of sinking appeared, the heart's action suddenly failed, and he died at 10.45.

“ HENRY THOMPSON.

“ DR. CONNEAU.

“ DR. LE BARON CORVISART.

“ J. T. CLOVER ”

When it was apparent that the last moments were arriving, the Empress Eugenie and suite were summoned to the sick-chamber, and, with the exception of Count Clary and the Duc de Bassano (who were absent from the house at the time), all the household were present. In the meantime, the Prince Imperial was sent for from the Royal Academy, Woolwich, where, we understand, he was found at drill, but the carriage which brought him did not return to Chiselhurst till after his father's death had taken place. This naturally occasioned the Prince much pain, and appeared to increase the intense grief of the Empress. There were but slight indications of consciousness towards the last moments of the Emperor, but we understand that once or twice he addressed some word to the Empress in a low and feeble tone. The next day (the 10th) the post-mortem examination of the Emperor's body was made at Camden House by Dr. J. Burdon Sanderson, in the presence of Dr. Conneau, Dr. le Baron Corvisart, Sir Henry Thompson, Mr. J. T. Clover, and Mr. John Foster. Death took place by failure of the circulation, and was attributable to the general constitutional state of the patient. A cast of the head and face of the Emperor was taken by Signor D. Brucciani. On Saturday the body of his Majesty was embalmed, after which the Emperor was clothed in the uniform he wore at Sedan, and was placed in the coffin, which was lined with white satin. The Prince of Wales and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein arrived at Camden House to offer their condolences, but the Empress was too prostrate to be able to see their Royal Highnesses. Prince Napoleon, Princess Clotilde, Princess Mathilde, Prince Lucien, Prince Murat, and other members of the Bonaparte and Murat families, also arrived at Camden House, together with many leading Bonapartists. On Monday (13th) the relatives and intimate friends of the Emperor paid their last homage to his Majesty, the remains having been enclosed in three coffins, the outer one of which was covered with purple velvet, mounted by silver nails, the lid ornamented by the Imperial crown, the cipher “ N,” and a Latin cross in silver, and a silver plate, bearing the following inscription:—  
“ Napoléon III., Empéreur des Français. Né à Paris le 20 Avril, 1808; Mort à Camden Place, Chiselhurst, le 9 Janvier, 1873. R.I.P.”

The coffin, which had been removed to the hall, which was fitted up for the lying in state of the Emperor, was edged with bunches of violets, and at the foot was a wreath of the same flowers; with the letter “ N ” in immortelles. The Emperor's face looked calm,

and almost as it was in life. The hands were crossed, and his rings remained upon his fingers; upon his breast was a rose, placed there by the Empress, with an ivory crucifix and a sprig of box. The grand cordon and the plaque of the Legion of Honour were across his Majesty's breast; and he wore also the cross of a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, the médaille militaire and the médaille d'Italie; the Order of the Garter lay on the bier.

On Tuesday the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh were present at the lying in state of the Emperor. Their Royal Highnesses were received by the Prince Imperial, Prince Napoleon, and other members of the imperial family. The Princes had a short interview with the Empress. The lying in state was witnessed by between 25,000 and 30,000 persons, all of whom observed the utmost decorum. A large proportion of the assemblage was French.

The Emperor was buried on Wednesday (the 15th), in a mortuary chapel within St. Mary's Church. The funeral procession left Camden House in the following order:—Deputation of French workmen (carrying the tricoloured flag of France); the cross-bearer, followed by French clergy; the undertakers and bearers; the hearse, drawn by eight horses in black velvet trappings and feathers, the hearse being hung with the imperial arms emblazoned on an éscutcheon, and the imperial crown on each side; the Prince Imperial; Prince Napoleon and Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and Prince Achille and Prince Joachim Murat; the representatives of the Queen and the Princes and Princesses of England; various members of the English nobility; the representatives of the Italian army and of the foreign Sovereigns and their Attachés, the Lord Mayor of London and other civic dignitaries, various English officers, cadets from Woolwich belonging to the same company as the Prince Imperial, the Marshals and Admirals of France, the former Ministers of the Empire, Prefects of the Seine and Police, members of the French Corps Diplomatique, General Officers of the French army, military officers of the household of the late Emperor and Empress, senators and deputies of the Corps Législatif and National Assembly, Councillors d'Etat, &c., the rear being closed by adherents of the Empire and a miscellaneous crowd of friends. The mourners, with the exception of the Prince Imperial, walked to the chapel four abreast, and all were bare-headed. Nearly 40,000 persons witnessed the spectacle. Two hundred persons were seated in the church, including Princess Clotilde, Princess Mathilde, Princess Murat, and many ladies of the French nobility, with the ladies of the imperial household. The Bishop of Southwark met the body and performed the funeral ceremony. The Prince Imperial was painfully affected when taking the last look at the coffin. Upon the return route to Camden House the Prince was greeted with intense enthusiasm, and shouts were raised of "Vive l'Empereur!" "Vive Napoléon Quatre!" "Vive l'Impératrice!" The Empress, with the Prince, appeared at one of the windows of the house and acknowledged the cheers by bowing. Sir Henry Thompson and



Sir William Gull were present at the funeral. The members of the royal family and the principal members of the Corps Diplomatique and of the aristocracy have visited Camden House to evince their sympathy for the Empress.

The service was over by a quarter to one, having lasted quite an hour and a quarter. There was no return procession, but the way was kept clear till all who chose returned to Camden Place. The Prince Imperial was to hold a levée, as a fitting acknowledgment to those who had come so far to honour his father's grave. It was held first in the large drawing-room of Camden Place, and the ground floor of the house was soon filled by Imperialists of rank. When these had paid their respects, the great mass of the people who still crowded the walks and grounds—there was a little empire of perhaps 2000 Frenchmen within the precincts of Camden Place—were formed on the edge of the grass, beginning at right and left at the hall-door, continuing round both sides of the gravel sweep and to the lodge-gate, where the ranks of people met. The Prince, now attended by his father's household, the Duc de Cambacérès showing the way as Grand Chamberlain, walked along the line with Prince Napoleon and the rest. Directly he had passed the hall-door every hat was taken off, and he bore his part with dignity and self-possession. Shaking hands with some and bowing to others, he passed along in silence. Close to the hall-door, at the end of this imperial progress, was posted the deputation of fifty ouvriers, bearing their flag. The spokesman of these said a few words to the Prince; just above was hanging the tricolour, and, as the ouvrier ended his speech with a "Vive Napoléon IV.!" the shout was caught up on all sides, the crowd rushed towards the group of Princes, and Napoleon IV. would have been literally carried off his legs by the loyalty of his new subjects if a way to the hall-door had not been immediately cleared by the desperate efforts of his suite. At the first shout the Prince put up his hand, but it was of no use, and for five minutes after he had entered the house there were enthusiastic cries of "Vive Napoléon IV.!" "Vive l'Empereur!" "Vive l'Impératrice!" ending with a hearty "Vive l'Angleterre!"

The most perfect order and quietude were observed by the multitude throughout the route, and within an hour some thousands of the visitors had left Chiselhurst. Throughout the day there was not the slightest demonstration of any feeling other than those of sympathy or curiosity, and the police were of opinion that there were among the vast numbers assembled no elements of disturbance.

In Paris the news of Napoleon's death was received with profound indifference, and not a single shop was closed on the day of the funeral.

The following are the terms in which the event was announced in the *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic:—"Napoléon III. est mort hier, 9 Janvier, à Chiselhurst." The above appeared in the impression of January 11, no notice of the event having previously been taken by the official organ.

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* writes, on January 11, as follows, and his report is borne out by other testimony :—

“ One wandered about bewildered by the absence of any sign to denote that impressionable Paris was in possession of any fresh topic of common interest and talk. There could scarcely have been less sensation if it had been the Emperor of China whose death was just reported, instead of a Sovereign whose name, for good or evil, had been during twenty years ever in the mouths of these very Parisians, and whose goings in and out among them they had watched daily with eager eyes.”

The following passage from a private letter dated Paris, July 8, 1821, attached to an obituary notice of the First Napoleon in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that time (part ii. p. 87), suggests a curious analogy :—

“ Never has there been a more striking instance of the insubstantiality and worthlessness of popular affection than the effect (or, rather, no effect) produced by the account of Bonaparte's death here. The people who, but a few years back, either trembled before him in fear or hailed his appearance with shouts of enthusiasm, now listen to the narrative of his death with an absence of emotion nearly amounting to complete apathy ; they even scarcely take the trouble of expressing their surprise on the occasion ; and the principal and almost only remark on the circumstance is that he should not have gone to die at St. Helena, but ought to have died, as he lived, an Emperor, at Waterloo.”

13. TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.—The sittings of the Fifth Annual Trades' Union Congress were commenced at noon in the new Assembly-Rooms, Leeds. A hundred and thirty delegates represented various trades and societies from all parts. After the formal matters had been disposed of, Mr. Howell read the report of the Parliamentary committee, which stated that the year just closed marked an era in the history of trades' unionism. It proceeded to detail at great length the proceedings of the committee. Foremost amongst these (says the report) must be named the agitation that has taken place among the agricultural labourers for better pay and more definite hours of work. Starting at Leamington early in the year, the movement has spread throughout nearly the whole of the agricultural districts, and vast organizations have arisen, which will greatly contribute to the emancipation of the English peasantry from the feudalism still attaching to the Land Laws and the social life connected with the soil. The nine-hour movement, which originated with building trades in London in 1859, had sunk into a state of lethargy until the engineers of Sunderland and Newcastle gave it fresh life, and secured their great victory in the autumn of last year. This was soon followed by an active agitation on the part of the engineers all over the country, and January of 1872 opened with a general concession of the nine-hour day in all the leading engineering establishments of the kingdom. The building trades of London followed with a similar demand, and, after a severe struggle, won.

The nine-hour day now bids fair to become general all over the country. The bakers, whose long hours and short pay have often been the theme of philanthropic sentiment, have eagerly and earnestly taken in hand their own work, the result being that in many places they have obtained the concession of a better-defined day together with a substantial rise in wages. Your committee have seen with much pleasure the great growth of trades' unionism during the year; the increase of members has been unprecedented. With regard to the Mines Regulation Act, the committee state that that great measure has now become law; and, referring to the Arbitration Act, 1872, they say that no more important Act passed the Legislature last session, if the provisions of the Act be put into operation, and conscientiously and fairly worked out; for by its provisions all questions affecting labour can be adjusted—and the Masters' and Servants' Act, 1867, can be rendered inoperative as far as criminal prosecutions are concerned. The report then details the proceedings of the committee on the Factories' Nine Hours Bill and the Masters' and Servants' Wages Bill, Workmen and Servants' Compensation for Injuries Bill, and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts. Appended to the report was a paper on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other laws affecting labour, prepared by Mr. Henry Crompton, barrister-at-law. Mr. Crompton sketched the grievances which trades' unions suffer, and offered suggestions for a scheme of practical reform upon the subject.

20. MESSRS. ONSLOW AND WHALLEY IN THE TICHBORNE CASE.—A charge of contempt of Court preferred against Mr. Guildford Onslow, M.P., and Mr. Whalley, M.P., in reference to speeches made by them at meetings held at St. James's Hall in December, to raise funds for the defence of the claimant to the Tichborne estates, was heard in the Court of Queen's Bench. Both the hon. gentlemen were in attendance.

On the part of Mr. Onslow, Sir John Karslake expressed his client's unfeigned regret that he had been betrayed into the course complained of, and for which he desired to make the amplest apology. He also made an unconditional undertaking that he would not in future attend any such meetings as those recently convened at St. James's Hall.

Mr. Digby Seymour, Q.C., then, on behalf of Mr. Whalley, argued that that gentleman entirely disclaimed any intention of prejudicing the forthcoming trial, and that he had acted from a sense of public duty, and after taking the sense of his constituents at Peterborough. The indirect effect of the speeches made might, no doubt, be to prejudice the trial of the claimant; but the direct purpose of the speakers was to raise funds for the claimant's defence.

Mr. Hawkins, Q.C., on the part of the Crown, read to the Court extracts from the speeches of both honourable members, in order to show that the Crown had only discharged its duty in asking that they might be punished for contempt.

The Lord Chief Justice, after conferring with the other judges,

addressed the defendants on the enormity of their offence, and said that the Court was unanimous in thinking that a contempt had been committed. As both defendants had, however, by their counsel offered a full apology for their conduct, and promised not to repeat it, the sentence would be only a very moderate pecuniary penalty. His lordship then ordered each of them to pay a fine of 100*l.*, adding that in their case it would not be necessary to inflict the usual sentence of imprisonment until the fine should have been paid.

On the following day the Lord Chief Justice, when he entered the Court, said he was desirous of saying a word with reference to this case, because he found an impression had gone forth that in remitting that part of the judgment which provided that until the amount of the fine was paid the parties guilty of the contempt should stand committed, he was supposed to have done it in consequence of his anticipating some difficulty with reference to the imprisonment of members of Parliament, from some privilege they might possess as members of the Legislature. It was an entire mistake to suppose so. Imprisonment was only pronounced in these cases as a means of insuring the payment of the fine, and he was reminded at the time by his learned brother, Mr. Justice Blackburn, that the payment of a fine might be enforced without having recourse to imprisonment; and it occurred to him at once that unless it was necessary, as part of the judgment, that the defendants should be imprisoned till the fine was paid, it was useless to impose the condition, as, looking to the position in society of the defendants, their ability to pay, and the means that existed of enforcing the fines, there was no necessity of having recourse to the alternative. It was on that ground alone that that part of the judgment was recalled or removed. He intended to intimate at the time, and he thought he had done it in the judgment that was pronounced with the full concurrence of the other members of the Bench, that if there had not been perfect submission by the defendants to the Court, and the fullest and most positive assurance that there would be no renewal of the offence in question, the Court would have thought it their duty to have added the punishment of imprisonment to that of the pecuniary fine imposed. The possibility of coming into collision with the House of Commons did not appear to them to be a thing that they could possibly believe would ever occur, for he was quite sure the House of Commons would not desire to interpose the privilege of its members in the way of preventing punishment by imprisonment, if necessary, for contempt in the administration of justice in that Court.

The Claimant addressed a large meeting at Brighton on January 21, when he stated it to be his intention to petition Parliament that Lord Chief Justice Cockburn should not preside at the approaching trial.

On their Lordships taking their seats in Court on January 22, the Lord Chief Justice, addressing the Attorney-General, said:—

"Seeing you in your place, Mr. Attorney-General, I desire, on the part of my learned brothers and myself, to place in your hands, as the representative of the profession, and the head of it, certain newspapers which I have received this morning, and which contain an account of a public meeting held in the matter of the Tichborne trial in the public assembly-rooms of Brighton, with reference to the course the Court took, and the sentence pronounced on Monday last. If the report of the proceedings is correct, and it seems to be the same in the different newspapers I hold in my hand, the authority of this Court has been set at utter defiance, and reflections made on the conduct of the judges who constituted it, which if true cannot be looked upon in any other light than a gross aggravation of the contempt of this Court in commenting on matters to come under our consideration in the approaching trial. We cannot on mere newspaper reports take any step in the matter, but we think we have a right to claim from you, as the head of the profession, that you shall cause steps to be taken to ascertain whether the reports so contained in these newspapers are correct reports of what took place at the meeting in question, and if so, that you shall take the proper steps to bring the matter before the Court."

In pursuance of these remarks proceedings were taken against the Claimant himself, and a Mr. G. D. Skipworth, of Caistor, near Leicester, a barrister who had made himself prominent at Brighton and elsewhere. The charge was heard on the 29th, and the accused defended themselves—the Claimant with conspicuous ability and moderation. Mr. Skipworth received a sentence of 500*l.* fine and three months' imprisonment; the Claimant was discharged on giving security to be of good behaviour for three months.

22. WRECK OF THE "NORTHFLEET."—A terrible accident has occurred off Dungeness, on the south coast of Kent, by which a large outward-bound emigrant-ship, with more than 300 human beings, was sent to the bottom of the sea. The "Northfleet" was a fine old ship of 940 tons, built some years ago, at a cost of 25,000*l.*, at Northfleet, near Gravesend. She was originally built for Mr. Dent's China trade, afterwards became the property of Mr. Duncan Dunbar, and at his death was sold to Messrs. John Patton, jun., and Co., of Liverpool and London, of whom she was lately chartered by the firm of Edwin Clark, Punchard, and Co., of Victoria-street, Westminster, contractors for the Tasmanian Main Line Railway, to convey 350 railway labourers, with a very few women and children under twelve years of age, to Hobart Town.

The "Northfleet" left the East India Docks on Friday, the 17th ult., with her full complement of passengers, the officers and crew numbering about forty, and completing a living freight of about 400 persons. There were not more than 450 tons of cargo on board, chiefly iron rails and railway material, which was stowed in the lower hold, the entire range of the ship between decks having been fitted up for passengers. Almost at the moment of the ship



leaving the docks her commander during the last five years, Captain Oates, was stopped by a Treasury warrant of subpœna to attend the Tichborne trial, it being understood that he was the last man who saw the real Roger Tichborne when the latter left Rio. The vessel was quite ready to sail when the warrant was served, and Messrs. Patton having perfect confidence in Captain Oates's chief officer, Mr. Knowles, gave the command of the ship to him, and allowed him to take on board with him the lady to whom he had been married about a month ago, and who is among the few saved.

After leaving Gravesend the "Northfleet" encountered the full force of the late stormy weather, and Captain Knowles felt it prudent to anchor under the North Foreland, where she remained until the Tuesday. The passengers meanwhile, though the ship was in some degree sheltered, suffered great inconvenience from the bad weather. Captain Knowles, in a letter to the owners on the Monday, stated that the surgeon's hands were very full in attending upon the female passengers. On the Tuesday, the weather having slightly moderated, the "Northfleet" weighed anchor and sailed down Channel, and was reported at Lloyd's as having passed Deal "all well." On the Wednesday at sunset she came to anchorage off Dungeness, about two miles from shore, in eleven fathoms water, between No. 1 and 2 batteries, and almost opposite the coastguard station.

About ten o'clock the ship was taut and comfortable for the night. Almost all the passengers had turned in, and none but the usual officers and men of the watch were on deck. Just as the bells were striking the half-hour past ten, the watch observed a large steamer, outward bound, coming directly towards them. She appeared to be going at full speed, and the shouts of the men on watch, who called upon her to alter her course, roused Captain Knowles, who was on the afterdeck. But in another moment the steamer came on to the "Northfleet," striking her broadside almost amidships, making a breach in her timbers beneath the water-line, and crushing the massive timbers traversing the main-deck.

The shock is described by the survivors as like the concussion of a very powerful cannon. One of the strangest things was that, immediately after the collision, the steamer cleared the ship, and before many of the terrified people below could reach the deck, she was out of sight. Most of the passengers were awakened by the shock, and a fearful panic ensued. Captain Knowles acted with singular calmness, promptitude and decision. He caused rockets to be sent up, bells to be rung, and other signals of distress; but the gun to be fired would not go off, the touch-hole being clogged. Meantime he directed the boats to be launched, giving orders that the safety of the women and children should be first secured. There was a disposition to set these orders at defiance, and, on some of the crew crowding to the davits, with a view of effecting their own safety, Captain Knowles drew a revolver, and declared he would

shoot the first man who attempted to save himself in the boats before the women were cared for. Most of the crew seemed to understand that the captain was not to be trifled with ; but one man, Thomas Biddles, refused to obey the order, and the captain fired at Biddles, in a boat alongside the ship. The bullet entered the man's leg just above the knee.

Meantime, the pumps were set to work, but with little or no effect, the water pouring in through the opening in the ship's side. The scene on deck was frightful. Many of the passengers were in their nightdresses, others had only such scanty clothing as they could secure on quitting their berths. Children were screaming for their parents, and parents searching in vain for their children ; husbands and wives were hopelessly separated. The horror was increased by the darkness of night. The captain's wife was placed with other women in the long-boat, under the charge of the boat-swain ; but the tackle being too suddenly set adrift, the boat was stove in.

By this time the "City of London" steam-tug, having perceived the signals of distress, reached the spot, and succeeded in rescuing nearly the whole of the occupants of the boat, as well as several others of the passengers and crew, to the number of thirty-four. She remained cruising about the spot till early next morning, picking up such of the passengers as could get clear of the wreck, and in the hope, which proved vain, of rendering assistance to those who might have floated on fragments of the ship after she settled down. The Kingsdown lugger "Mary" was likewise attracted by the signals of distress, and succeeded in picking up thirty passengers. The London pilot-cutter No. 3, and the "Princess," stationed at Dover, also got to the spot, and succeeded in rescuing twenty-one, ten of them from the rigging. The total number thus rescued was eighty-five persons.

The ship went down about three-quarters of an hour after she was struck, the captain remaining at his post till she sank. One of the survivors states that he was standing close to the captain when she went down. The former managed to lay hold of some floating plank, and was borne to the surface. The captain, however, was not again seen. The pilot and ten others had taken to the mizen-topmast, from which they were rescued. Captain Knowles and the whole of the officers perished.

The first body recovered was that of Mr. Samuel Frederick Brand, railway engineer, who was one of the two cabin passengers. A reward of 10*l.* was offered for the recovery of his body, and it was picked up off Dungeness in the night, by the Dover pilot-cutter, which was cruising about the place. The body was floating in the sea, being supported by a life-belt. The young man had died of cold and exhaustion. An inquest was held on Saturday, at the village of Lydd, by Mr. Phinn, High Bailiff and Coroner ; but was adjourned for more evidence. Mr. Brand's body was interred at New Romney, on Sunday. An official inquiry was opened at the

Custom House, Dover, before Mr. G. Braggett, Collector of Customs, acting for the Receiver of Wrecks. Several witnesses have been examined. A statement has been made by James Beveridge, the only survivor who was on deck at the time the collision occurred. He says that at half-past ten o'clock he went on deck. After he had been there about five minutes he heard one of the crew shout out, "Ahoy! ahoy!" and he then blew a whistle. The men continued to shout and whistle about five minutes, when he saw a two-masted steamer with a straight bow come stem on and strike the "Northfleet" amidships. He saw the riding light of the "Northfleet" at the time of the collision; it was burning brightly. He called out to the steamer to stand by the "Northfleet," as they had 400 souls on board, but no answer came back.

Another witness was Thomas Biddles, the man who was shot by Captain Knowles. He said that amid all the noise and confusion was heard the voice of Captain Knowles, who, having seen his wife into one of the boats, stood at the wheel giving directions for the firing of signals and devising means to save as many lives as possible. The captain aimed his revolver at Biddles, who heard the first ball fly over his head. He shot at another man, but the pistol missed fire. The tug had just steamed up to the spot and lighted up the horrible scene. Hardly had the boat, containing nine persons—the captain's wife, the boatswain, and four labourers, with three of the ship's crew—got alongside the tug, when, by the gleam of the last rocket in the sky and the lights from the tug, the figure-head of the "Northfleet" was seen slowly to sink under water. The crowded stern rose up in the sea, and then, with a loud rushing noise, almost immediately disappeared, leaving several hundred people struggling for their lives in the water. The shrieking of the women and the loud cries of the men for help were awful, and must have been heard miles off. Some of those that could not swim were floating in the water on barrels and pails, of which they lost their hold from sheer exhaustion. Biddles noticed one friend of his in the water; a man who, with his wife and only child, was clinging to a ladder, when a wave came and washed all three off; the woman and child sank and never rose again; the man managed to clutch the ladder, but it was out of his power to save his wife and child.

In reply to some comments which have been made, Messrs. John Patton and Co., the owners of the "Northfleet," have published a letter in which they affirm that their ship was in all respects fully and properly equipped for her intended voyage. She was a strong, stanch vessel, built principally of teak, A 1 at Lloyd's, just out of dry dock, newly metalled, and in excellent trim. No expense or trouble was spared in her outfit. Mr. Patton, assisted by Captain Oates, attended personally to her equipment, and nothing was wanting which was requisite and usual in the fitting out of an emigrant-ship. She was well manned, and had a full complement and measurement of boats and stores according to the Board of Trade's requirements.

It must seem remarkable that while the "Northfleet" showed lights and other signals of distress within two miles of shore, during twenty minutes or half an hour, no notice was taken of them. When a ship is in difficulties in the night, it is usual for her either to fire guns or exhibit a flare of lights. But here even the vessels close at hand thought that the ship was only signalling for a pilot; and at the time there were nearly a hundred vessels at anchor in the roadstead, with their lights burning brilliantly. Those on board the three ships nearest the wreck would have instantly sent help had they imagined that there was a vessel in distress, and they could have got to the ship in a few minutes; for, although the night was dark and squally, it was clear at intervals, and any boat could live, the sea not being rough. It appears that the "Corona," an Australian clipper, chartered by Messrs. George Thompson, jun., and Co., of Leadenhall-street, was lying at anchor within 300 yards of the "Northfleet" when the disaster occurred, but neither the terrible shock of the collision, the subsequent cries for aid, nor the rockets continuously fired from the deck of the sinking ship, could arouse the man who was the only watch on deck to call up either his comrades or the officers of his ship. Captain Bates, the commander of the "Corona," assured the chief officer of the Coast Guard that had this man roused either himself or any of his officers, all the passengers and crew of the "Northfleet" might have been saved.

The chief Coast Guard officer reports that the night was starless and very dark and showery. He was on the look-out, and saw the rockets fired from the "Northfleet," but was uncertain whether or not they were merely signals for a pilot; he went into his cottage for a telescope, and before he could get his glasses bright and return to the beach the rockets had ceased. He neither saw nor heard anything more until daylight, when the spars and topmast of the "Northfleet" showed themselves well above the water. Later in the day he went in his boat and boarded the "Corona," when Captain Bates narrated to him the miserable story.

Various reports were at first current as to the name of the vessel which ran the "Northfleet" down, and which passed straight on her way without taking any heed of the disaster she had caused, though it must have been clearly known on board of her, if not, it is to be hoped, to the full extent of the calamity. Suspicion attached to the "Murillo," a Spanish steamer bound for Lisbon from Antwerp.

The "Murillo" arrived at Cadiz on the evening of Thursday, the 30th, having stopped at Belem, the entrance to the port of Lisbon, on the day before, and having then been warned by a telegram to go on to Cadiz without landing her Lisbon cargo. Upon her arrival at Cadiz, an official inquiry was commenced at the instance of the British Consul. From the report of Mr. Macpherson, Lloyd's agent at Cadiz, it appeared that her starboard bow had been newly painted, black and red, to the water-line, and her port bow showed marks of

a slight indentation near the anchor davit. It was stated, however, on behalf of her owners, that the painting was done in London or Antwerp before she started on her present voyage, and that the indentation had been made on entering the port of Havre two years before. An inquiry was instituted in the Spanish Courts, and the committee appointed for that purpose declared that the "Murillo" was not the vessel which ran down the "Northfleet." The "Murillo" was therefore released. Her owners brought an action against Mr. Macpherson, Lloyd's agent at Madrid, in which they claim the sum of 2000*l.* in respect of damage sustained through the publication of untruthful statements in telegrams sent by him to England.

The verdict on the Coroner's Inquest in England was as follows: "That the 'Northfleet' was run down while at anchor by a steamer whose name and nation are unknown; but that there must have been negligence or carelessness on the part of those in charge of the steamer. The jury add to their verdict that great praise is due to the masters and crews of the pilot-cutter 'Princess' and the tug 'City of London' for their exertions in saving the lives they did. The jury also consider that if the steamer which caused the collision had stood by the sinking vessel, instead of so unmercifully leaving her to her fate, most, if not all, of the lives would have been saved. They also consider that a distinct code of signals should be established."

In the City of London, when the story became widely known, the Lord Mayor, desirous of aiding in the relief of the lamentable distress, not only of the survivors from the wreck, but still more of the wives and families of the men who have perished, lost no time in rallying round him a number of gentlemen in the City, including Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., the Sheriffs of London, and Mr. George Moore, among others, with the view of setting on foot a public subscription. On the first day about 500*l.* had been raised by way of a beginning, the Messrs. Rothschild heading the list with a donation of 100 guineas, and Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., 100 guineas. The Queen has since given 200*l.*, and the fund subscribed now amounts to several thousand pounds. There are eighty-five persons to be provided for; but out of forty-one or forty-two married couples on board, some with children, representing 143 lives in all, only three men, one woman, and two children were saved. One of these is a little girl, named Maria Taplin, ten years of age, both of whose parents and her brother and sister are drowned. She has been kindly adopted by Miss Forster, sister of the Belgian Consul at Dover.

Captain Edward Knowles was the son of Mr. Knowles, of Northwich, Cheshire, and grandson of the late Mr. Charles Knowles, assistant magistrate's clerk of Manchester, and formerly of Shrewsbury and Rugby. Captain Knowles was born at Gravesend, Kent, within two miles of where his ship was built, but was removed from the place of his birth at two years of age. He was about thirty-



three years of age at his death. He was married on December 4, at St. Mary's Church, Newington, to a young lady of twenty-four, Miss Frederica Markham. Great sympathy is felt for the young widow.

25. FUNERAL OF LORD LYTTON.—The remains of Lord Lytton were to-day interred in Westminster Abbey. The funeral procession left the town residence of the deceased nobleman, 12, Grosvenor-square, shortly before twelve o'clock, in the following order:—

The Tenants and Labourers on the Knebworth Estate.

The Coronet, carried by his Lordship's Steward, Mr. Webb.

The Insignia of the Order of St. Michael and St. George,  
carried by Mr. Hax, the Butler.

THE HEARSE.

The chief mourners as follows:—Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Lytton, Mr. William Bulwer, Colonel Bulwer, Mr. Ernest Villiers, Mr. Henry Loch, C.B., Rev. Charles Pearson (Rector of Knebworth), Mr. John Forster, Mr. Gedge and Mr. Lambert (solicitors of the family).

The number of mourners in the procession was confined to the above, but the political and other friends of Lord Lytton received tickets of admission to the Jerusalem Chamber and other parts of the Abbey.

The procession arrived punctually at half-past twelve o'clock, and the coffin was borne into the Abbey by the cloister door and placed on the bier in front of the chancel. Among those who joined the procession within the Abbey were the Lord Chancellor and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, the Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, the Right Hon. H. Childers, and Lord Chelmsford. Among those in the immediate vicinity of the coffin were Mr. V. Harcourt, M.P., Mr. W. H. Lecky, Lord Arthur Russell, Mr. Blackwood, of Edinburgh, Mr. R. N. Phillipps, LL.D., F.S.A., Recorder of Pontefract (as representative of the Council of the British Archæological Association), Mr. Hepworth Dixon, &c.

The whole floor of the chapel was covered with black cloth. A raised platform was built over the graves of Robert de Waldeby, Alsanor Bohun, and Mary Villiers, and this structure, as well as the edge of the grave itself, and the outlines of the tomb of Humphrey Bouchier, were bordered with a ribbon of white. Candles were set in the alcove containing the tomb of Sir Bernard Brocas, on the piers of the monument to John, Lord Russell, and elsewhere in the little chapel, on account of the fog which pervaded the Abbey during the greater part of the morning.

Lord Lytton's grave is in the enclosed chapel of St. Edmund, south-east of the chancel, and near Poets' Corner. It is close by the tomb of Humphrey Bouchier, who fell at the battle of Barnet, so picturesquely described by Lord Lytton in the "Last of the Barons." Among the surrounding tombs is that of Archbishop Waldeby, the accomplished companion of the Black Prince, and the earliest representative of literature in the Abbey. Not far off

lic Robert Ayton, the Scottish poet, ancestor of his better known namesake of modern times, and Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary.

30. THE GREAT CORAM-STREET MURDER.—ARREST OF DR. HESSEL.—For the murder of Harriet Buswell in Great Coram-street, on Christmas morning, the police have arrested a German clergyman of the name of Hessel.

The manner of his arrest was somewhat peculiar. Since the murder close watch has been kept on the numerous foreign vessels arriving at and leaving Ramsgate, and on January 18 Superintendent Buss arrested Carl Whollebe, the surgeon's assistant of the brig "Wangerland," which put into that port with 163 emigrants on board about a fortnight before Christmas for repairs, and was lying there waiting a favourable wind. The police had learned that Mr. Whollebe left Ramsgate for London by the last up-train on December 22 with the chaplain of the "Wangerland," whose name is Hessel, the chaplain's wife, and a Mr. Hermes, a shipowner. On January 4 he returned to Ramsgate and went to Hiscock's Royal Hotel, where he had been staying before, and requested that his luggage might be sent on board the vessel, but expressed his intention to sleep there that night. After his return from London he went to the hotel, and about two a.m. he suddenly left the house and returned to his ship. Superintendent Buss having telegraphed to Bow-street that his suspicions had been aroused, Inspector Harnett went to Ramsgate in company with the two witnesses, William Stalker, the waiter at the Alhambra, and George Fleck, the greengrocer. The witnesses, however, failed to identify the prisoner, and declared he was not the man whom they had seen. Being shown the chaplain, Dr. Hessel, they declared he was the man whom they had seen in company with the murdered woman. The chaplain was thereupon placed under arrest, and Mr. Whollebe released.

Dr. Hessel was brought up before the magistrates at Bow-street on January 20, and remanded for a week. Superintendent Thompson, in explaining to the magistrate why the prisoner had been arrested, stated that he would be able to show that Hessel was in London on the day in question. One of the waiters at the Hotel Cavour, in Leicester-square, was called as a witness, and said that, having attended to the deceased and a companion late on Christmas-eve, to the best of his belief she was accompanied by the prisoner at the bar. If it was not him it was his twin brother, or witness was never more mistaken. On being asked by Mr. Vaughan, the witness said he was fully aware of the importance of his evidence. It was stated by Superintendent Thompson that this waiter had been taken to see several persons, and on no occasion had he identified any one until he saw Dr. Hessel.

Yesterday (29th) the proceedings were commenced by Mr. Poland, who examined several witnesses. The waiter at the Solferino restaurant, the greengrocer who sold fruit to the deceased and her male companion early on Christmas morning, and the servant girl who saw a man leave the house later in the day, all

adhered to their recognition of the prisoner as the person whom they had seen, while other witnesses were not nearly so strong on the score of identification.

A housemaid at the Royal Hotel, Ramsgate, testified to the request of the prisoner, after his return from London, three or four days after Christmas, for some turpentine and a clothes-brush, and to the fact that a great deal of turpentine was used; while a laundress deposed that, out of a number of handkerchiefs given to her to wash for Dr. Hessel, six or seven were stained, and one was completely saturated with blood.

For the defence an *alibi* was set up and established to the satisfaction of the magistrate, Mr. Vaughan; Whollebe, Hessel's companion, being the principal witness to prove that he had never left his hotel on the night of the murder. After he and others had been examined, Mr. Vaughan said, "To my mind it has been conclusively shown that Dr. Hessel was not the companion of the murdered woman on that evening. The evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution examined at the court at first undoubtedly pointed to Dr. Hessel as having been in the company of that unfortunate woman, and therefore the police were perfectly justified in taking the course they did. This case has been most fully investigated here, and the witnesses on both sides have been subjected to a close and searching cross-examination, and I am satisfied that the witnesses who have spoken to the identity of Dr. Hessel are entirely in error. But, even supposing that their evidence had been stronger and free from discrepancies, I should have considered that the case on the part of the prosecution had been entirely destroyed by the evidence of the witnesses for the defence. It is therefore my duty, and a duty which I discharge with great satisfaction to myself, to state that the prisoner is released, and, as far as I can see, I can say that he leaves this court without suspicion."

Dr. Hessel was indemnified for his sufferings by a very large subscription.

31. THE STRIKE IN SOUTH WALES continues. An attempt made, by a proposal of Mr. Brogden, M.P., to bring about a settlement of this dispute, which has stopped the work and wages of 70,000 persons in the collieries and iron furnaces of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, meets with greater opposition than was foreseen, as the plan of "the double shift," which would admit of an economy in management that might allow the masters to continue the late scale of wages, is disliked by a large part of the colliers, and more especially by those employed in the steam-coal district, who, though not yet on strike, are the main support of the union. An opinion seems to prevail among these men that it is for their interest, as a class, to limit the amount of coal produced from the collieries by a given number of hands, and this notion has prejudiced them against the system of the double shift, which proves satisfactory where tried in the north of England. The men in the iron-works, far more numerous than the colliers, are unable to get to work again while

the latter refuse to supply coal for the blasting of the iron ore. Severe distress begins first to be felt among those classes of labourers who are least responsible for the strike, and who are connected with no trade union. One of their miseries is the want of fuel for household use, as their wives and children can no longer get their baskets filled at the pit's mouth for a few pence; but there is also much want of food, and a free soup-kitchen has now been established at Merthyr Tydvil by a charitable committee, with the Marquis of Bute at its head. The clothes and furniture of many poor families, whose cottages were respectable and comfortable a few weeks ago, must soon be carried to the pawn-shop. The money of those who had deposits in the savings' banks is already gone. It is said by those best acquainted with the district that the vice of drunkenness was terribly common, as shown by the statistics of convictions in the local magistrates' courts.

## FEBRUARY.

1. **TERRIBLE GALES.**—A storm which recent observations at the Meteorological Office showed was coming, reached the southern part of this country this (Saturday) evening. The wind then began to rise, and during the night it blew a hurricane. This moderated towards daylight on Sunday morning, and then came a heavy fall of snow, which by night covered the streets of London to the depth of several inches. In some places where the snow was drifted by the wind it was more than a foot deep. The wind blew keenly during the day from the north-east, and the thermometer standing from four to six degrees below freezing-point, the snow remained firmly on the ground.

From all parts of the country reports are sent as to the gale and snowstorm. On some of our coasts great damage has been done to the shipping.

Mount's Bay, Cornwall, presented a dreadful scene on Sunday, and there was a tremendous sea. A French vessel, "*La Marie Emilie*," of Lorient, went ashore, and the sea rolled over her. The "*Richard Lewis*" lifeboat proceeded to the wreck, but was twice driven back by the heavy rollers, and had seven of her oars broken. Still her crew persevered, notwithstanding that the boat was actually hurled by the rollers twice on the wreck itself. On the third attempt she succeeded in saving the whole of the shipwrecked Frenchmen. Mr. Blackmore, the chief officer of the coastguard, particularly distinguished himself on board the lifeboat.

From Falmouth we learn that during a gale on Saturday night a steamer, "*Clan Alpine*," belonging to the River Baramo Steamship Company, went ashore at the Blackhead. There was a tre-

mendous sea running at the time, and she went to pieces almost immediately. The rain fell in torrents at the time, and the force of the wind is described as fearful. Eighteen of the crew were saved, but Captain Nelson, Captain Burnett, the company's overlooker, as well as the first officer, chief steward, cook, and others, amounting in all to thirteen, perished.

During the early part of Saturday night a portion of the sea-wall near Penzance was blown down, and about eighty yards of the road between Penzance and Newlyn were washed away.

Late on Saturday night the schooner "Sarah," of Runcorn, was sighted in distress off Balbriggan. The Skerries lifeboat proceeded to her assistance with a crew of coastguards and fishermen, numbering eleven hands. The lifeboat, however, capsized, and seven out of the eleven men were drowned. The lifeboat was lost, and the schooner was dashed almost to pieces on the Carrabates rocks. The crew, numbering seven hands, were lost.

On Sunday morning the schooners "Rambler" and "Mary Ann," and the brig "Francis," all of which had brought up in St. Ives Bay on Saturday night, drove ashore near the harbour. A strong gale from the E.N.E. was blowing at the time, accompanied by a heavy sea. After great trouble, on account of its being dead low water, the lifeboat "Covent Garden," belonging to the Lifeboat Society, was launched, and proceeded to the wreck. The first time the boat was driven ashore at Porthminster Beach. At once another volunteer crew mustered, and the boat was again launched. That time she was successful in saving the crew of five men of the schooner "Mary Ann," together with another man who had been washed from the other schooner. Two of the crew of the "Rambler" were washed overboard and drowned before the boat could reach the vessel. The lifeboat, however, succeeded in rescuing the remaining man. It then returned to the shore, where a third crew was organized, and they made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to rescue the brig's crew. The boat was driven ashore by the force of the wind and sea. The men in her were quite exhausted, and a fourth crew was obtained, there being fortunately a sufficient number of men at hand. The lifeboat, though with great difficulty, being once more launched, was then enabled to save the six men on board the brig, making altogether thirteen lives she had saved in these most gallant services. Murphy, the coxswain, deserves great praise, for he was in the boat on all the four occasions. When the lifeboat failed, in the first instance, a message was despatched to Hayle, the adjoining station, for the institution's lifeboat "Isis," and in three quarters of an hour from the receipt of the message that boat was got to St. Ives, by which time, however, she was not needed, the other lifeboat there having rendered the required service.

— FREE OPENING OF KEW BRIDGE. — The well-known stone bridge of seven arches over the Thames at Kew, which was built above eighty years ago, is now open to all passengers free of toll. The opening ceremony took place to-day. It was attended by the



Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and by Colonel Hogg, M.P., official chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works. This bridge was private property, vested in trustees, and is the fourth bridge across the upper district of the Thames that has been emancipated within the last few years, mainly by the application of the coal and wine dues of the City of London and the metropolis; the trustees in this case receiving, by way of compensation, 57,300*l*. Kingston Bridge was the first that was freed from toll, in March, 1870, when the venerable Lord St. Leonards, then in his ninetieth year, rode on horseback in the procession, as High Steward of the manor of Kingston. Since then the bridges at Walton and Staines have been emancipated, and it now only remains to free the bridge at Hampton to complete the work in the upper part of the Thames. The watchword in the surrounding districts has of late been "Free bridges for a free people," which on Saturday was displayed on banners. By a bill introduced by the Government in May, 1868, it was originally intended to continue the coal and wine duties until 1889 for the purposes of the Thames Embankment and certain City improvements; but that being strenuously opposed by the inhabitants of districts bordering upon the Thames, as the bill then stood, a clause was inserted to the effect that the duties should be applied in the first instance to the freeing from toll the five bridges of Kew, Kingston, Hampton Court, Walton, and Staines.

Before the ceremony to-day there was a procession of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, in their state carriages, from the Gunnersbury station into the village of Kew. The line of route was filled with people, and the windows on both sides were crowded. The approaches to the bridge were spanned by triumphal arches, composed of evergreens, and banners floated from both sides throughout the entire length. On the Lord Mayor and Colonel Hogg, with the Sheriffs, arriving at the northern entrance to the bridge, they alighted, and were received by Mr. Mason, chairman of the trustees. Advancing towards them, Mr. Mason handed the Lord Mayor a finely-worked mediæval key, highly polished, and ornamented with masonic emblems. The Lord Mayor asked Mr. Mason if he and his co-trustees had received the purchase-money for the bridge, 57,300*l*. A reply having been given in the affirmative, the Lord Mayor, amid rounds of cheering and booming of cannon, unlocked the gate. The firemen rushed forward, and, raising the gate from its hinges, bore it in triumph to a brewer's dray, decked with evergreens and flowers, and drawn by a pair of white horses, driven by a man in a red cap. The firemen having mounted the dray, which became a conspicuous object in the pageant, the journey was continued along the bridge, amid salvos of artillery, and round Kew-green, returning eventually by the bridge to the "Star and Garter," at the north end, where a luncheon awaited the chief persons who had taken part in the ceremony.

10. DR. HESSEL.—To-day, at the German Consulate-General, Dr. Hessel was presented with the testimonial raised to compensate

him, so far as such means can avail, for his connexion with the Great Coram-street tragedy. The funds collected in other quarters, and through the medium of the *Daily Telegraph*, amounted to 1225*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and the proceedings culminated in a touching request by Dr. Hessel that 200*l.* of the money, along with a handsome silver cup, which formed part of the testimonial, should be sent to his sorely-afflicted father in Germany. The cup, which is of classic form and design, bears the inscription—"To Dr. Gottfried Hessel: a token of English sympathy and respect. London, January 30, 1873." The date is that of Dr. Hessel's release from detention.

The Queen contributed 30*l.* to this testimony of national feeling as a token of her Majesty's individual regret. Thus consoled, Dr. Hessel was entertained in the evening by the German Gymnastic Society.

18. TERRIBLE COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—On this (Tuesday) afternoon a fearful explosion, resulting in serious loss of life, took place in the colliery known as Talk-o'-the-Hill, a pit situated about four miles from Tunstall and one mile from Harecastle station. The scene of the present disaster is one that is already well known in the annals of colliery catastrophes. At the Talk-o'-the-Hill Colliery occurred, on the 13th December, 1866, an explosion which occasioned the loss of no less than eighty lives. It appears that the explosion occurred in the eight-feet seam, where twenty men were working. What caused it has not yet been ascertained. There is a conjecture, however, that the firing of a shot was the destructive agent. None of the unfortunate miners escaped. Efforts were immediately made to recover the bodies, but without the slightest success. It appears, indeed, to have been quite impossible to get to the workings, the roadways and supports having been destroyed by the explosion, and blocked the passage. A portion of the works took fire in consequence of the explosion, and only with difficulty, and after the lapse of considerable time, were the flames extinguished. The men who went down the pit were quite unable to remain in it long, on account of the after-damp. At the pit mouth there was, as may be supposed, a very distressing scene. It appears that a number of workmen engaged in the seven-feet seam at the time of the explosion were affected by it, but did not suffer seriously.

Up to four o'clock on Wednesday but fourteen bodies had been recovered, the state of the pit rendering it impossible for the present to penetrate to the places where the others are thought to be buried. The first that were found lay in a group. One hundred men have been busy exploring the workings under the direction of Mr. Hunter and several mining engineers connected with the collieries in the locality. Several slight explosions have occurred, but they have not been attended with serious results. The work of clearing away the *débris* has been going on without intermission since the accident occurred, and the obstructions are being removed as rapidly as possible. The bodies brought up are fearfully burnt, and some of them much mutilated. So disfigured, indeed, are three of the

bodies, it was found impossible to recognize them, and several others could only be identified by their clothes. Two of the fourteen bodies recovered were taken home, and twelve are lying at a neighbouring inn. The mine has been known as one of the best ventilated in the district. Several lamps have been found, and these had all been broken by the force of the explosion, but none had been opened.

Two more bodies were recovered on Thursday, making sixteen in all, and efforts are being vigorously maintained to get at the others. The last body brought up was dreadfully mutilated, having been buried under heavy rock and earth.

The ventilation of the pit has now been restored, and the work of clearing can therefore be proceeded with more rapidly.

An inquest was opened on Thursday, at the Swan Inn, Talke.

— **SERIOUS CHARGE OF FRAUD AGAINST A MERCHANT.**—Mr. Joseph de Lizardi, whose failure had already been announced, was brought before the Lord Mayor, on a warrant, charged with having obtained by false pretences from Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co. the sum of 12,000*l.*, with intent to defraud. Mr. B. W. Currie, a member of the firm of Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., said he knew the prisoner, who carried on business under the style of Francisco de Lizardi and Co., in Cannon-street. On February 3 his firm were under considerable advances to the prisoner. On that day the prisoner came to him at the bank. He had previously been pressing him for advances, representing that large sums were due to him from brokers at the Baltic Coffee-house, and consequently that the advance would only be required for a very short period. He placed a paper in witness's hand, and witness agreed to lend him 12,000*l.*, to be repaid on February 6. The security he gave were orders for goods represented to be of the value of 23,000*l.* Among the documents was a bill of lading for 3234 bags of wheat, weighing together 265,191 kilogrammes, by the steamer "Anne Webster," then at Santander, to be delivered in London to the order of F. de Lizardi and Co. It was dated January 23. On the faith of his statements the advance of 12,000*l.* was made. He did not repay it on February 6, and it was still due to the firm. On February 12 he called several times for the purpose of inducing witness to honour his acceptances. He handed him a paper purporting to be a valuation of the securities held by the bank, and among them he found the wheat in question, said to be of the value of 5000*l.* On that day the bank honoured his acceptances on the faith of his representation that they were secured to an amount more than four times above that of the advances they had made. On February 13 the bank returned his drafts, and the firm failed. It was subsequently discovered that the wheat had been mortgaged on January 27 to another firm, so as to be valueless as security to Messrs. Glyn.—On this evidence the further hearing was adjourned, bail being refused.

22. **MR. EDWIN JAMES.**—The hearing of the appeal of Mr. Edwin James, some time a well-known Queen's Counsel, and one of the

members for Marylebone, to be reinstated as a member of the English Bar, was brought to a conclusion, the Judges deciding that Mr. James had shown no adequate cause for reversing the decision of the Benchers of the Inner Temple, and that he could not be readmitted to practise at the Bar. In 1861 he was disbarred by the Benchers of the Inner Temple, and against that decision he recently lodged an appeal to the Judges. The proceedings, which were conducted in private, lasted three days. Lord Chief Justice Bovill, who at first appeared with the other Judges, was objected to by Mr. James as having been engaged against him as counsel in a case adverted to in the appeal about to be heard. The petitioner stated that in the spring of 1861, the attention of the Masters of the Inner Temple having been called to certain rumours affecting the character of the petitioner, they instituted an inquiry, which terminated in the passing of a resolution vacating his call to the Bar and striking his name off the books of the society. He was then (he said) compelled to seek in a foreign land the means of subsistence, and it was only upon his recent return that he found himself in a position to prosecute an appeal. The inquiry instituted by the Benchers had reference to his pecuniary transactions with the present Earl of Yarborough (then Lord Worsley) and two other persons. The ground of the appeal now made was in substance that no proper and sufficient inquiry had been made by the Benchers of the Inner Temple into the allegations against the petitioner, and that the evidence actually taken by them did not justify his removal from the Bar.

— THE GALWAY PROSECUTIONS have concluded at Dublin. They began with the arraignment of Father Loftus, the first of twenty who have been indicted. The jury being unable to agree upon a verdict were discharged after sitting for two days. Great disappointment was caused to the public by the exclusion from the Court of all who had not obtained special orders.

The Attorney-General (Mr. Palles), with whom was associated Dr. Ball, opened the case for the prosecution on February 10. He instanced Father Loftus's address from the altar after Communion, in which he told his people that all who voted for Captain Trench would "go down to their graves with the brand of Cain;" also the scene at Athenry railway station, where his reverence is accused of having incited a mob against a county magistrate by crying "Down with the landlords!" A Mr. O'Loughlen, a voter of the county, a Roman Catholic, and a pew-holder in Dunmore Chapel, who was "spoken at" by Mr. Loftus from the altar, and called a blackguard who had the audacity to canvass his (Father Loftus's) voters, was the first witness. The priest (he said) also said something of him in Irish—a language he did not understand—at which all the people smote their breasts. When coming down from the altar with the chalice in his hand, he thanked a lady named Hancock for allowing her tenants to vote for Captain Nolan. It was on this occasion that Mr. Loftus also said the brand of Cain

would be upon the voters for Trench. Mr. O'Loughlen was cross-examined, but his evidence was not shaken.

The charge of the Chief Justice occupied three hours. The jury retired at six o'clock, but, being unable to agree, were discharged at ten. It is stated that there were ten jurors for conviction and one for acquittal. The Rev. Mr. Loftus was cheered out of the Four Courts. He afterwards delivered a speech from the window of the Albert Hotel, in which, after thanking the people for their sympathy, he said he had never intended to commit an illegal act; he had merely advised the people to put down coercion, no matter in what form it was practised. He had been forced into the contest. The landlords, Protestant and Catholic, of the county of Galway had united to crush the liberties of the people, and to crush the Catholic priests of Galway out of politics altogether.

The prosecutions ended with the trial of Bishop Duggan, who was acquitted by his jury after six minutes' deliberation. Vociferous cheering and intense excitement was occasioned among the dense body of spectators by this result. The Attorney-General, in reply to the Chief Justice, stated that it had been determined on the part of the Crown not to prosecute any other cases at present.

28. THE COAL FAMINE.—All through the Lancashire coal-field, one of the most important in the country, a state of things at present prevails which certainly has had no parallel in the past. All the coal is absorbed the moment it reaches the surface, and the sidings are blocked by hundreds of empty waggons waiting for their turn to be filled. With the increasing scarceness, prices have gone up at a serious rate, until now coal, which a few years ago colliery proprietors were glad to sell at 4s., is fetching over 20s. per ton. This state of things is, however, now beginning to have its natural effect. Mines which have been abandoned for years, because they could not be worked with profit, are again being opened out. All workable seams are being brought into operation, and, what is more important, new pits are being sunk. The colliery proprietors are also turning increased attention to coal-cutting machines, and several have recently been introduced into the Lancashire coal-field.

A great demonstration against the high price of coal has been made at Nottingham. In the Market-square a monster meeting was held, nearly 10,000 persons being present. A procession, consisting chiefly of women—carrying an empty fire-grate and a banner bearing the words "Starvation" and "Beware, coal-owners, at the next election!"—marched through the streets to the market-place, headed by a brass band. Speeches were delivered by several working men, and a resolution was unanimously passed denouncing the conduct of the coal-owners as inhuman, and appealing to Parliament for a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the present high prices of coal.

A meeting of manufacturers has been held in Manchester, at which it was determined to form a Mutual Coal Supply Association,



having a capital of a million sterling, with the intention of leasing or purchasing collieries, to provide fuel for the spinners and weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

— THE SOUTH WALES STRIKE has continued through the month in spite of repeated efforts at conciliation and compromise. The last unsuccessful attempt was made at the beginning of this week, but the men unanimously refused to return to work on the terms offered. The negotiations between the masters and men were conducted by a Mr. Evan Jones, a tradesman at Merthyr, acting on behalf of his brethren who are being ruined by the continuation of the strike. He waited on Mr. Menelaus, manager of the Dowlais Works, and obtained from him the following propositions to lay before the men :—"Go in at the reduction, and before March 15 we will tell you what we intend to do as to the restoration of the old rate of wages; and if you are not satisfied with what we offer, you will be at liberty to leave our employment. We ask you to have confidence in our promise of generous and considerate treatment." This was interpreted by the men to mean—"We are to work at the reduction for two or three weeks; then the old rates will be restored for three weeks, and then there will be a rise of 10 per cent."

The district was overjoyed at this supposed settlement, and on Monday (25th) there was a great meeting at Bethania Chapel, which will hold 1600 persons, and the terms, as understood by the men, were unanimously agreed to, a proposal that the immediate reduction should be 5 per cent., so as to save an unconditional surrender, being withdrawn. A deputation then waited on Mr. Menelaus, and then it turned out that the whole thing was a mistake. Mr. Menelaus repeated his terms, which were simply that there should be a truce on the masters' terms for three weeks; at the end of which either party might take what course it thought best. These terms were peremptorily and decisively rejected; and the result is, that the struggle is regarded in the district as more desperate and hopeless than ever.

A suggestion for a fresh compromise has been made by Mr. Halliday, but nothing is expected to result from it. Sir Rowland Stephenson has offered his services as referee for the settlement of the dispute. His proposal was :—"That the men should empower him to make an arrangement on their behalf, but that they should pledge themselves to abide by any decision he might arrive at. This offer was contemptuously received, but Sir Rowland's services were accepted as mediator, in order to see how far the masters were prepared to go.

The *Times* correspondent at Merthyr describes the state of things as one of general despondency, nowhere relieved by a single ray of hope :—

"The only solution which we may look forward to after the events of the last ten days is that which will follow from the exhaustion of the weaker party. Whether it will be the employers or their

workmen time alone must decide, but there is a preponderance of probabilities against the workmen. For weeks the greater portion of them and their families have subsisted on the credit of their tradesmen. Those who had no credit to fall back upon have gone begging, while their families have been sustained by the charitable distribution of the soup-kitchens; but now these sources of living are rapidly approaching exhaustion, and a few days hence their supplies will entirely cease. There will then be keener hunger than there has yet been experienced, and we must wait to see what influence it may have upon the general attitude of the men."

## MARCH.

1. THE BANK OF ENGLAND FORGERIES.—Great excitement has been created in the City by the discovery—made public to-day—that bills to an enormous amount, purporting to be drawn upon a number of the principal business-houses in London, had been forged and presented for discount at the Bank of England.

The fraud is thought to be the work of a ring of smart Yankee swindlers, and its discovery was declared to have been the result of a mere accident, which had alone prevented the game being carried on to a vastly greater extent before the final and inevitable discovery. One of the forged bills purporting to bear the signature of the great firm of Messrs. Rothschilds was being negotiated, when the omission of date in the instrument induced the holder to send it over to St. Swithin's-lane for rectification. Here it was discovered that the signature was a forgery, but so admirably was it executed that its falsity was only detected through the fact that it was not written in the peculiar ink which is specially used by the firm as one of the means of checkmating that description of fraud.

The extent to which the fraud has been successful has not yet been accurately ascertained. It is stated at the Bank of England that the total sum will not exceed 80,000*l.*, and it will be safe, probably, to put the limit at 100,000*l.*

The prime mover in this long-considered, deeply-laid, and cunning scheme is said to be an American named Warren, but whether he has been acting singly or with confederates is not yet quite clear; for he has so well provided against the contingency of premature discovery that he has been able so far to evade the active and intelligent exertions of the City detective department, under Inspector Bailey. For a year past he has been an occasional guest at the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, an hotel much affected by his compatriots. Here he was, like most of his countrymen, free in spending his money, and passed for an American on a pleasure tour, the only peculiarity about him being that he always declined

to sign the register, which, in imitation of American hotel custom, was kept for the guests, and he never seemed to associate with any one. He was last at the hotel in January, arriving on the 3rd, and leaving on the 11th, with the intention of going to Germany. It now appears that he was introduced in May last to the manager of the West End branch of the Bank of England by one of their customers—a highly-respectable West-end tradesman—as a gentleman who wished to open a drawing account. He represented to the manager of the branch that he had come to Europe for the purpose of introducing Pulman's American Sleeping Cars on the Continental lines of railway for use during the forthcoming Vienna Exhibition, and that his monetary transactions would therefore be somewhat extensive. To throw the bank off its guard, and to prepare the way for the *coup* he meditated, he kept a regular—and, in point of amount, very creditable—deposit, drawing against it frequently, but always maintaining his balance at a respectable figure. Up to last January there is no doubt that his somewhat extensive transactions with the bank were solely to lull suspicion, and that nothing except *bonâ fide* first-class paper was paid in; but then he commenced the series of forgeries that were to bring him the reward of his nefarious operations. There is no doubt that he has successfully imitated the acceptances of Messrs. Rothschild, Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co., Messrs. Brown, Shipley, and Co., Messrs. J. H. Schroeder and Co., Messrs. Suse and Sibeth, Messrs. B. W. Blydenstein, Messrs. J. and C. Imthurn, the German Bank of London, the London and Westminster Bank, the Union Bank, and the Bank of Belgium and Holland—the spurious paper, which is marvellously exact in every particular in the imitation of genuine bills, being in all cases discounted by the branch Bank of England.

Even while the forgeries were going on he occasionally discounted some genuine bills—one of 4,500*l.* of Messrs. Rothschild being the largest in amount. It is stated in the City that the paper and the imitation of the genuine signatures and endorsements on the forged bills are so admirably good that they could in some instances only be proved to be forgeries by the dates and amounts not agreeing with any entry in the books of the firms, or from their purporting to come from places—Lisbon, in one instance—where the firm at the time had no current transactions. With the firstfruits of his operations the enterprising financier invested from time to time to the extent of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* in the Government Bonds of the United States. They were purchased direct from Jay Cooke, M'Culloch, and Co., by Warren himself, or by his *soi-disant* clerk, Noyes, who is now in custody. It is a custom of this firm never to deliver bonds which are paid for by cheques until the latter have been verified and found to be correct, and fortunately the fraud was discovered before bonds for 20,000*l.* were delivered over.

After the ordinary business at the Mansion-house had concluded to-day, a young man of gentlemanly appearance and manners, named Noyes, was brought to the bar on a charge which it was

understood was that of having been concerned in these forgeries. The Lord Mayor stated that there were reasons for hearing the charge in private, and he therefore requested, under a power given him by statute, that all strangers would retire from the court. The result of the hearing was that the prisoner was remanded.<sup>1</sup>

— SHIPPING DISASTERS.—The news was received in Liverpool this morning that a three-masted screw-steamer, having a black funnel with a white band, had foundered off the Great Ormeshead; and that a sailing-vessel had also gone down near the Fairway Channel. Upon inquiries being made it appeared that Capt. Henry Strong, of the steam-tug “Guiding Star,” fell in with the ship “Chacabuco,” inward bound from San Francisco to Liverpool, off the Great Ormeshead. The wind was blowing strong at the time from S.E. by E., and Capt. Strong ran as close as possible to the ship, for the purpose of making terms for towage. After some time there was a dispute as to the amount of money to be paid to the tug-boat, and the “Guiding Star” left the “Chacabuco.” This was about a quarter to two o’clock, and the wind immediately increased to a heavy gale from the E., veering round to the S.E., accompanied with blinding showers of sleet and snow. Shortly after this Capt. Strong heard cries, and at once bore up in the wake of the ship, but as she was running ahead under a full press of canvas the tug was unable to come up to her, and even if she had it would have been impossible to have placed a tow-line on board, in consequence of the high sea which was running. Suddenly a terrible crash occurred, and the screams and cries for assistance are described by Capt. Strong as of the most heartrending nature. It was then evident that a collision had taken place, and the tug was steered to the spot from whence the cries proceeded. The snow-storm became denser, and before he was aware of his position the captain of the tug found himself running over the sinking vessel; in fact, to use Captain Strong’s own words, he “was almost on the top of her before he ported his helm.” The tug’s boat was at once lowered, and three of the crew of the “Chacabuco” were picked up in a most exhausted state. Search was made for any others that might be floating about, but beyond the three who were rescued, none others were to be found. The lights of a vessel were shortly afterwards seen a little to the westward, and the “Guiding Star” ran down towards the vessel, which proved to be the steamer “Torch,” bound from Liverpool to Dublin. The “Torch” was in a sinking condition, terribly smashed up; and the crew and passengers appealed to those on board the tug-boat to stand by and save them. The “Guiding Star” ran alongside with great difficulty, and found that the steamer was sinking rapidly, and all on board, with the exception of one man, a bullock driver, named James Lonran, were taken on board the tug. The poor fellow was jammed between the

<sup>1</sup> For the sequel and details of this singular story, see the Remarkable Trials in this volume.

smashed-up plates of the bulwarks and could not be extricated, and shortly before the steamer sank he cried out, "Good bye. God bless you all!" The steam-tug "Rover" soon afterwards came up, but was unable to render any assistance, as the vessel gradually settled down, and the "Guiding Star" bore up for Liverpool. The "Chacabuco" was a very fine iron vessel of 999 tons register, built at Dundee in 1869, and was owned in Liverpool by Messrs. Balfour and Co. When the disaster occurred she was under the command of Captain Ritchie, who, with the pilot and twenty-two of the crew, went down with the ship. The "Chacabuco" left San Francisco on the 5th of November last for the Mersey, with a very valuable cargo. The "Torch" had just sailed from Liverpool.

Details have arrived of the wreck on the Lizard, Cornwall, of the barque "Boyne," of Scarborough, with a cargo of 900 tons of sugar, from Samarary for Falmouth. She was 120 days out from Batavia, and sighted the Lizard light-house on Friday night. At three o'clock on Saturday morning, the officers believed they were standing right for Falmouth, the weather being very thick and the wind blowing heavily. The ship was then sailing ten miles an hour. The first indication of danger was her bowsprit striking against a perpendicular rock a hundred feet high, by which the vessel was thrown round on her broadside on two cliffs. Then commenced a terrible struggle with the waves, but the vessel quickly parted amidships, and the water washed over the helpless crew, numbering nineteen souls. A farmer, perceiving the blue-light, sent for the lifeboat and rocket apparatus; and the latter arriving at six o'clock, threw a line over some men who were discerned clinging to the remnants of the wreck; but the poor fellows were numbed, and powerless to make the rope fast. One, supposed to be the captain, with a life-belt on, seized the line and tried to haul himself in-shore, but was dashed against the rocks and perished.

5. "THE HAPPY LAND."—On this evening the little Court Theatre, in Sloane-square, rose into historical importance by an act of indiscretion, which will not soon be forgotten. The movement has a decided bearing on the Lord Chamberlain's office as licenser of plays, and was at first regarded as an instance of its inutility, but in the sequel assumes quite another direction. It will be recollected that when the celebrated Foote had the conduct of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, he catered for popularity by indulging in personalities, assuming himself the gesture and costume of public characters. To counteract this abuse, the licensing system was instituted, and has continued to the present day. In spite, however, of its existence, a new burlesque, by Messrs. F. Tomline and Gilbert A'Beckett, entitled "The Happy Land," being ostensibly a mere parody on Mr. Gilbert's fairy play of "The Wicked World," was on Wednesday the 5th produced at the Chelsea theatre, when it appeared that Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Ayrton were caricatured under the names of the Right Hon. Mr. Ethais, the Right Hon. Mr. Phyllon, and the Right Hon. Mr. Luton, represented by Messrs. Righton,



Hill, and Fisher, whose make-up identified the individuals. The performance was, of course, riotously received by the audience, and specially reported for the daily journals. Leading articles also appeared in several of the morning papers; and it was generally thought that the Lord Chamberlain, or the reader of plays, had proved his incapacity to restrain the licence of the modern stage. Naturally enough, their attention was directed to the fact, and the licence was withdrawn until proper inquiry could be made. The result was that the piece licensed and the piece acted were virtually different productions, unwarrantable alterations and enlargements having been introduced at the rehearsals, which the Lord Chamberlain would never have authorized. His Lordship, accordingly, has published a "Memorandum," from which we learn that the MS. piece was submitted for licence on the 3rd of February, and that it was granted on the 8th. It contained a good many political allusions; but these were generalities, and not pointed to individuals. Two days after the performance the Lord Chamberlain was advertised that "the piece as acted abounded in personalities, and that three members of Government were represented in person on the stage." Accordingly, he visited the theatre, and finding that these personalities were not in the MS. submitted, gave orders that the licence should be suspended, and demanded that the prompt copy of the piece should be sent for comparison with the licensed copy retained at the Lord Chamberlain's office. On comparison, it was found that "in the prompter's copy there were eighteen quarto pages of additions, interpolations, and deviations from the original licensed text; and that in the original MS. there was no indication whatever of the intention to point the allusions to individuals. . . . The manager expressed regret at what had occurred, and begged that the piece might be allowed to be performed as originally licensed, promising to adhere verbatim to the text, and to avoid anything which should convert the general allusions into personalities." The performances have accordingly been resumed. Crowds had assembled on the nights previous to Saturday, attracted by the expectation of enjoying the satirical banquet provided, and the public interest has not since subsided, as imagination amply supplies the "makes up" and the matter omitted.

The opinion thus expressed is, however, liable to modification with reference to a counter-statement on the part of the manageress, Miss Litton, who has addressed a letter to the papers, wherein she says that "the Lord Chamberlain's memorandum is subject to misconstruction," as to the alleged eighteen pages of alterations. "If," she adds, "his Lordship means that eighteen pages of the manuscript were more or less affected by alterations, I am not in a position to deny the statement. But this is scarcely the impression conveyed by the sentence I have quoted. . . . I took the precaution to obtain the Lord Chamberlain's licence before the piece was read in the green-room, although the innumerable instances in which Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Odger have been held up to perhaps undeserved

ridicule in burlesque, produced at this and other theatres with the sanction of the Lord Chamberlain, induced me to believe that the principle of personal reference to unpopular public characters had been generally conceded by his Lordship. In the course of rehearsal certain additions and alterations were undoubtedly made as occasion arose, but a large proportion of them had no reference whatever to political topics." Miss Litton further informs us that the book of "The Happy Land," as *originally* played, is shortly to be published, with the interdicted portions printed in capital letters.

16. THE "CHALLENGER."—Her Majesty's surveying ship "Challenger," Captain G. S. Nares, arrived at St. Thomas at this date, just as the mail was leaving for England. The voyage from Teneriffe had occupied thirty days. The usual programme was to furl sails early in the morning of every alternate day, put the ship under steam, obtain a sounding-haul of the dredge and serial temperatures at every 100 fathoms from the surface down to 1500 fathoms, then at dusk sail was again made. Occasionally, if the weather was calm or the dredge had come up empty the day before, or there was reason to suppose the nature of the bottom had changed, more frequent observations were obtained. Thus the sounding line and dredge have been kept constantly going. The former showed that a pretty level bottom runs off from the African Coast, deepening gradually to a depth of 3125 fathoms at about one-third of the way across to the West Indies. If the Alps, Mont Blanc and all, were submerged at this spot, there would still be half a mile of water above them. Five hundred miles farther west there is a comparatively shallow part, a little less than two miles in depth. The water then deepens again to three miles, which continues close over to the West Indies. At the deepest spots both on the east and west sides of the Atlantic, the dredge brought up a quantity of dark red clay, which contained just sufficient animal life to prove that life exists at all depths. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining these deep-sea dredgings, and it was merely a question of patience, each haul occupying twelve hours. In depths over two miles little has been found, but that little was totally new. One of the lions of the cruise is a new species of lobster perfectly transparent. The "Challenger," not content with obtaining animals with eyes so fully developed that the body may be said to be an appendage to the eyes rather than the eyes to the body, has now dredged up a new crustacea, in which the body has cut itself clear of the eyes altogether, and the animal is totally blind. It has no eyes, or even the trace of an eye. To make up for its deficiency nature has supplied it with the most beautifully-developed claws, if one may use the term, it is possible to conceive. Nearer the West Indies, in a depth of only half a mile, some similar creatures were brought up, and here the claws, longer than the body, are armed throughout with a multitude of spike-like teeth, looking more like a crocodile's jaw than anything else. A few blind animals have been found before in the dark caves of Kentucky and

elsewhere, but these are totally new. At a short distance from Teneriffe, in a depth of a mile and a half, a rich and extremely interesting haul of sponges and coral was obtained, but the latter was unfortunately dead. It is a white species, as large and as heavy as the pink coral of the Mediterranean. There are great hopes of obtaining a specimen alive. The nature of the bottom brought up and the way the trawl and dredge frequently catch in being dragged along prove, undoubtedly, that the bottom of the sea, even at great depths, is not so smooth and free from rocks as has hitherto been supposed. A conclusion drawn from this fact is that a considerable movement of the water at the bottom must be going on. The "Challenger" will remain at New York until the 25th inst., and at Bermuda until the mail arriving on the 8th of May, after which she will sail for Madeira, carrying another section line across the Atlantic.

18. MR. MILL ON LAND TENURE.—A meeting of the Land Tenure Reform Association, under the presidency of J. S. Mill, was held in Exeter Hall. The hall was by no means full; a large number of seats had been reserved, but their blank desolation just before the opening of the proceedings was so conspicuous that the body of the audience were invited to fill the vacancy, and thus save the speakers from the depression of speaking across empty benches. There was a remarkable number of very young faces; and, though genuine working men were present, it could not be supposed from the appearance of the meeting that it in any way represented the working class as a whole. It was, moreover, not a little significant that the most demonstrative part of the audience evidently cared but little for mere land reform unless accompanied by more drastic measures. Whenever a speaker, imagining himself to be addressing hearers with the ordinary political instincts of Englishmen, assured them that he did not mean to advocate anything revolutionary, he was promptly informed that some of them would have liked him better if he did. The warnings of Professor Thorold Rogers, who was induced to be far more urgent in deprecating revolutionary measures than in recommending his own, were somewhat coldly received, and were cut short by cries of "Time." Altogether there was a lack of sympathy between the association and those to whom it appealed.

Mr. Mill said that the two chief points of the programme of the association were:—"First, no more land, under any pretext, to become the private property of individuals; secondly, taxation on the land, in order to give the benefit of its natural increase of value to the whole community, instead of to the proprietors, these being allowed the option of relinquishing the land at its present money value." The speaker concluded by saying, "We demand the recognition of the principle that a kind of property which rises in value while other kinds remain stationary or fall, may justly, on that account, be subjected to special taxation. When it is notorious that rents have increased, and are increasing, not only where there

has been improvement by the landlord, but where there has been no improvement, or improvement solely by the tenant, a tax which takes from the landlord no more than that increase is within the just rights of the State. It might be necessary to have a periodical valuation of the rental of the country, say once in ten or once in twenty years. The landlords could easily keep a record of their improvements. Let them retain all increase which they could show to be of their own creating, make a fair allowance for any diminution of the value of money, give them the benefit of every doubt, and lay on the remainder as a tax to the State. If the country continues prosperous, this tax would in time produce a considerable revenue, to the great relief of the taxpayers, while any landlord who thought himself harshly dealt with could avail himself of the option of resigning his land on the terms originally offered—namely, at the price he could have obtained for it before the introduction of the new system. This is our doctrine of the unearned increment, and you may depend on it that the difficulties which people are afraid of would prove, when fairly faced, to be little more than phantoms.”

Among the other speakers were Mr. Joseph Arch and Mr. J. Thorold Rogers. Resolutions approving the programme of the association were adopted. An amendment supported by some members of the Land and Labour League, affirming the principle of “restoring to the State the property in the land,” was negatived by a large majority.

22. THE GREAT STRIKE IN SOUTH WALES is at an end. On Monday, the 17th, the Dowlais miners determined to make peace for themselves, and accordingly sent a deputation to Mr. Menelaus. He offered them the same terms as had been accepted at Ebbw Vale—10 per cent. reduction till the 24th inst., and then the December rate. This was gladly closed with, and the Dowlais pits started again on Tuesday. Settlements took place on Tuesday between Mr. Crawshay, of Cyfarthen, and his workmen, and between Mr. Fothergill’s manager at Plymouth ironworks and his workmen, colliers and miners. In both cases deputations waited upon the employers, and offered to resume work immediately upon the Dowlais terms, which offer was accepted. The men afterwards held a mass meeting, at which resolutions in favour of immediate work were passed, and work will accordingly be resumed by from 10,000 to 15,000 workmen in Merthyr to-day. There were great rejoicings; bands paraded the town and cannons were fired. The strike is now virtually ended, as only one or two small works remain to be settled with.

Unpleasant news comes, however, from another quarter. On Monday the Board of Conciliation met at Wolverhampton to adjust a scale of wages, to take effect when the present agreement expires, at the end of this month. The masters stated that they could offer no advance on the current rate—12s. 6d. per ton—which is the highest that has ever been paid for puddling. The representatives of the men answered that they could not recommend the acceptance

of such terms. After a long discussion, the men were invited to make a proposition on their side, and in view of this the meeting was adjourned for a week.

An exciting riot has occurred at the mining village of Portobello, near Wolverhampton, where the English and Welsh miners do not appear to fraternize well with their Irish associates. About 3000 men engaged in the *mêlée*, and some serious wounds have been inflicted.

The correspondent of the *Times* estimates the cost of the strike at two millions of money, the loss to the work-people alone having been at least three-quarters of a million, even after allowing for the 40,000*l.* contributed by the Colliers' Union, and for 5000*l.* collected for the relief of the sufferers. The manner in which the struggle has been conducted is truly surprising.

"If over-indulgence in drink at times, leading to irregularities of work and other abuses, was one of the gravest faults in prosperous times, the moment the cloud gathered over the men they began preparations to meet the storm. The drink was sacrificed and the grocer's bill cut down. The steady men, who foresaw that they would be involved in the strife, practised the severest economy, and when at length the evil day came it found thousands with a friend in their own pockets which would enable them to weather the storm for a while; but at the same time it found thousands helpless, friendless, and in dire distress. From the latter class came the cry of distress, and bitter indeed it was; from their ranks also issued the army of mendicants which spread over the country for miles in all directions, and lived week after week upon private charity.

"From the first day of the strike to the last, however, the quietness of the people has been something to excite astonishment and admiration. In the midst of the severest weather which we have experienced in this part of the country for many years, with neither money, food, nor fuel, except what others gave them, thousands of hungry people, men, women, and children, have preserved the utmost order and propriety of behaviour. Not a single policeman has been sent to assist the ordinary force; and though exposed by their impoverishment to the strongest temptations, yet there has been an absolute dearth of business at the police-court; and as for drunkenness, it has been a rarity—a fact which may account for the utter absence of disorder or disturbance of any kind. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the decorum of the workmen or their good feeling—I may even say their pleasant feeling; for when the trial was sorest they still spoke kindly of their employers, and those employers and their managers and agents moved among them as freely as though they were simply enjoying a holiday. I think these are features of this extraordinary contest, when men by the thousand were sustaining such heavy losses, which do them infinite credit, and which will certainly not lessen the esteem in which they are held by their employers."

There was still another striking circumstance mentioned. "Not



even the poorest among them would sacrifice his independence by accepting the relief of the poor-law guardians; and, contrary to general expectation, the strike has made no appreciable difference in the burdens of the ratepayers. On the other hand, this position has been maintained by a large proportion of the men at the expense of a heavy discount of their credit. Shopkeepers' accounts are in arrear; rents are in arrear—indeed, it may be taken as a rule that no rent has been paid by the majority of the men since the strike began. I know that it is the case with those who live in the companies' cottages—no application has been made to them for rent—and the majority of cottage-owners tell the same story. Of course, these arrears will have to be liquidated, but it will be a work of time, and for many months—in some cases, where there are heavy families to support, it will be two or three years—the strike will leave its burdensome legacy. The struggle, however, has been fought out with admirable temper on both sides. The masters have shown no rigour towards those whose distress they might easily have aggravated; and the men, on the other hand, have been throughout distinguished by their respectful attitude towards their employers. If there were no other feature in the contest, this alone would make it memorable. It has closed amidst general rejoicing, and the impression exists everywhere, among all classes, that it will be many years hence before the district is visited by another such commercial disaster."

29. THE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BOAT RACE.—Never was there a more glorious day than this for the Inter-University Boat Race, which year by year seems to grow in public favour; and the contrast between the brilliant sun and summer warmth of that day and the sleet and snow which prevailed last year was extraordinary even in our uncertain climate. The attendance was, of course, enormous, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that half London lined the banks of the Thames from Putney to Mortlake. As the time for the start approached, Cambridge rose rapidly in popular favour, and on board some of the steamboats as much as three to one was laid on her chance. Precisely at 2.20 p.m. Oxford paddled down to the Aqueduct, and, having won the toss, took up the position on the Middlesex side. On such a beautifully still day there was little or no advantage in having the choice; for, though Oxford gained about a length, yet Cambridge had the full strength of the tide, which made matters about equal. The "light blues" were only a few minutes behind their rivals, and were received with tremendous cheering. Everything being in readiness, the eights took up their positions at the two watermen's skiffs, which were moored higher up than usual; and Mr. Searle, who always acts as starter, having received no answer to his question, "Are you ready?" said "Go!" and the race began.

The start was perfectly level, yet though the Cambridge stroke was only rowing thirty-eight to the minute, while Dowding was setting his men forty, the favourites had a lead of a quarter of a

length before reaching the Creek. Cambridge now dropped to a fine, steady thirty-seven to the minute, and yet fully maintained her advantage; indeed, in making the shoot below the Soapworks her lead had increased to nearly a length. In spite of every effort on the part of the Oxonians, this advantage was maintained to Hammersmith bridge, which was reached in the very quick time of 7 min. 26 sec. Here it was clear that nothing but an accident could prevent the success of Cambridge, and as much as ten to one was offered on her. Just off the "Doves," Dowding called on his men for a spurt, and, rowing forty-two to the minute, they picked up some of their lost ground; but it was an expiring effort, and the Cantabs, who were only rowing thirty-six, drew rapidly away again. The race was now over, for the leaders passed through Barnes railway bridge fully two lengths to the good, two or three of the Oxford crew being completely rowed out at this point, and finally won by three lengths. The time was 19 min. 35 sec., by far the fastest on record; so the sliding seats, which were used for the first time in this race, must be pronounced a complete success, and will doubtless be universally adopted.

We append the names and weights of both crews:—

CAMBRIDGE.			OXFORD.		
	st.	lb.		st.	lb.
J. B. Close, 1st Trinity (bow) .	11	3	C. C. Knollys, Magdalen (bow)	11	11
E. Hoskyns, Jesus . . . . .	11	2	J. B. Little, Christ Church . .	10	11
J. E. Peabody, 1st Trinity . .	11	7	M. G. Farrer, Brasenose . . .	11	13½
C. W. Locky-Brown, Jesus . .	12	1½	A. W. Nicholson, Magdalen . .	12	5
J. S. Turnbull, Trinity Hall .	12	12½	R. S. Mitchison, Pembroke . .	12	2
C. S. Read, 1st Trinity . . . .	12	13	W. E. Sherwood, Christ Church	11	1
C. W. Benson, 3rd Trinity . .	11	5½	J. A. Ornsby, Lincoln . . . .	11	3
H. E. Rhodes, Jesus (stroke) .	11	1½	F. T. Dowding, St. John's (st.)	11	0
C. H. Candy, Caius (cox.) . .	7	5	G. E. Frewer, St. Jn.'s (cox.)	7	10

## APRIL.

1. THE WRECK OF THE "ATLANTIC."—This terrible disaster, attended with a far greater loss of life than even the sinking of the "Northfleet" at Dungeness, was made known to us by submarine telegraph a few hours after it happened, which was at two o'clock on the morning of the 1st. It took place on the coast of Nova Scotia, fifteen miles from Halifax, the ship running on the promontory of Meagher's Head, at the entrance to Prospect Harbour, then rolling into deep water and sinking in a few minutes. The cause was, beyond question, an error in reckoning the distance run, and the course and position of the ship, with the mistake of one lighthouse for another. The ship's boats were not used, but some of the men scrambled ashore over the rigging; 442 persons were saved, while about 560 perished, including all the women and children.

The "Atlantic" was one of the White Star line of screw steamships from Liverpool to New York, represented by Messrs. Islay, Imrie, and Co., of Liverpool. She was built, two or three years ago, by Messrs. Harland and Wolff, of Belfast. Her dimensions were—420 ft. long between perpendiculars, 437 ft. over all, 41 ft. extreme beam, and 32 ft. depth of hold, with a registered burden of 3707 tons. She carried four iron tubular masts, three of them square-rigged, besides large fore-and-aft canvas. Her engines were of 600 nominal horse-power; the compound high-pressure engines, with cylinders of 41 in. diameter, the low-pressure, with 78 in. cylinders. There were ten boilers, with twenty furnaces, for the driving engines, and a separate boiler for the donkey-engines and steam-winch. The structure of the hull was very strong, with five bulkheads, extending from the keelson up to the main deck, and forming six watertight compartments, and with three arched decks of iron, which gave both lateral and longitudinal rigidity. The ship was provided with powerful pumps, to be worked either by steam or by hand, and with six steam-winch and a steam-windlass for raising the anchor, lifting the hatches, or hoisting the sails; she had the patent steering apparatus near the bridge. Her accommodation for 1000 passengers, cabin and steerage, was extremely comfortable, and every provision of a mechanical nature seems to have been made for the safest and easiest navigation of the ship. There were ten large life-boats, with a crew appointed to each from the men on board employed in four departments, the sailing, engine, victualling, and fire department, with precise rules and a weekly drill for manning the boats. The commander was Captain James A. Williams, who was formerly commodore of the Guion Line, but has been in the service of the White Star Company almost from its formation, about two years ago. He had been second and first officer, and went out with the "Republic" on her first voyage, when he was seriously injured in the accident which occurred to the boats of that steamer. This was his second voyage in the "Atlantic." The cost of the "Atlantic" was about 120,000*l.*; but, from the advance in the price of iron and wages, it would cost 150,000*l.* to replace her. The cargo is roughly valued at 50,000*l.* The owners are insured; but, as they are to some extent their own underwriters, they will suffer a considerable loss.

The "Atlantic" left the Mersey on Thursday, the 20th ult., with several hundred passengers for New York, and called next day at Queenstown, where 250 more embarked. There were 32 saloon and 615 steerage passengers on board, the latter being 448 males and 167 females. Of these 198 were adult English males, 74 females, 21 male children, 16 female children, and 12 infants; there were 7 Scotch male and 4 female adults; 33 Irish male adults, 18 females, and 3 male children; 150 male adult foreigners, 32 females, 14 male and 16 female children, and 7 infants. The officers and crew numbered 143. From Queenstown the captain, engineers, and purser despatched letters home to the owners. Each of these letters,

it so happened, was more than usually satisfactory. The engines were reported to be working well, the coals were described as proving better than some previous supplies with which the company had been served, and the purser reported everything to be satisfactory in connexion with the passengers. The news of the arrival of the vessel at New York was expected on the very day when she was wrecked near Halifax. It had not been intended that she should go to Halifax at all. The reason why Captain Williams made for Halifax is stated by himself to have been that on the Monday a storm was threatening, and the stock of coal on board was only 127 tons. But it appears that when the steamer left the Mersey she had a supply of no less than 967 tons. The estimated average consumption was sixty tons a day, or 744 tons for the passage to New York, and the "Atlantic," having left on March 20 and struck on April 1, would have burned, according to that estimate, about 700 tons, leaving her still with a supply of 267. The quantity she had on starting was over the average supply by at least 200 tons, and it was the intention to send her out upon her next voyage with only 800 tons.

The night of the accident was dark, and the sea rough. The ship struck at two o'clock in the morning, on the Meagher rock, near Prospect, west of Sambro. She struck several times, alarming the officers and crew, who rushed on deck. The officers endeavoured to clear away the boats with axes, but only one had been launched when the steamer fell over on her beam ends, sinking, and carrying down the boat, and all in it were drowned. A portion of the rigging remained above water, in which all those who were able took refuge. Mr. Brady, with two quartermasters, unrove the halyards, and, swimming with them to the rock, contrived to get a line to the shore. Some escaped by this means, but the rising tide made their situation perilous, and daylight appearing, fishermen put off in boats, and rescued them as fast as the rough sea permitted, as well as others from the rigging.

The first connected account received of the occurrence was that of the third officer, Mr. Brady, who arrived at Halifax on the Tuesday night. The chief and fourth officers (he says) came on watch at midnight. Mr. Brady then turned in, and the captain went below, leaving orders that he was to be called if any change occurred in the position of the ship. About two a.m., Mr. Brady stated he was thrown from his berth by the ship striking with great violence. The shock was repeated several times. When he got on deck, he found a crowd of passengers already there, and the captain and officers were getting out the boats. Mr. Brady took an axe, cleared away the starboard lifeboat, put two women into it, and got in himself. A number of men rushed forward to do the same; but he kept off the crowd by force, and only twelve men succeeded in getting into the boat. Just then the ship fell over on her beam-ends, and immediately sank, leaving only her bow and masts above water. Mr. Brady's boat, the only one that could be launched, was

carried down with her, and all the passengers in it were drowned. Some hundreds were then on deck, most of whom were instantly swept away. The cries for help were heartrending. So sudden, however, was the catastrophe, that most of the persons on board—and there were nearly 1000—went down in their berths; and many probably did not awake until they found themselves drowning through the ship having struck. Five distinct times Mr. Brady got into the mizen rigging, thence clambered forward, and with the assistance of Quartermasters Speakman and Owen, unrove halyards, and swam to the rock with a line. The surviving passengers were crowded on the bows, and clinging to the rigging. Some of the more adventurous made their way to the rock by the line; but the situation there was one of great peril, as the tide was rising. The fishermen, however, came to the rescue; and by Tuesday at noon all the survivors had been got ashore at Cape Prospect, except the chief officer, Mr. Frith, who was in the rigging shouting for assistance. Mr. Brady says that he tried to get a boat to go to him, but the sea was so high that nobody would venture.

Some of the passengers got into the life-boats, and the davit-falls were cut away to allow the boats to float clear; but a sea broke on board and washed away the greater part of the passengers who were in the boats, and stove in the boats themselves. Numbers were drowned going from the ship to the rock, and from the rock to the shore, by the life-lines, the cold being so intense they could not retain their hold. The rock, too, was slippery, being covered with seaweed. It was difficult to keep a position on it, and impossible to help others.

Several persons died on the rock from exhaustion; others became maniacs, foamed at the mouth, and chattered like children. The captain reports that the first boats from shore came to the relief of the survivors about six o'clock, and took off those who were clinging to the ship and rigging. Afterwards those on the rock were taken off. Many passengers and the purser died in the rigging.

The excitement throughout the States was intense when the catastrophe became known, and the American papers were full of accounts both of the accident itself, and of the reception and hospitality extended to such of the passengers as escaped. Wreckage and plunder were cruelly abundant.

The official investigation into the causes of the disaster was commenced at Halifax on April 6; while the conviction that the large loss of life, so universally deplored, had been caused by gross neglect or incompetency was gradually strengthening. No inquiry was made in this country.

The following statement was made by Captain Williams:—"We sailed from Liverpool, March 20. During the first part of the passage we had favourable weather and easterly winds. On the 24th, 25th, and 26th, experienced heavy south-west and westerly gales, which brought the ship down to 118 miles a day. On



March 31, the engineer's report showed but about 127 tons of coal on board. We were then 460 miles east of Sandy Hook, with wind south-west, and high westerly swell and falling barometer, the ship steaming only eight knots per hour. Considered the risk too great to push on, as we might find ourselves, in the event of a gale, shut out from any port of supply; and so decided to bear up for Halifax. At one p.m., 31st, Sambro Island was distant 170 miles, ship's speed varying from eight to ten knots per hour, wind south with rain, which veered to westward at eight p.m., with clear weather at midnight. I judged the ship to have made 122 miles, which had placed her forty-eight miles south of Sambro, and I then left the deck and went into the chart-room, leaving orders about the look-out, and to let me know if they saw anything, and call me at three a.m., intending then to put the ship's head to the southward, and await daylight. My first intimation of the catastrophe was the striking of the ship on Mars Island, and remaining there fast. The sea immediately swept away all the port boats. The officers went to their stations, and commenced clearing away the weather boats; rockets were fired by the second officer. Before the boats could be cleared, only ten minutes having elapsed, the ship heeled heavily to port, rendering the starboard boats useless. Seeing that no help could be got from the boats, I got the passengers into the rigging and outside the rails, and encouraged them to go forward where the ship was highest and less exposed to the weather, the third officer, Mr. Brady, and Quartermasters Owen and Speakman, having by this time established communication with the outlying rock about forty yards distant. By means of a line I got four other lines to the rock, along which about 200 persons passed. Between the rock and the shore, a passage 100 yards wide, a rope was successfully passed, by means of which about fifty men got to the land, though many were drowned in the attempt. At five a.m., the first boat cleared the island, but she was too small to be of any assistance; through the exertion of Mr. Brady, the third officer, the islanders were roused, and by six a.m., three large boats came to our assistance. By their efforts all that remained on the side of the ship and on the rock were landed with safety, and cared for by a poor fisherman named Clancy, and his daughter. During the day the survivors, to the number of 429, were drafted off to the various houses scattered about. The resident magistrate, Edmund Ryan, rendered valuable assistance. The chief officer having got up the mizen rigging, the sea cut off his retreat. He stood for six hours by a woman who had been placed in the rigging. The sea was too high to attempt his rescue. At three p.m. a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Ancient, succeeded in getting him a line and getting him off. Many of the passengers, saloon and steerage, died in the rigging from cold; among that number the purser of the ship. Before the boats went out I placed two ladies in the lifeboat; but, finding the boat useless, carried them to the main rigging, and went aft to encourage others to go forward on the side of the ship. At this junc-

ture the boilers exploded, and the boat rolled over to leeward, the ship at this time going on her beam-ends. Finding myself useless there, I went to take the ladies forward, but found them gone, nor did I see them afterwards. Many passengers at this time could not be stimulated to any effort to save themselves, but lay in the rigging, and died from fright and exposure. I remained on the side, encouraging, helping, and directing, until about fifteen were landed, when, finding that my hands and legs were becoming useless, I left the ship. Two other boats being close to hand embarked the remainder."

The chief officer made the following statement:—"My watch ended at twelve o'clock on Monday night; the second and fourth officers took charge, and I went to my berth. I was aroused by the shock of the striking; the second officer came down to my room and said the ship was ashore, and that he was afraid she was gone. I put on a few articles of clothing, got my axe, and went on deck to clear the boats; the ship had careened over before I reached the deck. I cleared the two starboard boats. Just then a heavy sea swept the boats away. I was holding fast to the mizenmast rigging, and now climbed higher for safety; the night was so dark and the spray flew so thickly that we could not see well what was going on round us. I saw men on the rocks, but did not know how they got there; all who were alive on board were in the rigging. When daylight came I counted thirty-two persons in the mizenmast rigging with me, including one woman. When these saw that there were lines between the ship and the shore, many of them attempted to go forward to the lines, and in doing so they were washed overboard and drowned. Many reached the shore by the aid of lines, and the fishermen's boats rescued many more. At last, all had either been washed off or rescued, except myself, the woman, and a boy. The sea had become so rough that the boats could not venture near us. Soon the boy was washed off; but he swam gallantly, and reached one of the boats in safety. I got a firm hold of the woman, and secured her in the rigging. I could see the people on shore and in the boats, and could hail them, but they were unable to help us. At two o'clock in the afternoon, after we had been in the rigging ten hours, the Rev. Mr. Ancient, Church of England clergyman—whose most noble conduct I can never forget while I live—got a crew of four men to row him out to the wreck. He got into the main rigging and procured a line, then advanced as far as he could towards me, and threw it to me. I caught it, made it fast around my body, and then jumped clear. A sea swept me off the wreck, but Mr. Ancient held fast to the line, pulled me back, and got me safely into the boat. I was then so exhausted and benumbed that I was hardly able to do anything, and, but for the clergyman's gallant conduct, I must have perished soon. The woman, after bearing up with remarkable strength under her great trials, had died two hours before Mr. Ancient arrived; her half-nude body was still fast in the rigging, her eyes

protruding, her mouth foaming, a terribly ghastly spectacle, rendered more ghastly by the contrast with the numerous jewels which sparkled on her hands. The scene at the wreck was an awful one, such as I had never before witnessed, and hope never to witness again."

Mr. Foxley, the chief engineer, describing the disaster, explained that the female passengers, who were asleep at the time the ship struck, were prevented from coming on deck by the seas washing over the ship and filling her. He added:—

"Some of the passengers got into the lifeboats, the davit-falls being cut away to allow the boats to float clear of the davits in the expectation of getting clear of the vessel by these means, but a sea broke on board and washed the greater portion of the passengers who were in the boats out. The boats were stove, and those who were in them perished. The third officer, Mr. Brady, and two quartermasters, swam ashore with a small line, which enabled a great number of the passengers and crew to get on shore. A great many of the people were drowned while coming from the vessel by the rope to the rock. The cold was so intense that some of them being benumbed were unable to hold on to the rope, and they let go, and we were unable to render them any assistance. The rock was covered with seaweed, which made it very dangerous to stand upon, and its edges were round. Those on the rock being soaking wet and cold, were unable to render any assistance to those who were in the greatest of peril. We could perceive people falling from the ship's side and rigging. Several persons, who became completely exhausted, laid down on the deck and died. Some of the passengers became maniacs, foamed at the mouth, and tottered about like children. We were very kindly received and treated by the people on shore."

The Rev. Mr. Ancient's account of the part he played in the fearful tragedy, as given in the *New York Tribune*, is vivid and interesting. When he reached the wreck, which took place about two miles from his house, most of the saved had been landed. He sought to find them shelter, till his attention was attracted by the man and the woman in the rigging and a boy on the wreck. He went to Mr. Ryan, the magistrate, and said, "The water is smooth enough; you can get alongside in a boat." They were then hauling the boats on the shore. "But you cannot get at them when you get out there," said Mr. Ryan. "Give me a boat and some men; put me on board, and I will get them." A boat was manned; but when they neared the ship, the men would not put him on board. They loved their pastor, and thought it certain death to put him on the vessel. Mr. Ancient entreated them. "John," he said to the most solicitous of the crew, "if I am doomed, I won't hold you responsible. Put me on board." While they were backing and filling the boy fell off. They picked him up, wrapped a coat round him, and landed him. Finally, the men agreed to put Mr. Ancient on board. The ship's side was then at an angle of 50 degs., and the fishermen have not yet got over their admiration

for their pastor's skill in climbing it; and in running the rail he found a piece of one of the braces in the main rigging, made one end fast and carried the other along with him. When he reached the outer davit, he shouted to the man in the rigging, "You are an officer, are you not?" "Yes," was the reply. "Then you know how to make a bowline?" "Yes, sir." Mr. Ancient then threw him an end of the rope, first taking a turn around the davit. "Now put confidence in me, and move when I tell you." Mr. Frith followed his directions; and the minister led him along by the rope, taking in the slack as he went. Whenever he slipped, the turn around the davit and the strong arm of his rescuer held him. A great sea swept over and washed the officer off. "Oh, Lord!" he cried out, "I have broken my shins, I have broken my shins." "Never mind your shins, man! it is your life we are after." Finally, he got him to the main rigging and to the vessel's side, and let him into the boat by a rope, and the man was saved.

The termination of the inquiry was that the Court condemned the negligent manner in which the ship was handled from the time her course was changed, and the conduct of the captain, both in leaving the deck when nearing at night a dangerous coast, and in omitting to use the lead. On the other hand, full justice is done to the behaviour of the captain and officers after the ship struck, and in consequence of the gallantry displayed, the punishment is the comparatively lenient one of two years' suspension for the captain, and three months' for the fourth officer, who was one of the officers in charge when the catastrophe occurred.

The verdict was ridiculed and condemned by the American press, which hoped that a more rigorous inquiry would be made by the British Board of Trade.

2. THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO VICTORIA PARK.—To-day the Queen paid a visit to the Park at the East-end of London which bears her name. Her Majesty, who looked in the best health, was as usual received all along the line of route with great cordiality. In several parts there was but little display of bunting or flags, owing, it is said, to the short notice which had been given of the intended royal visit. An appeal had been issued by the local authorities to the inhabitants of the East-end to make as much outward show of flags as possible, but it did not appear to have met with any very general response. What was wanting in the way of house decoration in the East-end streets was, however, fully made up for in the general character of the loyalty and enthusiasm of the large crowds who lined both sides of the thoroughfares. Every court and alley of this densely-populated portion of the metropolis poured forth its mass of male and female occupants, who vied with each other in the lusty expression of their loyalty and enthusiasm.

7. THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.—A grand masonic ceremonial was performed at a special conclave of the Order of Knights Templars, held at Willis's Rooms. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was installed as Grand Master of the Knights Templars for England,

Ireland, and Wales, in succession to the most eminent Sir Knight Stuart, who vacated the throne in favour of the Prince, now the supreme head of the exalted degree of Knights Templars. The event drew together a most numerous attendance from all parts of the kingdom, there being upwards of 400 members present. The hall was most magnificently decorated by the banners of the different provinces on each side, and at the eastern end was placed the throne, which was of a most gorgeous design, and below were chairs of corresponding richness. The knights were all in full costume of the Order, and the dress worn by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was presented to him by the late King of Sweden, by whom he was initiated into the Order.

14. EASTER MONDAY.—Fine weather, a Bank holiday, and the almost universal cessation from business on Easter Monday, caused the main thoroughfares of the metropolis to be thronged from an early hour in the morning by thousands of persons of all classes and ages making their way to the various railway stations. The day was bright, sunny, and warm; the wind had changed to the south-east; and a clear sky took the place of the oppressive gloom of Good Friday.

From seven until ten o'clock trains crowded with excursionists were despatched as rapidly as safety would permit from the various London termini—Margate, Ramsgate, Brighton, Portsmouth, Southampton, Dover, and other towns on the south, south-eastern, and south-western coasts being those more generally resorted to. The suburban traffic from the Waterloo station of the South-Western line to Hampton Court, Kew, Putney, Richmond, &c., was enormous, and the station was thronged until a late hour in the afternoon, hundreds at last leaving greatly disappointed with their fruitless efforts to find accommodation in the crowded trains. The scene at the stations of the Chatham and Dover and Crystal Palace lines were of a similar character, and the officials report that they do not recollect a day when the traffic was greater. After twelve o'clock the crowds and crush at the river steamboat piers was equally as great. As a consequence of this outpouring of the holiday population of London, the suburban districts of popular resort were all thronged with visitors—Hampton Court, Kew Gardens, Greenwich Park, the Crystal Palace, Blackheath, Hampstead Heath, Clapham Common, each having a more than average contingent; while the places nearer home, such as Battersea and the Victoria and Regent's Parks were all crowded from early morning until dusk. The outdoor places of amusement, such as the Zoological Gardens, the Surrey Gardens, Cremorne, and the North Woolwich Gardens, were also crowded with visitors.

The International Exhibition was opened, and visited by more than 10,000 persons during the day. The novel feature in this year's exhibition is a display of the works of art, pictures, sketches, sculpture, models, &c., executed by the officers of the army and navy. The number of visitors to the Zoological Gardens was 42,320,



and to the British Museum about 14,000. About four o'clock in the afternoon 10,210 persons had passed into the Bethnal Green Museum, and two hours earlier the visitors at the National Gallery were between 6000 and 7000. More than 43,000 holiday-keepers went to the Crystal Palace, and 10,450 visited the Brighton Aquarium.

It is universally admitted that on no previous Easter Monday has so large a number of the inhabitants of the metropolis kept holiday, and that there was but little disorderly conduct or intemperance to be seen in the streets, which were thronged with the homeward-bound holiday-makers until a late hour at night.

In the evening the theatres were crowded.

In the absence of the usual Easter Monday Volunteer Review at Brighton or Portsmouth, most of the metropolitan corps had a field-day in different localities at a short distance from London.

15. TRIAL OF THE "DEVASTATION."—To-day, what may be termed the final preliminary trial of H.M.S. "Devastation" took place off Portsmouth, the vessel being submitted to the crucial test, so far as her machinery is concerned, of the six hours' continuous steaming trial, at high speed, which always precedes the active service afloat of a ship in commission. The "Devastation," which is one of a class including also the "Thunderer" and the "Fury," owes her origin to a decision of Mr. Childers, when First Lord of the Admiralty, to add to our naval strength by building vessels which should, according to the existing state of knowledge of guns and armour-plating, represent the best line fighting ship. It being totally a new type of vessel, more than usual interest and anxiety were felt in her at the Admiralty, and therefore while she was in progress the aid was invoked of more than one committee. One of these was appointed to inquire and report upon designs for ships of war generally, and it came to the conclusion that the "Devastation," in all her important features, worthily represented the first-class fighting ironclad of the immediate future. The "Devastation's" dimensions are as follows:—Freeboard, from the stem to the fore end of the broadside superstructure, about 68 ft., 9 ft. 3 in. Height of armour-plating above the water-line, 6 in.; freeboard amidships, over length topped by the broadside superstructure, about 180 ft., 11 ft. 6 in.; height of armour above the load water-line, 4 ft. 2 in.; freeboard aft of superstructure to the stern, 5 ft. 6 in.; height of armour above water-line, 4 ft. 6 in. The depth of armoured band amidships below the water-line is 5 ft., but less at the fore and after ends. The after-turret's gunports are in height above the load water-line 13 ft. 2 in., and those of the fore-turret 4 in. higher. The hurricane deck is 23 ft. 4 in. above the load water-line; the iron derrick masthead is 56 ft. above the hurricane deck; and the signal pole, or topmast, 47 ft. above the masthead. There are quadruple engines, of 800 nominal horse-power, to work up to 5600 horse-power on trial. They drive a pair of screws, each set working and driving its screw independently of the other.

The result of the trial was voted most satisfactory.

— **RELEASE OF THE GAS-STOKERS.**—The five men, convicted four months back at the Central Criminal Court for their share in the strike of Beckton gas-stokers, were released this morning from the county gaol at Maidstone, the event being made the subject of great demonstration in the town. At nine o'clock precisely the prison doors were opened and the men marched amid tremendous cheering from the immense crowd which had congregated in the large space immediately fronting the gaol. An open pleasure-van was in attendance, in which the released men took their seats and traversed the streets. Members of the London and Maidstone Trades Councils accompanied the men from the prison to the Sun Inn, High-street, an enormous body of people bringing up the rear. At this house a public breakfast was prepared at ten o'clock, and a large number of persons sat down to the repast. Mr. Potter presided, the five stokers being seated at his right hand. Messrs. Odger, Guile, and others were also present.

22. A **GRAND FANCY-DRESS BALL** was given by the Lady Mayoress at the Mansion House. The company, about 600 in number, and including many persons of distinction, began to arrive about nine o'clock, and kept pouring in until far towards midnight. The Lord Mayor assumed the character of Louis Quatorze on the occasion, and the Lady Mayoress that of his Queen. Twenty members of their family, all in appropriate costume, formed a court, and joined in the reception of the company; while twelve gentlemen, all attired as jesters, acted as masters of the ceremonies. It was an indispensable rule that all the invited guests should appear in fancy dress, and no masks or dominoes were permitted.

— **SUICIDE OF EARL DELAWARR.**—Late on the evening of the 21st Lord Delawarr arrived at the Bull Hotel, Cambridge, and after supper retired to rest. On Tuesday (this) morning his lordship rose early and left the hotel without taking breakfast, and did not return. His absence excited no suspicion at first, but after a time a letter, addressed by his lordship to the steward of his estates at Bourn, was found on the table of the sitting-room which he had occupied. This, being forwarded and opened, was found to contain a notification that his lordship had left the hotel with the intention of committing suicide by drowning, and that his body would be discovered in the water nearest to the Bull Hotel. Active search was made during Wednesday, but in vain. The Rev. Reginald Windsor West, second Baron Buckhurst, brother and heir presumptive to Earl Delawarr, arrived in Cambridge on Wednesday evening, and on Thursday morning the search for the body was resumed in the waters of the Cam for several hours without success. At about half-past nine o'clock a hat was found, but could not be identified as having belonged to his lordship. The further prosecution of the search resulted in the recovery of the body soon after ten o'clock, in the Cam, by the men engaged in dragging the river, near the old ladder at Sweep's Green bathing-place, at Newnham, a short distance up the stream from Cambridge, and about half a mile from the

**Bull Hotel.** It was conveyed to a house in the neighbourhood, to await an inquest, which was held at Cambridge, and at which it appeared that Lord Delawarr's mind had been affected by the death of a woman who had lived under his protection, and to whom he had been much attached. The verdict was "Temporary insanity."

**23. GREAT FIRE AT DOCKHEAD.**—At an early hour this morning a tremendous conflagration broke out at the East-end of London, in the locality of Dockhead and Shad Thames. The fire originated on the premises of Messrs. Peek and Frean. It appears that shortly after two o'clock smoke was observed issuing from the windows of the building, which covers a large piece of ground close to the South-Eastern and Brighton Railways, at Bermondsey. An alarm was raised, and in a few minutes several engines arrived. The flames spread with great rapidity, and the reflection could be seen for many miles round. The firemen went to work in an admirable manner, but the flames took possession of floor after floor, and all hopes were soon given up of saving the building. The flames next ignited the roof, and attacked the different premises adjoining; and at this time it was feared the whole of the buildings near those of Messrs. Peek and Frean would be consumed, but by about four o'clock the firemen had succeeded in stopping the spread of the fire. One estimate makes the probable loss 100,000%.

**27. GREAT FIRE IN MANCHESTER.**—One of the largest fires which have occurred in Manchester since the destruction of the London and North-Western Goods Station, took place at the carriage works of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, Miles Platting. The premises are situated in the midst of a densely-populated district. The building is of immense length, and three stories high, and for many years has been used for the manufacture of locomotives, carriages, &c. At the time of the outbreak of the fire about twenty locomotives, a large number of carriages, and an immense quantity of timber were stored on the premises; several locomotives were also stationed in the yard adjoining. The fire is said to have originated in a boiler-house contiguous to the works. The fact that the floors of the building were saturated with oil used in the manufacture of carriages caused the flames to spread with alarming rapidity, and the heat to become so intense as to set fire to some adjoining cottages and a small mill. Forty locomotives and 130 carriages were entirely destroyed, and the fire was not completely extinguished till nearly midnight. The company have issued a statement to the effect that after a careful estimate the damage is estimated to be about 80,000%.

**29. EARTHQUAKE.**—A sharp shock was felt at Doncaster, at a few seconds after half-past two o'clock. Many dwelling-houses and other buildings were shaken to their foundations, and people rushed out into the streets to learn the cause. Persons who were sitting at the time of the occurrence are said to have been jerked forward, or to have been thrown bodily off their seats. Furniture was displaced in upper rooms, and many tradesmen had their goods in their

shops disturbed. One gentleman galloped to the Great Northern plant works, thinking that an explosion had happened. The weather was fine but cold during the day.

30. THE TWO THOUSAND GUINEAS was won by Mr. W. S. Crawford's Gang Forward, beating the favourite, Mr. H. Saville's Kaiser, by a head. From the dip the race was reduced to a match between the two.

## MAY.

8. A RAILWAY ACCIDENT occurred near Shrewsbury, on the joint line of the London and North-Western and Great Western line from Shrewsbury to Newport, Monmouthshire, to the train due in Shrewsbury at 11.25, which had just passed the Condover station, about five miles from the latter town. Being a fast train it was running at high speed, when the axle of the engine broke, close to one of the fore wheels, which staved in, throwing five carriages and two break-vans off the line into a field about five or six feet below the level of the line. The first carriage was turned upon its side, the second was thrown completely over upon its top, the wheels and heavy framework crushing the unfortunate inmates, four of whom were killed upon the spot, three gentlemen and a lady, the head of the latter being completely smashed, almost entirely covering the roof of the compartment with blood. A third carriage, a composite one, was made a dreadful wreck, being broken into splinters, there being no form of the body left, and the wheels were almost embedded in the earth. The remaining carriages rested in a leaning position on the bank, excepting one nearest to the engine and tender, all of which remained on the rails. Fortunately there were comparatively few passengers in the train, or the disaster must have been much more terrible. The rails were ploughed up for a considerable distance before the actual upset took place. Besides those killed on the spot, two or three others were so seriously injured that they are not expected to live.

10. MR. BRIGHT AND REPUBLICANISM.—At a convention of political societies favourable to Republicanism, held at Birmingham, the following letter from Mr. Bright was read:—

“ Ballater, N.B., May 9, 1873.

“ DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the invitation to your proposed conference, although I cannot be present at it. You ask for a word of encouragement, which I can hardly give. To possess the best system of civil government is a thing worth striving for, but it may be a wise policy to endeavour to perfect the civil government we have rather than to look for great changes which necessarily involve enormous risks. It is easier to uproot a monarchy than to give a

healthy growth to that which is put in its place, and I suspect the price we should have to pay for the change would be greater than the change would be worth. Our forefathers suffered from nearly a century of unsettled government in consequence of the overthrow of the monarchy, brought on by the folly and crimes of the monarch. France has endured many calamities and much humiliation for nearly 100 years past, springing from the destruction of the ancient government and the apparent impossibility of founding a stable government to succeed it. Spain is now in the same difficulty, of which we watch the experiment with interest and anxiety. For forty years past in this country we have seen a course of improvement in our laws and administration equal, and perhaps superior, to anything which has been witnessed in any other nation. This gives me hope and faith that we can establish a civil government so good as to attract to its support the respect and love of all the intelligent among our people, and this without bringing upon us the troubles which, I believe, are inseparable from the uprooting of an ancient monarchy. I have no sympathy with the object which gives its name to your club. I prefer to try to do good in the way of political reform by what I regard a wiser and less hazardous, if a less ambitious method, and from what we have seen of the past I think we may gather hope and faith for the future.—I am, yours truly,

JOHN BRIGHT."

— KILLED BY A TIGER.—A fearful story is told by *The Homeward Mail* of an encounter with a tiger, in which Mr. Joseph Gay, son of Mr. Gay, Controller of Public Works Accounts in the Nizam's territory, lost his life. The tiger had committed numerous depredations in the Chudderghaut district in Hyderabad. Several persons had been killed, and the work of the Public Works Department interfered with. Mr. Marrett, the district engineer, and a successful sportsman, went out with young Mr. Gay to shoot the animal. Mr. Marrett and a shikaree were posted under a tree; Mr. Gay placed himself on the lower branches of the tree to watch, while the beaters surrounded the lair. The tiger appeared so suddenly that Mr. Marrett could only fire, wounding the animal in the jaw, before he was knocked down, and the tiger, Mr. Marrett, and the shikaree rolled over together. Mr. Gay at this moment, in trying to shift his seat so as to get a clear shot, lost his balance, and fell on the back of the enraged tiger. Mr. Marrett had swooned, and the man-eater turned on its new assailant, mangling him fearfully. The beaters then succeeded in driving off the tiger to the jungle. Mr. Marrett was not badly hurt, the shikaree was uninjured, but young Mr. Gay died of his wounds six hours afterwards.

13. A TERRIBLE ACCIDENT occurred to night at the Junior Carlton Club, by which a gentleman named Graham, living at Palace-green, Kensington, met with a frightful death. It appears that Mr. Graham, who was about twenty-eight years of age, and another gentleman were the guests of a Mr. Newton, a member of the club. They dined together at eight o'clock, and afterwards.

D



adjourned to the strangers' smoking-room, which is situated on the top floor of the building. Here Mr. Newton and his friends remained until eleven o'clock, and upon all three leaving the room Mr. Graham, who happened to be next the banisters, placed his left hand on the balustrade and challenged one of his friends to a trial as to which of them would leap the farthest down the stairs. Before, however, his friends had time to accept the challenge, he, with his left hand still on the banister, sprang forward, and, losing his balance, the unfortunate gentleman whirled over the banister and fell a depth of at least sixty feet down the "well" of the building on to the pavement below. It was found, upon examination, that he had sustained frightful injuries both externally and internally, and that all chance of recovery was hopeless. He was removed to a convenient apartment, his friends were summoned to his bedside, and his sufferings were alleviated as far as possible by the administration of chloroform. He remained sensible until four o'clock, and at six he died.

24. THE ALEXANDRA PALACE.—The opening of the Alexandra Palace and Park, at Muswell Hill, beyond Hornsey, on the north side of London, was a pleasant festival to many thousands of visitors. This new place of public entertainment is the property of a Limited Liability Company. The grounds are situated in the most agreeable part of Middlesex, exactly six miles from Charing Cross, but amidst rural scenery of delightful freshness, variety, and beauty. They have an extent of 220 acres, laid out in park and garden, on the summit of a range of green hills, adorned with flourishing oaks and elms, which commands on every side, north and south, east and west, views that cannot be surpassed in the neighbourhood of town. Hornsey, Wood Green, East Barnet, Totteridge, Finchley, and Highgate turn their best aspects towards the Alexandra Park; and there are several openings for a more distant view, reaching far into Essex and Kent; but one scarcely wishes to look beyond the verdant slopes and well-wooded rising grounds of this vicinity. The entire estate here belonging to the Company is 600 acres, the greater part of which is reserved for building mansions or villas.

The Alexandra Palace has been constructed by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas, from the designs of Messrs. Meeson and Johnson, architects. It is an edifice stately and dignified, as well as elegant, in the characteristic forms it presents, both outside and inside. The plan is that of a nave with three transepts, the centre being surmounted by a dome, 170 ft. in diameter and 220 ft. in height; the length of the nave is 900 ft., or half that of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; the central transept is 430 ft. long; the other two transepts are each 320 ft. long; the breadth of the nave and of each of the three transepts is 85 ft. The architectural style is Italian, with arabesque decorations in blue, grey, and gold, on a ground of chocolate brown. The lighting is not from the roof overhead, but from ample side ranges of lofty windows, and from two gorgeously-coloured large round windows of painted glass, at opposite ends of the nave. Stone

coffers and vases of ornamental design, containing a variety of flowering shrubs and plants, alternate with statues, or groups of sculpture on pedestals, along the nave. The whole interior, nave and transepts, is surrounded by a series of galleries. The grand organ, above the orchestra in the central transept, is an instrument of great size and musical power, constructed by Mr. H. Willis, under the superintendence of Sir Michael Costa. In the north transept there is, at its west end, a spacious and commodious concert-hall, with another organ; at its east end a theatre nearly as big as that of Drury-lane.

The opening entertainments consisted first of a flower-show in the nave, which was a very pretty sight, whether on close inspection or viewed from the gallery at either end, and a grand concert afterwards in the central transept.

27. SIX PERSONS BURNED TO DEATH.—Between one and two o'clock this morning, a fire broke out on the premises occupied by Mr. J. G. Sparrow, a job-master, in Grosvenor-mews, Berkeley-square, which resulted in the loss of six lives and serious injury to four other persons. Six could not be rescued and were burned to death. The injuries of the others were caused by burns and by jumping from the second-floor window, and they were taken to the Middlesex Hospital. Grosvenor-mews consists of two small streets, with a row of houses between them—the corner house, nearest Berkeley-square, being occupied by the unfortunate persons who were burned and injured. The dwelling contained five rooms, situated above a straw-loft over a stable, there being an entrance at each side of the mews. How the fire occurred is, and seems likely to remain, a mystery, considering that the house is wrecked so completely that only the four walls are standing.

28. EPSOM RACES.—A more pleasant day as regards weather than this cannot be imagined; still the morning was dull and cloudy, which apparently had the effect of lessening the attendance at Epsom, for the crowd on the hill seemed scarcely so large as usual, though the people in the ring and stands were as closely packed as possible. The result of the Derby was as follows:—

Mr. Merry's Doncaster, by Stockwell—Marigold (F. Webb)	1
Mr. W. S. Crawford's Gang Forward (T. Chaloner)	†
Mr. Savile's Kaiser (Maidment)	†

The following also ran:—Count de Juigné's Montargis (Carratt), Mr. W. S. Crawford's Beadroll (Lowe), Lord Aylesford's Chandos (T. Cannon), Lord Falmouth's Andred (T. French), Mr. Dane's Snail (Baverstock), Count Renard's Hochstapler (J. Osborne), Mr. F. Gretton's Suleiman (Fordham), Lord Lonsdale's Somerset (Custance), Mr. H. Levy's Meter (Parry). Betting:—9 to 4 agst. Gang Forward, 4 to 1 each agst. Kaiser and Hochstapler, 8 to 1 agst. Montargis, 11 to 1 agst. Chandos, 20 to 1 agst. Suleiman, 40 to 1 each agst. Doncaster and Andred, and 66 to 1 agst. Meter.

The horses got off at the first attempt to a capital start, Beadroll

making the running to serve his stable companion Gang Forward, and Hochstapler, Doncaster, Kaiser, and Gang Forward lying next in the order named. Going through the furzes Beadroll had increased his lead, and Meter was already beaten; and at the top of the hill Kaiser took the lead, closely followed by Suleiman and Gang Forward. Hochstapler dropped away before reaching Tattenham-corner; and Kaiser, coming very fast down the hill, increased his lead, and appeared to have the race in hand; but just as they passed the bell, Doncaster, who was lying next the rails, came with a terrific rush, and won cleverly by a length and a half. Gang Forward did not come at all well down the hill, and Chaloner had to ride him hard for some distance, but the horse answered every call on him with marvellous gameness, and, closing with Kaiser in the ascent for home, made a dead heat for second place in the last couple of strides. Chandos was fourth, Andred fifth, and Suleiman sixth, and Hochstapler finished about last, in company with Beadroll and Meter.

The result of the Oaks (on the 30th) was the following:—

Mr. Merry's Marie Stuart, by Scottish Chief—Morgan la Faye (Cannon)	1
Mr. W. S. Crawford's Wyld Myrtle, by Stockwell—Tightfit (Chaloner)	2
Mr. R. H. Long's Angela, by Adventurer—Aline (Loates)	3

Betting:—2 to 1 agst. Marie Stuart, 7 to 2 agst. Cecilia, 9 to 1 agst. Gratsinska and Hippia filly, 100 to 8 agst. Angela, 100 to 6 agst. Wild Myrtle, 20 to 1 agst. Silver Ring, 25 to 1 agst. Virgin Queen and Lady Lyon, 30 to 1 agst. Oxford Mixture, and 50 to 1 agst. Poldoody, Oyster Girl, Voyageuse, and Wild Aggie.

28. IMPRISONMENT OF LABOURERS' WIVES.—The magistrates of Chipping Norton have created a considerable sensation by sending to prison sixteen respectable women, under a new Act for “intimidating agricultural labourers,” who were working in place of others on strike—the “intimidation” appearing to have been of the mildest kind.

On the evening of the conviction of the women, the people assembled in great force, and after much shouting made an onslaught on the police station; the windows and the door were broken, and some of the tiles were stripped off the roof. The police are admitted to have acted with great forbearance, but the superintendent thought it advisable to telegraph for assistance to Oxford, nineteen miles distant. So riotous was the aspect of Chipping Norton that it was not deemed safe to keep the women there till the time at which the first train leaves; and in the small hours they were driven in the break the whole distance to Oxford, where, at about six o'clock, they were locked up in the county gaol. Two of the unfortunate prisoners had infants at the breast while being conveyed on their journey to prison. Nine of the sixteen have been only released to-day, after serving their time.

— ACCIDENT TO THE QUEEN'S GRANDSON.—A Darmstadt correspondent, writing to a contemporary, gives the full facts of a sad accident which befell Prince Frederick William of Hesse. He says, "On Thursday morning last, at a quarter to eight, the nurses brought, as usual, the royal children into Princess Alice's bedroom. On this occasion there were but three—viz., Prince Ernest, Prince Frederick William, and the baby, Princess Victoria. Out of the bedroom opens a bathroom, into which, shortly after his arrival, Prince Ernest ran. The Princess, knowing the window to be open, as was also the one in her bedroom, hastily got up and followed the child, leaving Prince Frederick William by himself and the baby on the bed. During her short absence Prince Frederick William let a toy with which he was playing fall out of the window, and while trying to recover it he fell a height of twenty feet to the ground. The Princess, hearing a noise, rushed back, but only in time to see the unhappy child in the air. Her shrieks soon brought assistance, but all efforts were useless, and the poor little fellow died about eleven o'clock. He was a weakly child from his birth, but of a lively and gay disposition, and his death is an immense sorrow to his parents, for whom, it is needless to say, the greatest sympathy is felt. The little prince will be buried at six o'clock this evening, and his funeral will be attended by the various officials and foreign ministers. The Princess Imperial of Germany arrived yesterday on a visit of condolence to her sister, but left again this morning. This mournful event must throw a gloom over the festivities of the month in celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Grand Duke's accession, and also of the visit of the Emperor of Germany and the Czar of Russia. To one fact I must draw attention—that while in England Court mourning is ordered, here there will be none, as the deceased prince was not twelve years old."

## JUNE.

2. WHIT-MONDAY—No bank holiday has yet been more thoroughly observed in London than this. There was a general suspension of business in the suburbs as well as in the City; and the fine weather attracted immense numbers to the various places of recreation and amusement out of town. The wind blew strongly from the north-east, and towards evening the atmosphere was cold, but throughout the day there was a total absence of rain. The visitors to the Zoological Society's Gardens numbered 37,453; to the Crystal Palace, 49,292; to the new Palace at Muswell Hill, 59,863; to the Brighton Aquarium, 12,533.

There was a great Trades' Demonstration in Hyde Park against

the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the penal clauses of the Masters and Servants' Act, and the Conspiracy Laws, as far as they are applicable to combinations of labourers. About 14,000 or 15,000 men—representing the several districts of Bow and Stratford, Limehouse and Poplar, Bermondsey and Southwark, Islington and Clerkenwell, Walworth and Lambeth—assembled on the Thames Embankment, and marched to the park under the direction of two marshals. Having arrived in Hyde Park, where it is estimated that 30,000 persons were gathered near the scene of the meeting, speeches were delivered from six platforms, and a manifesto was adopted embodying the views of those who had organized the demonstration.

3. MEMORIALS TO THE LATE LORD DERBY AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.—The ceremony of unveiling the Lancashire statue-memorial of Edward Geoffrey Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, at Preston, was performed by Colonel the Right Hon. J. Wilson-Patten, M.P., in the presence of the present Earl of Derby and his brother, the Hon. F. A. Stanley, M.P., and other persons of position. The subscriptions to this monument had been strictly limited to one penny each. The statue, which is the work of Mr. Noble, and has been sculptured from a single block of Campatella marble, is of the colossal height of eleven feet, and stands on a pedestal measuring thirteen feet and a half. The position is a conspicuous and favourable spot in the park which was presented to the town of Preston by Alderman Miller.

Curiously enough a statue to Lord Derby's great political rival, the late Sir Robert Peel, was on the same day unveiled at Huddersfield by Lord Houghton. The statue, executed by Mr. Theed at a cost of 1000*l.*, is nine feet high, and the statesman is represented as wearing the robes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whilst in his left hand he holds a scroll to which he is pointing. Including the pedestal, which is of Aberdeen granite, the statue is twenty feet high. On the front of the pedestal is a fine bronze relief of "Feeding the Hungry," and at the back an extract from a speech by Sir Robert Peel.

7. IRELAND.—A very serious fire took place in Dublin. A timber-yard, situate in Thomas-street, one of the most densely-populated parts of the city, took fire shortly after ten o'clock, and burned with great fury for upwards of twelve hours, doing great damage to house property in the neighbourhood. The flames lighted up the utmost parts of the city vividly, and in less than an hour after the fire commenced twenty or thirty thousand persons, chiefly of the most turbulent classes, had assembled.

Shortly after the arrival of the fire-engines, which were delayed at another fire, the principal water-pipe burst, causing great consternation. The fire began to spread to the narrow alley and laneways behind the street, and the people, who were mostly in bed, began immediately to carry their furniture out of danger. The aspect of affairs then became alarming, and the police were unable to maintain



order. They were stoned, and some of them completely disabled. The Lord Mayor and the military were sent for, and soon afterwards arrived. The soldiers found it necessary to charge with fixed bayonets.

Twenty-eight men and one woman were subsequently brought up at the Dublin police-court charged with forming part of the riotous mob. The evidence given by the police showed that the mob several times tried to force their way into shops, that there was a great deal of deliberate stone-throwing at the police and the military, and that bricks were thrown at them from the tops of houses, and stones and other missiles from windows. Major Douglas, commanding the 13th Light Infantry, two companies of which were present, was struck with a stone, knocked down, and rendered insensible. He subsequently obtained leave from the mayor to disperse the mob, which he did by charging it. The mob used the most vile expressions of execration towards the military.

9. BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRA PALACE.—The grand and beautiful structure on Muswell Hill, completed at the cost of half a million sterling, and opened for the entertainment of the public on Saturday, the 24th ult., was entirely destroyed by fire to-day. Nothing is left of it but the blackened ruins, consisting of some portions of the walls, the two end gables, and the gables of the three transepts. This disaster was the work of an hour and a half, between noon and two o'clock, when many thousands of visitors to the palace were assembled. Its cause was the carelessness of workmen employed to repair the leadwork in the roof of the great dome. A morsel of red-hot charcoal, dropped from a brazier, set fire to the timber and papier-mâché in a crevice where it fell, near the upper gallery outside the dome, while the men were gone to dinner at half-past twelve. In a few minutes, almost before the alarm could be given, the central part of the dome, inside as well as outside, was involved in flames, which quickly spread in every direction till the whole vast building was consumed.

The first outbreak within the building was observed by many persons, and shouts of alarm ran through the nave and transepts, while the multitude of visitors escaped as fast as they could by every door. Hydrants abounded in the main passages and galleries; many of these were opened by the attendants, but from the first it was discovered that no force of water was on, and all hope of arresting the progress of the fire was precluded. When the alarm reached the offices of the manager and secretary, the united efforts of their staff were devoted to rescuing from destruction the most valuable objects of art in the palace. The loan collection of modern pictures and drawings was torn down from the gallery walls, and carried by files of men out into the park. The set of valuable tapestries was also saved, and the books of the company; but beyond these treasures nothing could be removed.

The alarm of the palace being on fire was telegraphed immediately to the different Metropolitan Fire Brigade stations and to the King's Cross station of the Great Northern Railway. Mr.

Oakley, general manager of the line, at once sent down the only two fire-engines kept at King's Cross, each by special train, to Wood Green, where they arrived almost as soon as the local engine from that village had been got out. Six steam fire-engines left London almost simultaneously, under the conduct of Captain Shaw, taking the road by Crouch End and Hornsey; but they had six or eight miles of ground to cover, much of it being up-hill, and by the time they reached the Alexandra Park the destruction of the palace was well-nigh complete. Captain Shaw had taken with him nine steam fire-engines and seven manual engines, and about 120 of the most experienced men in the force. On their arrival the brigade with their engines were speedily in action, and worked from a valley on the western side of the burning building, where, however, there was but an indifferent supply of water. With a large reservoir and the New River at the foot of the hill, there does not seem to have been any arrangements for pumping it up in quantities. The firemen's hose, too, had to be carried over a line of railway, and they had to contend with a stiff breeze, which greatly fanned the flames.

Meantime the fire had spread through every nook and corner of the edifice, travelling downwards from the roof, first along the galleries, then attacking the main body of the nave and transepts, increasing in fury as it came in contact with the more combustible materials of the building, especially the theatre and the great concert-hall. The flames spread along the roof, which fell in great flakes upon the area below, splitting the floor in places and distributing fire as it descended. At length the cord of the Union Jack, which had floated from the dome, was burnt through, and the flag itself, coming down with a run, disappeared in the burning ruins. The draperies of the royal box caught fire as the falling flag came in contact with them, and served to spread the flames to other parts of the building. At half-past one o'clock the tie rods holding together the twelve gigantic ribs of the roof gave way under the intense heat, and with one tremendous crash the central dome fell bodily, crushing the great organ and the orchestral amphitheatre. The two smaller domes speedily came to destruction, and before two o'clock not a vestige of the roof or upper walls, except the eight gables, remained standing.

The building was for the most part composed of the materials of the International Exhibition of 1862. It was begun in 1864, and completed two years afterwards. The materials used in the outward elevation were white bricks, varied with red, and with Portland stucco. The style was Italian Renaissance, with pillars of the Corinthian order. The dome, which constituted the central feature of the edifice, had been partly cased with metal, and a similar process was applied to the roof. The palace was a substantial and elegant structure, 900 ft. in length by an extreme width of 450 ft., and was arranged in the form of a nave, with three transepts, the

centre one of which was surmounted by the dome, 170 ft. in diameter and 220 ft. high.

The organ—one of the grandest ever built, which stood on the north side of the centre transept—is destroyed, with its complex fittings. It had 101 stops, 80 of which were sounding stops, and was worked by two steam-engines, one eight-horse and another thirteen-horse power. The fine orchestra in front of the organ, which was sufficiently large to accommodate 1000 performers, and the front of which was adorned with busts of Beethoven, Handel, Rossini, Verdi, Mendelssohn, and Auber, has likewise disappeared; and so has the theatre, with its pretty drop-scene, and all the rest of its belongings. The whole interior, in fact, is an unsightly ruin from beginning to end, completely open to the sky, and filled with iron material, twisted into all kinds of fantastic shapes, and other rubbish. Such of the outer walls and towers as remain are in an exceedingly dangerous state.

12. THE ASCOT CUP was run with the following result:—

Mr. Savile's Cremorne, by Parmesan—Rigolboche, 4 yrs.,	
8st. 10lb. (Maidment)	1
M. Lefevre's Flageolet, 3 yrs., 7st. 5lb. (Newhouse)	2
M. P. Aumont's Revigny, 4 yrs., 8st. 9lb. (Carratt)	3

In the course of this meeting Kaiser, who had been beaten by a head by Gang Forward for the Two Thousand, and had run a dead heat with him for the second place in the Derby, met his old antagonist again, and this time beat him by a head.

15. HOSPITAL SUNDAY.—Special sermons were preached this Sunday at nearly all the places of worship in the metropolitan district, and collections were made in aid of the fund for the hospitals. The amount collected is estimated at not less than 30,000*l*.

16. ARRIVAL OF THE CESAREWITCH.—The Imperial Grand Duke of Russia, accompanied by his Consort, the Princess Dagmar of Denmark, and their two little children, arrived at Woolwich from Antwerp, and were met by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The visit is understood to be private, and their Imperial Highnesses are said to be travelling incognito, but the circumstances attending their landing and reception could hardly have been more imposing if it had been a state ceremonial. As the visitors walked along the pier, their reception was most enthusiastic. At the entrance to the pier they were received with great cheering from some thousands of Arsenal workmen. Luncheon had been provided at the Royal Artillery Mess-room, and thither the royal party repaired, but on reaching the barracks they preferred not to alight, and were driven on to London by way of Blackheath. The Cesarewitch and Cesarevna are the guests of the Prince and Princess of Wales, the rest of the suite being accommodated at Claridge's Hotel.

21. ACCIDENT ON THE MIDLAND RAILWAY.—When an excursion train was approaching Hallfield Gate, near Higham, the tire of the left leading engine-wheel broke. The engine left the line and ran

down the embankment. The tender turned over, the stoker was scalded and otherwise injured, the driver was thrown into the road close by and seriously injured, the guard's van was pitched into the river Amber and smashed up, and the guard received some internal injuries, and had his arm broken also. Four other carriages were thrown off the line down the embankment, and two passengers killed. The seriously injured were sixteen in number.

23. AMUSEMENTS.—The Oxford and Cambridge cricket match on this and the following day was won after an exciting contest by the former by three wickets. At the Henley Regatta, on the 25th and 26th, the Grand Challenge Cup was won by London, the Eton Boys beating Balliol, Oxford, for second place.

30. SIR SAMUEL BAKER.—From the correspondent of the *New York Herald* at Khartoum, we learn that Sir Samuel Baker and party had arrived safely at that place, and were to leave for Cairo in a few days. The following is the text of the telegram received from the Hon. H. C. Vivian, her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, and referred to in the House of Commons:—"Alexandria, June 30 (1 p.m.).—Telegram just received from Sir Samuel Baker, dated Khartoum, yesterday, reports his safe arrival there in good health, with all the other Europeans. The country as far as equator annexed to Egyptian dominion. All rebellions, intrigues, and slave-trade completely put down. Country orderly. Government perfectly organized, and road open as far as Zanzibar. El Zaraf navigable. Victory on June 8, with only 105 men, over army of Onioso. This mission completely successful."

The arrival of Sir Samuel Baker and the members of his expedition at Khartoum is officially announced at Alexandria.

— THE VISIT OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA.—During the past fortnight all England has gone mad over the long-expected visit of the Shah of Persia. It is as idle to attempt to describe the universal enthusiasm as to account for it, and we must content ourselves with a brief record of the proceedings of his Imperial Majesty Nasr-ood-deen.

The invitation graciously sent by our Queen was conveyed to the Shah at Brussels by a distinguished servant of her Majesty, Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had known the Shah in Persia, and the Shah's father before him. It was on Monday (the 16th), soon after the Shah's arrival at Brussels, that Sir Henry called upon his Majesty, and was formally received, with the other members of this special mission. Sir Henry addressed the Shah in the Persian language, after presenting his diplomatic credentials to the Sadr Azim, and the Queen's letter to the Shah. In replying to Sir Henry, the Shah said he was much touched by the kindness of her Majesty. His tour in Europe was by no means undertaken for the sake of mere pleasure, but with a view to witness European civilization; and the main object he had in setting out on this journey was to visit England.

Starting from the Belgian capital at five o'clock on Wednesday morning (the 18th), at which early hour King Leopold took leave of him at the Brussels railway station, the Persian Monarch reached Ostend by a special train before half-past seven. He was accompanied by Sir H. Rawlinson and the other Englishmen. The Ostend railway station was decorated, and there was a guard of honour to receive him. In the port of Ostend lay three Admiralty despatch-boats of the British Government for the conveyance of his Majesty and those who belonged to him across the Channel. The Shah and Persian Princes went on board the "Vigilant," which is a paddle-wheel steam-yacht of 800 tons burden. At a distance of several miles off the shore lay three British ships of war, that strange-looking monster, the new turret-ship "Devastation," of 9500 tons; the "Audacious" and the "Vanguard," each of 6000 tons and fourteen guns, two comparatively handsome iron-clads. These were to serve for an escort from Ostend.

The weather was misty, but the sea was calm, when the flotilla started at eight o'clock. At noon it came in sight of the detachment of the Channel Fleet which had been sent out to meet the Shah and convey him to Dover. There were eight of these mighty ships, not including the three named as having lain off Ostend. The "Vigilant," "Lively" and "Vixen" (the other two despatch-boats) hoisted the Persian flag, which displays a gold lion, sword, and sunrise upon a ground of red or white. This was saluted by the whole squadron, with astonishing effects of sound and smoke, when the ships from Ostend met the ships from Dover. The weather at this time of the day was very fine.

The eleven ironclads, united in one squadron under Admiral Hornby, now formed two lines, between which the despatch-boats moved on towards Dover. A crowd of excursion-steamers and private yachts hung about them, and many thousands of spectators at sea, as well as on shore, enjoyed this noble spectacle. The crews of all the ships manned the yards aloft, while the marines paraded at their gangways. The "Vigilant" rounded the Admiralty Pier at ten minutes past two o'clock. As the landing-stage was reached a military band struck up "God Save the Queen," and the garrison troops on the pier presented arms.

The Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur were on the pier at Dover to give the Shah his first welcome to England. The Shah, coming out of the deck-saloon, showed himself on the quarter-deck of the "Vigilant," amidst a group of Persian grandees, in dresses adorned with gold lace, green ribbons, and flashing stars. He wore a cloak, with a tall black fur cap, in front of which was his diamond aigrette; a pair of spectacles assisted his eyes. As the people cheered him he raised his hand to his cap once or twice, and then re-entered the deck saloon, where he changed his dress.

When the Shah stepped on the red-carpeted gangway and gained the shore a royal salute was fired by the castle and other batteries, to which the fleet responded. His Majesty now appeared in a blue



military frock-coat, faced with rows of diamonds and large rubies; his belt and the scabbard of his scimeter were likewise bright with jewels, and so was his cap. It was a quarter to four when he left the hotel, accompanied by our Princes, and started by a special train of the South-Eastern Railway for London. The Duke of Cambridge and others were at Charing Cross station, in company with the Prince of Wales. The arrival of the Shah was awaited with much interest outside Charing Cross. People gathered in large numbers, and as the royal carriages emerged from the station there were ringing cheers from the crowd. The entire route through Whitehall and the Mall to Buckingham Palace was lined with spectators. Before the palace was reached, the rain, which began falling on his arrival at Charing Cross, increased to a heavy shower, which speedily dispersed the people.

The suite of apartments in Buckingham Palace placed at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty the Shah, under arrangements made between her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Siemens, had been placed in direct communication with the instrument-room of the Indo-European Telegraph Company, and arrangements had been perfected by which the Shah was enabled at any moment, standing in his apartments in Buckingham Palace, to speak direct with his own capital of Teheran, a distance of about 3800 miles.

On Thursday his Majesty received the Corps Diplomatique and her Majesty's Ministers at Buckingham Palace. In the evening he dined at Marlborough House with their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and went to a ball given by the Duchess of Sutherland at Stafford House.

On Friday, the 20th, the Shah was received by the Queen in state at Windsor Castle.

At Windsor the preparations for the reception of our Eastern visitor were worthy of the royal borough. Like the terminus at Paddington, the Windsor station was hung thickly with streamers and flags of every variety. The platform was covered extensively with crimson cloth, and the reception-room, facing which the Shah would alight, was artistically laid out with flowering plants, while in the station yard seats were erected for the accommodation of the Eton boys and a limited number of special ticket-holders.

As the royal train steamed into the station, the Princes and others in waiting to receive his Majesty slightly advancing, the Persian King, who was in a gorgeous state uniform of brilliants, stepped out of the carriage. The Mayor and Recorder then came forward and read an address, to which the Shah briefly replied, both the address and reply being translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Accompanied in the same carriage by Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold, the Shah was driven to the Castle, where her Majesty received him at the foot of the staircase. The reception was held in the White Drawing Room. The Shah conferred upon the Queen the Persian Order, and also the New Order which he has instituted

for ladies. Luncheon was served in the Oak Room, after which the Queen accompanied the Shah to the foot of the staircase on his leaving the Castle.

In the evening there was a magnificent entertainment given to his Majesty by the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, to which 3000 guests had been invited.

Buckingham Palace was quitted about half-past nine. The gates were thrown open, and the gilded state coaches, all equipped as in some fairy tale, drove at a gentle and showy trot from the portals of the palace along the open way, lined on each side with masses of the people. The last carriage of the line of ten or more, escorted by the Horse Guards with all the pomp of military display, was that conveying the Persian Monarch. The crowd cheered to the echo. In the Strand a powerful lime-light from the roof of the Gaiety Theatre filled all the thoroughfare. The royal and distinguished personages bowed in recognition of the cheering, the Shah himself frequently waving a white-gloved hand as his carriage went on eastwards. It was ten o'clock when his Majesty and his suite drove up to the entrance in a number of the Queen's carriages, with an escort of cavalry. Long before he arrived his coming was heralded by the cheers of the people in the streets, and this was the signal for a ringing of church bells in the neighbourhood of Guildhall. When the Shah was alighting the bands struck up the Persian national air. There was a general clapping of hands in the vestibule as the Lord Mayor conducted the royal procession on its way to the Library. First came the Shah, leading the Princess of Wales; next the Prince of Wales and the Cesarevna; then the Cesarewitch and the Lady Mayoress, followed by the Duke of Edinburgh and his sister Princess Christian, and then by Prince Arthur and the Duchess of Teck. The Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian, Count and Countess Gleichen, and Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar were also of the company, whose progress through the building was announced with shrill blasts by four trumpeters in antique dresses of velvet and gold. The procession reached the Library, where a distinguished company had assembled on and around the dais; and the Shah was escorted to his place on the dais, having the Princess of Wales and the Lord Mayor on his left hand and the Cesarevna on his right. The rest of the members of the royal family, with the Cesarewitch, stood on each hand of the Lord Mayor in front of the dais. The Shah wore a blue uniform, with a belt of diamonds, and with the ribbon, the George, and Star of the Garter which had been conferred upon him at Windsor during the afternoon. The variety of costume among the company, the scarlet, blue, and other uniforms, the Court dresses of the old style and the new, the rich colours worn by the ladies in their robes, and the lustre of their jewellery, were displayed to great advantage in the old hall, with its painted giants and marble monuments. When the Shah had taken his seat the first quadrille was formed. Of course the Shah never dances. The Lord Mayor

danced with the Cesarevna, the Prince of Wales with Miss Waterlow, the Cesarewitch with the Princess of Wales, and the Duke of Edinburgh with another Miss Waterlow; while Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian, and the Duke of Teck led off the Duchess of Manchester, Princess Christian, Princess Mary, and Lady Spencer. After one or two sets of quadrilles had been danced, about eleven o'clock the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and the Entertainment Committee conducted the Shah and certain of the distinguished guests to the principal supper-table, which was spread in the Council Chamber. At the conclusion of this banquet, shortly before twelve o'clock, the Shah, with the Prince and Princess of Wales and the other members of the royal family, took leave; the Lord Mayor and the rest of the civic dignitaries escorting them to the entrance, preceded by trumpeters as before. His Majesty and the rest of the royal party were cheered by the people outside as they took their departure. Before the company left the library the address of the Corporation to the Shah was telegraphed to Teheran by the Indo-European Telegraph Company, using an instrument in the hall, and a reply was afterwards received from his Majesty's principal Minister there.

The magnificent entertainment at the Guildhall was the first of many on the same scale. The Shah was introduced in rapid succession to a review of artillery at Woolwich and another of the fleet at Spithead, a State performance at the Italian Opera, the International Exhibition and a concert in the Albert Hall, and a review in Windsor Park of seven or eight thousand troops of the Guards and other favourite regiments, with cavalry and artillery, while throughout the whole of these the curiosity and enthusiasm of the British public of all grades continued unabated, the various shows being, on the whole, admirably managed. But the greatest success of all, from the peculiar nature of the sight, was perhaps the Shah's visit to the West India Dock and Greenwich on Wednesday, the 25th. He went about one o'clock, in an open carriage, from Buckingham Palace to the Tower, but did not stop there to see the armoury and regalia. At the Tower Wharf, kept by a guard of honour of the Coldstreams, he embarked in the river steamboat "Princess Alice," which was accompanied by the "Cupid," having on board the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Crown Prince and Princess of Russia, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Duke of Teck and Princess Mary, Prince Christian, and the Duke of Cambridge, all in civilian dress. A salute was fired from the Tower guns, and the two steamers moved down the river, followed by other boats, one bearing the official persons of the Admiralty Board. The river was crowded with ships, barges, boats, and vessels of many different kinds. Their decks and rigging, as well as the wharves and roads on each bank, and windows and crane-stages of the warehouses, being thronged with people, it looked like all London upon the water and banks of the Thames, as it looks above Putney on the day of the University boat-race. Opposite the entrance to the West India Dock lay five

of the floating steam fire-engines of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, under the orders of Captain Shaw. They were closely lashed together in a line, and upon the deck of each stood the firemen, with the hose-pipes ready for a discharge. The word was given, and they all at once saluted the Shah with several hundred jets of water, thrown horizontally against the sides of the "Princess Alice" steamboat, after which they cast up as many perpendicular jets to a great height in the air with a very fine effect. The steamboat conveying his Majesty and the Princes entered the West India Dock by the Millwall gates, where the 26th Middlesex Volunteers formed a guard of honour. The West India Dock was full of shipping, packed close to each side, with an open channel between for the steamboats to pass. All the decks, rigging, and yards of the ships, and the ground and buildings around the dock, swarmed with an immense multitude of sightseers, amongst whom were foreign sailors of every nation. The Shah was more astonished by this scene than by anything else. Having passed out of the dock by the Blackwall gates, his steamboat went across to Greenwich, where the Shah and the Princes landed at the hospital stairs. They were conducted by Mr. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, to luncheon in the Painted Hall. About five o'clock they came out, when the boys of the "Chichester" training-ship, in honour of the Shah, manned the yards of the model-ship rigging, on the masts erected in the grounds of the Greenwich Royal Hospital School. The Shah and their Royal Highnesses again embarked in the steamboats, and were conveyed up the river to Westminster Bridge. In the evening, by command of the Queen, a State ball was given at Buckingham Palace, at which the Persian Sovereign and the British Princes and Princesses were present.

On Thursday, the 26th, the Shah started on a visit to the north, and his receptions in Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, were repetitions of the scenes in London. He was introduced to country-house life by the Duke of Sutherland, with whom he stayed at Trentham, and returning to London on Saturday, the 28th, he went in the afternoon to a garden party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at the Duke of Richmond's villa at Chiswick. The company at this entertainment was so numerous that a mere list of their names fills nearly three columns of the *Times*. Her Majesty the Queen was there. On Monday morning, the 30th, there was an inspection for his Majesty of the engines and men of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, under Captain Shaw, in the gardens behind Buckingham Palace. In the afternoon his Majesty went to the Crystal Palace, with nearly all our Princes and Princesses, to see a special entertainment, consisting of gymnastic performances, the playing of the great fountains, and a display of fireworks.

## JULY.

5. THE VISIT OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA was brought to a close to-day. The entertainments in his honour continued to the last.

His occupations on Tuesday (the 1st) were an unceremonious visit to the Bank of England, the Tower of London, and St. Paul's Cathedral; an afternoon fashionable party at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone; a look in at the House of Lords and the House of Commons, while they were sitting; and a walk through Westminster Abbey with Dean Stanley. The next day the Shah again went to Windsor, for the third time, and paid a farewell visit to the Queen at the castle. He also called on Prince and Princess Christian at Frogmore. Having returned to town about seven o'clock, he went to see Madame Tussaud's Gallery of Waxwork Figures in Baker-street, where M. Victor Tussaud showed him every part of the exhibition. He was most struck with the effigy of the late Emperor Napoleon III.'s dead body as it appeared when lying in state at Chiselmurst; but he also took much notice of the relics of Napoleon I., and the figures of Queen Victoria with her family around her.

The Shah was so much pleased with the Crystal Palace that he chose to go there on the 3rd, instead of taking his departure from England, as he had intended, on that day. It was an ordinary shilling admission day, with no particular novelty or specialty in the list of entertainments. The Persian Monarch went on this occasion without his diamonds among the common crowd of English people. He wore a simple tunic, which covered even his sword-belt; not a jewel was to be seen about him: and his companions, except one or two Persian officers in uniform, were as plainly dressed. The Chairman and Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company, with other directors, and Mr. Billings, the manager, received him as he arrived. He told them, in passable French, that he came again because he had enjoyed himself there so much on the Tuesday evening—"C'était la plus heureuse soirée que j'ai goûtée en Europe," said the Shah. Strolling among the stalls, he examined toys and photographs; tried a pair of opera glasses, which he turned on the people in the gallery, and heartily joined in their laughter, bowing to them as they bowed to him, when they found themselves exposed to his distant gaze. He saw the art-students modelling from statues in the Greek Court; admired the Alhambra Court, and made the acquaintance of Mr. Owen Jones; and then descended to the marine aquarium. As the Shah came to the glass front of each tank, the food on which the creatures in it are fed was dropped down from above. Nothing could exceed the interest manifested by the Shah in all that he saw. On leaving the aquarium the Shah walked through the Byzantine, Renaissance, and Gothic courts on the eastern side of the building. He was photographed



by Messrs. Negretti and Zambra, and purchased photographic views of the several courts and of the whole Crystal Palace. Turning into the nave again, his Majesty walked to the state box and thence into the balcony over the terrace. He saw the great fountains playing, and the people walking about the terraces and gardens. His Majesty instantly expressed a wish to walk unattended amongst them. Refusing the escort of any of his own servants, or of the police, or of the Crystal Palace officials, he walked out into the balloon ground and saw the ascent of two balloons. He went down to the water temples, and accepted a nosegay from the hands of a child, while constantly saluting the people with a smiling face. They heartily cheered him in return. Having re-entered the palace, he went into the refreshment-room to smoke, rested there half an hour, and then returned to town. In the evening he went to the International Exhibition, and bought some forty pictures, most of them landscapes by Belgian artists.

The next day was spent much in quiet; but the Shah visited St. Thomas's Hospital at three o'clock, and in the evening went to the opera. He also called on the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Czarewitch and Czarevna, and went to Kensington, looking at the Hyde Park Albert Memorial on his way to a garden party which was given by the Duke and Duchess of Argyll. Baron Reuter had a private interview with the Shah at Buckingham Palace.

The Shah's departure to-day, by the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, to Portsmouth, and his embarkation for Cherbourg on board the French Government yacht "Rapide," was the last act of these remarkable proceedings. His Majesty was accompanied to the Victoria Station by their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, and Prince Christian, all in uniform. The Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur, who had met him on his arrival at Dover, went with him to Portsmouth. There was a luncheon on board the "Rapide," while the Shah's luggage was being shipped; his attendants went on board the "Hirondelle," a companion steamer. The "Rapide" was formerly called the "Aigle," and was kept for the personal service of the late Emperor Napoleon III.; the "Hirondelle" was used by the Empress Eugénie at Biarritz and elsewhere. The two English Princes having taken leave of his Persian Majesty, and all being ready for departure, the French yachts started at two o'clock. They were joined at Spithead by four of the great ironclads of our Channel Squadron, which formed a powerful escort, the "Northumberland" and "Agincourt" on the port side, the "Sultan" and "Hercules" on the starboard. As the shores of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight receded from view in the distance, the Shah was observed standing alone upon the afterdeck, and looking back with an air of fixed meditation. The sea was calm and the air was clear; the yachts, with their guard of mighty British war-ships, went on towards France. About

half-past five that afternoon, they were met in mid-sea by the squadron of five French men-of-war, under Admiral Reynaud, sent to escort the Shah to Cherbourg. This squadron consisted of the "Ocean," flagship, the "Suffren," the "Reine Blanche," the "Armide" and the "Thetis," ironclads, with the despatch-boat "Rénard" in attendance. Both squadrons fired a salute and manned yards, the sailors cheering aloft and on deck, while the bands played "God save the Queen" and "La Marseillaise" in mutual compliment of the two nations. The British ships then returned to Portsmouth, while the Shah went forward to Cherbourg, where he remained on Saturday night, sleeping on board the yacht. He landed on Sunday, visited the Arsenal, and travelled by railway to Paris, arriving there about six o'clock.

The Shah having been made a Knight of the Garter during his visit to England, her Majesty presented him with the badge and collar set in diamonds. He gave the Queen his photograph set in diamonds, and the same to the Prince of Wales. To the Duke of Cambridge, at the Windsor review, he gave a diamond-hilted sword; to Earl Granville he offered his jewelled portrait, but our Foreign Secretary, gracefully and skilfully as he does everything of the sort, plucked out the photograph from its costly setting, and would accept only his Majesty's likeness, without the precious stones around it.

7. SHAM FIGHT AT ALDERSHOT.—To-day, the troops composing the Aldershot division were reviewed by the Duke of Cambridge and put through the manœuvres of a sham fight, in the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Czarewitch and Czarevna. The number of troops under arms was 9049, divided into two forces :—

The defending force, under the command of Major-General Parke, consisted of his own brigade (1st), with the 6th Dragoon Guards and two batteries of artillery. This force took up an advantageous defensive position at the base of Cæsar's Hill, facing north. The remainder of the troops, under General Grant, formed the attacking force at the north of the Long Valley. The attacking general sent his cavalry and a battery of artillery to the right, across the steeplechase ground, to threaten the left rear of the defenders; this resulted only in a magnificent charge by the opposing cavalry. At the same time the attacking commander led his infantry southward, covered by skirmishers. As soon as the latter came within range they opened a sharp fire, which was responded to by the 95th Derbyshire and the 1st battalion Rifle Brigade, supported by the 90th and 88th Regiments. The 7th Royal Fusiliers, of the defending force, had a well-contested battle with the 22nd Cheshire Regiment and the 103rd Royal Bombay Fusiliers. At this juncture the firing was deafening, and having continued for about twenty minutes, the attacking general reinforced his front line, and by a skilful manœuvre tried to overlap the flanks of his experienced opponent, who withdrew to a natural fortification furnished by the north-western face of Cæsar's Hill. Behind a zig-zag breastwork he formed his

infantry, his artillery was well posted, and his cavalry, though inferior in number to that of his opponent, protected his flanks and rear from any surprise. As the assailing battalions skirted the waterworks in Bourley Bottom, they were, it was to be supposed, annihilated by volleys from infantry and salvoes from artillery. Both commanders proved their knowledge of tactics. Throughout the fight the artillery maintained a heavy cannonade. The numerous hills surrounding the battle-field were studded with groups of soldiers and civilians, who followed the manœuvres of the day with great interest.

12. THE ETON AND HARROW CRICKET MATCH.—The forty-eighth match between the two great schools took place at Lord's ground to-day and yesterday, and resulted in a victory for Harrow with five wickets to spare. On each day there were about 20,000 spectators present. At the close of the match a most discreditable uproar took place on the ground, resulting in a regular fight between members of the two schools.

In consequence of this scene, the following resolution has been passed by the Committee of the Marylebone Cricket Club:—

"The Committee regret that, notwithstanding all their efforts to prevent a scene of confusion at the termination of the schools' match, their efforts were frustrated by the unseemly conduct of some persons on the ground. Such scenes as those witnessed on Saturday would not occur if the partisans of both schools would assist the authorities in checking the immoderate expression of feeling at the conclusion of the match. The Committee appeal to the old and young members of the two schools to assist them in future in preventing a repetition of such disorder, which must inevitably end in a discontinuance of the match."

— A FATAL ACCIDENT occurred at Whitfield, Herefordshire, to Mrs. Clive, wife of the Rev. Archer Clive, a landed proprietor and magistrate for the county, chancellor and prebendary of Hereford Cathedral, and formerly rector of Solihull, near Birmingham. The deceased, known as the authoress of the brilliant though eccentric novels entitled "*Paul Ferroll*," "*Paul Ferroll's Wife*," a volume of poems, and other works, was writing in her boudoir, surrounded by a number of books and a quantity of manuscript, when a spark flew from the fire and ignited her dress. Before assistance could arrive, the unfortunate lady, who for years had been a confirmed invalid, was burnt most terribly. She died on the following morning.

16. SALES OF RACING STUDS.—On this date Messrs. Tattersall disposed of the whole of the Alvediston stud, the property of Mr. William Day, the well-known trainer. The sale took place at Alexandra Park, which is well adapted for the exhibition of blood stock. Eighty-five lots realized 12,513 gs., a satisfactory result when it is remembered that the thirty-three yearlings are by no means fashionably bred. Araby's Daughter, the dam of Oxonian, only fetched 350 gs., as she is nineteen years old; but her colt foal, own brother to Oxonian, reached 400 gs. The highest price of the

sale (460 gs.) was given by Mr. Weatherby for Maid of Athol, a fine young mare by Blair Athol—Tunstall Maid. Of the sires, Camerino was bought in, and Man-at-Arms and Promised Land were knocked down for 150 gs. and 160 gs. respectively. On the 19th, the sale of Sir Joseph Hawley's stud took place at Middle Park.

19. DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.—Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester, was killed to-day, by a fall from his horse, while riding in company with Lord Granville, in the neighbourhood of Dorking, Surrey. The bishop and Lord Granville left London by the South-Western Railway, with the intention of paying a short visit to the Hon. Edward Frederick Leveson-Gower, of Holmbury, near Dorking, where Mr. Gladstone had arrived to meet them. At Leatherhead they were met by a groom with horses. The bishop mounted one which, on account of its quietness, was a special favourite of Lord Granville's. The distance of Holmbury from Leatherhead is about seven miles. After passing the Burford Bridge Hotel they left the high road, and, leaving Dorking in the valley, made their way over Ranmoor Common. From this point they pursued the bridle road towards Leith Hill. Beyond the Ackhurst Downs, Lord Granville, being very familiar with this part of the country, led the way down the hill towards Abinger, and arrived on a piece of moorland locally known as "Evershed's rough." A waggon-road here being very full of ruts, they left it for the turf, which is very light and springy, but is not good galloping ground. The bishop and Lord Granville were in conversation when the bishop's horse stumbled, it is believed over a stone, and threw its rider on his head. Death appears to have been instantaneous, as the bishop fell on his head, and, turning completely over, dislocated his neck. The body was conveyed to Abinger Hall, the seat of Mr. Farrer, the Secretary of the Board of Trade. Expresses were sent to Dorking and Shere for medical aid, and Dr. Clark and Mr. Furnival were soon on the spot, but the bishop was beyond all assistance. From the moment he fell he showed no signs of life. His hat was completely crushed in, but on the body there were no marks whatever, though the next morning there was a slight extravasation of blood under the left ear. The face was as placid as in life.

The intelligence of the melancholy event was at once telegraphed to his lordship's family, and on Sunday morning his youngest son arrived at Abinger. He visited the scene of the accident, and caused a cross to be cut in the turf where his father fell. On an examination of the ground it was ascertained that there is a slight declivity at the place where the accident occurred. The hoof-marks plainly showed where the horse stumbled, and a few feet further on where it recovered its footing.

An inquest was held at Abinger Hall, on July 21. Earl Granville, Mr. Gladstone, the Rev. Basil Wilberforce, and Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, were present.

Earl Granville, in answer to the coroner, stated that they had

ridden rather fast from the church built by Mr. Cubitt across Ranmoor Common, and came down the steep hill along the chalk road and on to a sort of green drive, which is a perfectly level and smooth piece of grass. "I was riding," said his lordship, "a little to the left, and looking up towards the hill and the rough ground, when I heard the noise of a heavy thud on the grass. I turned round, and saw that the horse the bishop had been riding—my horse—was on his legs, while the bishop was lying upon the ground almost exactly in the same attitude as the body is in at this moment. He was on his back, with his feet stretched out in the direction in which the horses had been going. I stopped the two horses almost immediately, and saw that the bishop made no effort to rise. I kept my eye upon him, but I could not see that he made any movement whatever. I sent the groom on to Mr. Farrer's for assistance, and then raised the bishop's shoulder and head a little by putting my hat and coat under him. I also loosened his clothes. His eyes were shut, his complexion was apparently very clear, his countenance was very serene and composed, and there was almost a look of satisfaction in his face. I felt his pulse and his heart, and there were no signs of life; at least I could perceive none. Later on, after Mr. Farrer arrived, I sent for further assistance. I again felt the pulse, and fancied there was a pulsation. I convinced myself, however, by trying, that this was an illusion; it was my own pulse that I had felt, and not that of the bishop. I should like to add that I never saw the bishop look more cheerful, or in better or higher spirits, than he was on that occasion. Immediately before the accident he was rejoicing in the beauty of the weather and the scenery through which we passed, and taking notice of almost every incident along the road. Just before the accident happened he had said to me that he never could be tired of riding such a horse as that on which he was mounted."

— THE VOLUNTEERS AT WIMBLEDON opened their fourteenth annual meeting on the 5th, and concluded it successfully to-day.

The details of the principal events are as follows:—

*The Queen's Prize.*—This, the chief event of the meeting, was decided on July 15. The honour is this year carried to Scotland by Sergeant A. Menzies of the 1st Edinburgh Rifles, a brother of Captain Menzies, a well-known shot, and of two other gentlemen holding official rank in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Sergeant Menzies, who is now about twenty years of age, first appeared at a public rifle competition in the All Comers' Association meeting in the Scottish capital last year. By profession he is a law student.

The following are the ten highest scores for her Majesty the Queen's Prize at 800, 900, and 1000 yards. Seven shots at each distance. Second stage:—

	800	900	1000	Total.
Sergeant Menzies, 1st Edinburgh (gold medal and gold badge of N.R.A. and 250 <i>l</i> .) . . .	24	19	17	60
Private Baker, 1st Glo'ster . . . . .	25	20	14	59
Corporal Pullman, 2nd Middlesex . . . . .	24	23	12	59



	800	900	1000	Total.
Colour-Sergeant Brooks, 12th Middlesex . . . . .	19	20	18	57
Sergeant Bruce, 5th Warwick . . . . .	21	20	15	56
Corporal Willows, 4th Lincoln . . . . .	19	19	16	54
Private Brown, 9th Renfrew . . . . .	21	21	12	54
Sergeant Fullford, 7th Hants . . . . .	19	14	20	53
Armoury-Sergeant Ingram, 1st Lanark . . . . .	18	16	16	50
Private Blair, 3rd Lanark . . . . .	25	11	14	50

This prize was founded at the first Wimbledon meeting, and is regarded as a match for the championship amongst volunteers.

*The International Trophy.*—This prize was competed for, on July 12, by twenty representatives of Ireland, Scotland, and England respectively, at two, five, and six hundred yards, with the long Snider. The English team led slightly at the 200 yards, closely followed by the Scotch; the Irish, though figuring well in some of their squads, occupying the third rank. As there are no volunteers in Ireland, the squads here were made up from Irish-born men, who belong to English or Scotch corps, and it is only justice to the habitants of the sister isle to say that, under these circumstances, they have to compete at a disadvantage. In the result, England scored in the aggregate 1180; Scotland, 1168; and Ireland, 1072. England accordingly won by twelve points; and the first cheers that arose were those of and for the English. Congratulatory speeches were made, first by Colonel Knox, the head of the Irish team; next, by Captain Dunlop, of the London Scottish; and last, by Captain Field, of the Hon. Artillery Company, on behalf of the English. Major Waller, of the St. George's Rifles, who made the highest individual score, he having contributed 70 to the English score, became the winner of the Gunmakers' Company's Challenge Cup.

On the 10th took place the match between the Lords and the Commons. The representatives of the Peerage were the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Kingston, Earl Ducie, and Lord Cloncurry, with the Marquis of Lorne, who had been taken from the Commons' reserves in order to equalize the list. The members of the Lower House who shot in the match were Lord Bury, Mr. Arthur Vivian, Mr. Arthur Bass, Mr. Malcolm, and Mr. Fordyce. The Lords made 252 points, and the Commons 262. The latter were thus victorious by ten points.

22. A THUNDERSTORM, causing considerable destruction of valuable property, and in several instances loss of life, has occurred in the provinces.

At Preston, the most severe storm that has happened in that part of the country for many years passed over the town from the south-east to north-west. From 8.30 until 9.30 the lightning was almost incessant, sheet and fork lightning appearing at the same instant, and the accompanying claps of thunder were terrific. Many of the flashes of forked lightning seemed to be composed of small rings of fire, and others had the appearance of zig-zag chains of stars. Rain fell in torrents for about two hours, causing a sudden rise of several feet in the river Ribble, and the low-lying streets of the town were temporarily flooded. A young woman walking on

the banks of the river was blinded by the lightning for a short time. A man and two horses were instantaneously killed by a flash of lightning at a stable door in Hutton; and in Grunsargh, another neighbouring township, three men were struck dead as they were returning from a hay-field in a cart. The same fate befell a man in Fulwood, who was walking on the highway. The thermometer at noon showed 120 degrees of heat in some places.

At Leeds the storm was also attended with fatal results. At Liverpool the heat for several days had been excessive, and on this date was most intense, the thermometer marking 124 degrees in the sun in the afternoon. Towards evening the western sky became clouded, and in a short space of time the town was enveloped by the storm-clouds, the thunder and lightning being almost appalling, and accompanied by torrents of rain, which flooded cellars and streets in the lower portions of the town. Fortunately no fatal accident occurred, although several houses and buildings were injured.

The storm raged with great violence at Richmond, Yorkshire. In some parts of the town the paving-stones were ploughed up, and the sand lay so thick that men have been engaged lading it for building purposes. A young farmer named Clew, living at Wood House, was struck by the lightning, and he became blinded for some time, but ultimately recovered, and his watch, which was in his trousers pocket, was completely smashed. Four or five cases of sunstroke, caused by the excessive heat, are reported from Skipton and Settle, in Yorkshire. Some are said to be fatal.

Shields also suffered from the storm, the flashes of lightning being very frequent and the thunder very loud. At Bath rain fell in torrents, sand and stones being washed into the city in large quantities from the surrounding hills. The lightning was exceedingly vivid, and almost unintermittent. Great alarm was created amongst the inhabitants, the most of whom got up. So fierce and continuous was the forked and sheet lightning that the hills around the city were visible for several miles. It is said on all hands that the storm was the most violent that has occurred since the night of the death of George III.

At Bolton, a number of lads were playing cricket, when four boys who were watching the game were struck to the ground by the lightning. Several other boys were also prostrated, but they recovered almost immediately, and went to the assistance of their companions, two of whom were found to be dead, while one was also very seriously injured. One of the boys who was killed had been struck on the head, and his cap set on fire. The hair on the crown of his head was singed off, and the lightning appears to have travelled down his neck and cheek, the latter being badly burnt. The other had also been struck on the back of the head, the hair being frizzled off quite closely. The lightning had afterwards run down his neck on to his right shoulder, the skin of which had been peeled off.

31. THE NEWTOWN-STEWART MURDER.—Sub-Inspector Montgomery, after being tried three times, has been found guilty of the murder of Mr. Glasse, the cashier at the Newtown-Stewart Bank, on June 29, 1871. Before he left the dock, the prisoner made a confession. The evidence, although entirely circumstantial, was such as to point very clearly to the guilt of the accused :—

The deceased gentleman, it will be remembered, was cashier of the Northern Bank at Newtown-Stewart, and on June 29, 1871, about an hour after the closing of the outer door, he was found lying in the inner or back office, his skull fractured by several wounds. The prisoner had formerly been a bank clerk, was on terms of intimacy with the deceased, and was accustomed to visit him in the inner office. At the time of the murder he was in great pecuniary difficulties. The theory of the prosecution was that he went into the inner office, remained there with the deceased until the bank closed at three o'clock, and then committed the murder, taking away 1605*l*. The greater part of this money, together with a billhook with which the wounds might have been inflicted, was found buried in a gravel-pit at Grange Wood. The prisoner was seen going towards Grange Wood, and returning from there on the night after the murder.

The jury, after a quarter of an hour's deliberation, found the prisoner guilty. When asked what he had to say, the prisoner coolly leaned forward on the rails of the dock, and having thanked the Judge for his consideration and impartiality, said that at the time of the perpetration of the murder, and for twelve months before, he was in a state of complete insanity. In June, 1870, he was invited to Molecross, the residence of the Rev. Mr. Bradshaw. At that time he was in excellent health. He was then deliberately drugged and poisoned with the object of weakening his mind, so that a doctor told him he might die in a day or a week, but he could scarcely recover. While thus weak-minded he consented to marry, but he grew worse and worse, and in the month of November embarked in those foolish and ridiculous speculations by which he lost enormous sums of money, much larger than had transpired in the evidence, some of the persons from whom he got sums of money not having come forward. A monomania for robbing banks then took possession of him, and he told his orderly on one occasion of his intention to rob a bank and murder the cashier. Sergeant Armstrong had said it was a terrible murder; there could be no doubt of that. A man of education or feeling would not have committed such a deed: but he was demented at the time. As to its being wilful, he was helpless, weak-minded, and silly, and he did not think that the action of a man in that state ought to be visited upon him as the action of a man in possession of his senses. That was all he had to say. The Judge then passed sentence of death.

Some reporters for the Irish papers have been allowed to have an interview with Montgomery, who is said to have related to them with great minuteness the details of the murder. He said the

weapon was lying on the bank table, and was not concealed. Mr. Glasse saw it, and asked him what he was going to do with it. The prisoner replied that he was dangerous, and commenced brandishing it about his head; but the deceased only laughed. Mr. Glasse then turned round to look at a map on the wall, and the prisoner struck him a heavy blow on the head. He turned round and looked, but he was powerless to do anything. Afterwards he fell on the floor, and Montgomery sat down and began to read the *Belfast Newsletter* till Mr. Glasse was dead.

THE GOLD CUP DAY AT GOODWOOD attracted as usual a large and fashionable assemblage. The Prince and Princess of Wales, the Czarewitch and the Czarevna, Prince Arthur, the Duke and Duchess of Teck, Prince and Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar, and the Duke of Cambridge, were all present.

Only three numbers—those of Cremorne, Favonius, and Flageolet—were hoisted for the Cup, and the paddock inspection was so decidedly adverse to Cremorne that by common consent the issue became reduced to the representatives of M. Lefevre and Baron Rothschild. Although fielding was freely indulged in, there was yet plenty of money forthcoming against Flageolet—the colt, indeed, going rather badly in the market at the finish. The race was one of the most hollow ever witnessed, as Flageolet, dashing away from the start, was never headed; Cremorne was beaten after a mile had been covered, and at the end of the next half-mile Favonius began to evince symptoms of distress. The winner was well ridden by Huxtable, who obeyed his instructions to force the pace to the letter.

## AUGUST.

2. GREAT RAILWAY DISASTER.—A most terrible accident, causing the death of twelve passengers and serious hurts to many more, occurred on the London and North-Western Railway, at the Wigan junction station, to the tourists' night express train from London to Scotland, leaving the Euston-square terminus at eight in the evening.

The train, which was an unusually heavy one (consisting of two engines, twenty-two carriages, and three vans), left Euston station at 8.5 p.m., five minutes after the advertised time. When, at eighteen minutes past one p.m., the train (more than fifteen minutes late) approached Wigan, the signals showed "all right." Within a few yards of the down platform, and opposite the south box, a pair of "facing" points work in connexion with the main down line and a single-line siding which runs along the back of the down

platform for a distance of about one hundred yards, and again into the down line at the extreme end of the platform. The two engines (both of which were at the head) and seventeen or eighteen of the carriages passed the facing points in safety at the usual rate of from thirty-five to thirty-eight miles an hour. Owing to some cause unexplained, the remaining six or seven carriages and a guard's van were jerked from the body of the train and the main line at the facing points, and rushed up the siding. Having lost their equilibrium, they veered over against that portion of the platform abutting on the siding, and ploughed up the flags and earth a length of twenty or thirty yards. The leading carriage, which was of composite construction, was overturned and broken to pieces, the wheels and flooring being all that remained. The other carriages sprang from the metals to the platform and fell over upon their sides. One or two others turned almost completely over, a few yards beyond, blocking the siding; and these, too, were knocked to pieces.

The shock was tremendous with which the carriages that parted from the train came against the station buildings. One corner of the wall from which springs the roof of the station was knocked out of plumb along several yards of its length, to the extent of six inches. One of the iron pillars on the roof, which stood midway on the platform, was struck down by the extraordinary leap of one of the carriages against it, and by three or four of the carriages running right on the top of each other. The telegraph-wires were caught and dragged asunder. A length of thick brick wall adjoining, built between the railway and Queen-street, which is five or six yards below the level of the railway, was partly knocked down. A large fragment of one of the carriages, with a lady passenger inside it, was hurled over the wall and fell upon and through the slated roof of a portion of Mr. Walker's foundry. A number of men working a "night turn" on the premises escaped injury, but the lady was killed.

The leading portion of the train, which kept to the main line, was brought to a standstill at Turner's siding, several hundred yards from the scene of the accident. Except the conductor, who received some bruises, nobody in these carriages was injured; but the Perth van, occupied by him, which was at the extreme end of those which kept on the main line, jumped from the metals when the separation occurred at the facing points, and ran, half in the four-feet space and half in the six-feet, as far as the pointsman's post at the north box, where it was guided back to the metals. The van was much damaged, one side being completely torn away. How the conductor escaped as he did is surprising. The footboard of a saloon carriage which ran next in order was broken off and an axle-box damaged.

The officials in charge of the station sent messengers to the town for medical and other assistance, and people living near were roused from their beds by the shrill whistles and cries of the porters. A



"night-shift" of men on duty at the adjoining foundry came quickly to render aid. Very soon a numerous party of assistants, including the police, were endeavouring to extricate the sufferers from the broken carriages. Some were rending the air with shrieks and moans. At first there was much delay for want of tools. A saw was in urgent request, but was not immediately procured. A fire was made of carriage remnants to give the workers light. The fitful glare fell upon the mangled and bruised remains of the dead and dying; but all the passengers who had not been disabled by their injuries laboured to help the injured. Poignant cries were heard from two carriages, or rather the remains of them, which were heaped together across the siding.

Beneath the carriage which was thrown wheels uppermost on the platform the dead bodies of four passengers, one being that of a woman, were found. Some of the bodies were fearfully crushed and mangled. Two ladies were got out alive from other carriages, but died shortly after being taken into the first-class refreshment-rooms. Another passenger, Sir J. W. Anson, Bart., died at the "Royal Hotel" two hours after the accident. His two daughters were with him. There were several miraculous escapes from death. A saloon-carriage, which was occupied by a young lady and her brother, with a lady's-maid, was driven into the carriage immediately before it. The saloon-carriage and its passengers sustained little, if any, damage. Several members of one family (that of Mr. Andrew Wark, of Highgate) were in the next, a first-class carriage, and two of the children and a domestic servant were killed. The father escaped uninjured, but his wife was seriously hurt. Another of their children was jammed at the bottom of the carriage among the woodwork, but was got out alive. The passengers in three of the carriages escaped without any one being killed among them. The guard who was on duty in the van at the end of the carriages which ran on the siding had a narrow escape. He was stunned for several minutes, but comparatively uninjured. Some of the passengers, although severely shaken, were not prevented from continuing their journey northwards at a later hour in the morning. About thirty of the passengers, who were more seriously hurt, were conveyed to the "Victoria," "Clarence," and "Royal" Hotels, the "Wheatsheaf Inn," and "Ropemaker's Arms," where they were kindly tended, and surgical aid procured for them as early as possible.

An eye-witness of the disaster has recorded the following particulars about the occupants of two carriages which were lying heaped together across the siding when the dreadful task began of extricating the dead and the wounded from this hideous wreck. It was found that a saloon-carriage which was occupied by a son and daughter of the Hon. S. W. Palmer, who, accompanied by a lady's-maid, were journeying to Ballymena, Stranraer, had been driven into the end of a carriage in front, the two end compartments of which were occupied by the family of Mr. A. Wark. The

carriage consisted of two second-class compartments, one at each end, two first-class compartments, and a luggage compartment in the centre. Mr. Wark and family, consisting of Mrs. Wark, a governess, a maid, and four children, occupied the first and second compartments at one end. Mr. and Mrs. Wark, the governess, and eldest son, a boy of twelve years, occupied the first-class compartment; the maid and three children the end second-class one. Mr. Wark's account of the accident is that a violent oscillation of the carriage occurred after passing the points, and then the carriage knocked against some heavy substance. The two sides of the compartment were partly crushed. Mr. Wark and two of his companions escaped apparently uninjured; but Mrs. Wark's leg was jammed between the seats, which nearly met each other, and it was a long time before she could be extricated. This difficult task could only be accomplished by sawing up the carriage. The unfortunate maid and three children in the next compartment fared much worse. The two sides of the second-class compartment were forced together, and the poor girl and the two elder children were killed. The bodies were so entangled in the broken timber that it was more than an hour before they could be got at. The third child, a little fellow of three years and a half old, was pinned fast down by the buffer of the carriage, and his cries were heartrending, while the men were perspiring at every pore in their strenuous efforts to remove the heavy mass inclosing him. One of the foundrymen, whilst his fellows were so exerting themselves, was engaged in moistening the child's lips with brandy and water. At last they reached the little fellow, and it was found that his thigh was fractured. He is since reported dead, as he had also sustained severe internal injuries. The entreaties of some of the women who were imprisoned in the wreck were heartrending, one lady pleading to be saved for the sake of her husband and little ones. Sir John Anson, who was among the killed, occupied a first-class compartment with his two daughters. The account which the young ladies, who escaped uninjured, give is that they were awakened from sleep by the violent oscillation of the carriage, and as they started up found the carriage going to pieces, and they were thrown out on the ground. Sir John Anson was struck on the head by a portion of the carriage. He was not killed on the spot, but was mortally injured. He was removed to the "Royal Hotel," where he died about an hour afterwards. The injuries which some of the dead sustained were frightful.

15. THE NAPOLEONIC FÊTE AT CHISELHURST.—Chiselhurst was, on this day, the rendezvous of sympathizers with the Napoleonic dynasty. On the previous night M. Rouher, Duc and Duchesse D'Albe, Duc Bassano, Marquis Bassano, General Ney, Baron Corvisart, Duc de Cabassera, and other known Bonapartists, arrived at Camden House. During the day between 100 and 200 Frenchmen, Frenchwomen, and youths were at Charing Cross, and carried with them a flag bearing the inscription, "La Jeunesse Française au Prince

Napoleon, August 15, 1873." The train conveying this party, on its arrival at Chiselhurst, was met by some half-dozen carriages, which conveyed the occupants and persons on foot to St. Mary's Church, where the remains of the late ex-Emperor are deposited, and High Mass was performed. The gates of Camden House were besieged by a great crowd; but admittance was denied to all except fifty of those youths who had come specially. These were preceded by three old veterans who had served under Napoleon I., one of whom was ninety-seven years of age, and he bore the tricolour, surmounted with the eagle. At half-past eleven o'clock the ex-Empress and the Prince Imperial came up the avenue, which was lined with the processionists, and were received with shouts of "Hail, Napoleon the Fourth!" The royal persons were accompanied by the Duke D'Albe and General Ney, and the young Prince bowed his acknowledgments. In another carriage were Mdme. Le Breton, Mdlle. Larmiral, Count Clary, and Baron Corvisart. They proceeded to the church of St. Mary, which had already been filled by nearly 200 ticket-holders. Many Frenchmen stood outside in the churchyard whilst the service was proceeding. Early in the morning the temporary resting-place of the late ex-Emperor had been covered with garlands of flowers, on one of which was worked, "Homage to Napoleon." All the visitors were supplied with violets, surrounded by an Imperial Eagle in brass. When the service at St. Mary's Catholic Church was concluded, the party went to Camden House.

About 600 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, and a deputation of twenty artisans, formed a circle in front of the residence of the late ex-Emperor, and the young Prince cordially shook hands with every one present, and entered into conversation with several persons. The ex-Empress also went round and received the congratulations of her friends. The sun's heat was intense, but during the reception every one remained uncovered.

When the Prince retired into the house cheers were given, intermingled with cries of "Vive l'Empereur Napoleon Quatre!" A second circle was again formed, and the Prince came out again and delivered a speech, but in a very nervous manner. It was as follows :—"I thank you in the name of the Empress and myself for having come here to associate your prayers with ours, and for not having forgotten the road which you have already followed for some months. I thank also my faithful friends who have from afar sent hither numerous testimonials of their affection and their devotion. As for myself, as an exile, and near the tomb of the Emperor, I represent the teachings which he has left me. I find in my paternal heritage the principle of national sovereignty, and of the flag which consecrates it. (Cheers.) This principle—the foundation of our dynasty—is summed up in this motto, to which I shall always be faithful—'Govern for the people, and by the people.' " (Cheers.)

16. TYPHOID IN MILK.—An alarming outbreak of typhoid fever, which has taken place in Marylebone and the surrounding districts,

has during the last few days been assuming a serious extension. It is, however, somewhat reassuring to be able to record that the commissioners appointed by the Government have discovered sufficient to account for this fearful visitation; and now that the cause is cut off, individual precaution and energy will soon eradicate the outbreak.

As the disease broke out chiefly in families which were supplied with the milk of a very extensive dairy, the officers were led to suspect that a portion of the milk might be contaminated from some cause unknown. Every information and every facility were given by the proprietors to the commissioners, who on their part invited the proprietors of the dairy to appoint medical gentlemen to watch the investigation. Having ascertained that the managers of the dairy collected their milk from large farmers, chiefly about Aylesbury, they inspected each farm whence the milk was obtained; and the result of the inquiry was to trace the evil clearly home to one of the farms in question, where the drainage of the pasture had been infected.

23. HOLYHEAD NEW HARBOUR OF REFUGE.—The completion of the breakwater, and formal opening of the new harbour of refuge, formed by twenty-five years' labour at Holyhead, the well-known port for Dublin steam-packets on the coast of Anglesey, was celebrated with a ceremonial performance and festivity, in which the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh bore the most conspicuous parts. The original plan comprised a north breakwater of 5360 ft. in length from the coast-line, and an east breakwater 2000 ft. in length, the two inclosing between them an area of 267 acres of available water-space, with a packet-pier 1500 ft. long. As the works proceeded it was found that the harbour would be too small even for purposes of refuge, and it was therefore determined to extend the northern breakwater to 7860 ft., and thus shelter an additional roadstead of 400 acres of deep water. The breakwater is terminated by a head on which is erected a lighthouse. The foundation of the work is a great rubble mound of stone, 400 ft. wide at the base, and nowhere less than 250 ft. in width at low-water level. It contains altogether about 7,000,000 tons of stone. The rubble mound having been consolidated by the action of the sea, the superstructure is a solid central wall of massive masonry, built of stone from the Holyhead mountain quarries. Many of the stones are of great size, some weighing upwards of fifteen tons, and the work is set in lias lime mortar. The wall was built as near as possible to the inner edge of the stone deposit, the foundations being at the level of low water. It is carried to a height of 38 ft. 9 in., and upon it is a handsome promenade, surmounted on the sea side by a massive parapet. At a lower level, 27 ft. above low water, there is on the harbour side of the central wall a terrace or quay 40 ft. wide, formed by an inner wall. The head at the end of the breakwater is a massive structure of ashlar masonry, 150 ft. long and 50 ft. wide; and the foundations rest upon the rubble mound, at a level varying from 20 ft. to 28 ft. below low water.



The late Mr. J. M. Rendel superintended the work personally as engineer-in-chief, from the commencement, in December, 1847, until his death, in 1856, when Mr. John Hawkshaw succeeded him.

The squadron of ironclads, which arrived for the opening, consisted of the "Agin-court," bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Hornby, the "Hercules," the "Sultan," the "Northumberland," and the "Devastation." These were preceded by the despatch-boats "Live-ly" and "Vivid" and six training-brigs. The "Victoria and Albert," Captain Prince Leiningen, arrived from Osborne very early in the morning. Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, landed from the "Victoria and Albert" at noon. They were received by Mr. W. O. Stanley, M.P., High Sheriff of the county, the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Chairman of the Holyhead Local Board, with Mr. Chichester Fortescue, President of the Board of Trade. After the presentation of loyal addresses from the local authorities, the Princes were conveyed, in a train of small waggons prettily decorated, and drawn by a locomotive, along the railroad to the head of the breakwater. Here they ascended a dais, under a canopy of flags, where Mr. Chichester Fortescue read a statement of the design and completion of the work, and the Prince of Wales declared the harbour of refuge to be opened. A royal salute was fired by the ships. The visitors afterwards inspected the lighthouse, and were entertained at Penrhos by Mr. Stanley.

24. FATAL ACCIDENT TO COL. K. MACKENZIE.—Col. Kenneth Mackenzie, Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Forces at the Dartmoor camp, met with a fatal accident. Col. Mackenzie and his brother-in-law, Capt. Colomb, were driving from the camp in a gig to Sir Arthur Buller's residence, where they were to have dined; and they had to ford the river Meavey, which had been swollen to unusual proportions by several hours' rain. The stream was running at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, and the horse was carried off his legs and the carriage upset. Both officers succeeded in reaching the bank, greatly exhausted. Capt. Colomb left the colonel to get assistance, with a view of saving the horse and carriage, and when he returned he found Col. Mackenzie lying on the bank dead.

At the inquest held at Roborough, the medical evidence showed that death resulted from syncope, accelerated by exhaustion and immersion in the water, and a verdict to that effect was returned. Col. Mackenzie had been in incessant active service for forty-two years; and the record of his services is an epitome of the history of the work of the British army in this generation.

— THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN ON DARTMOOR has ended, closing with the sad incident above recorded. It opened on Saturday, the 2nd of this month, when the troops, assembled under the command of Major-General Sir Charles Staveley, K.C.B., were reviewed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, who stayed three days at Maristow, the seat of Sir Massey Lopes, M.P. His Royal Highness first manœuvred the Second Division, under the command of General Smith, at



Ringmoor Down, for three hours, and then proceeded to Yannadon Down, where, accompanied by Sir Charles Staveley, K.C.B., and the Staff, he inspected the First Division, under the command of General Sir E. Greathed, and put them through similar exercises. On arriving at each division he was received with a royal salute, and at the termination of each inspection expressed himself well pleased with the appearance and discipline of the troops. The force reviewed in the morning, on Ringmoor, belonging to the Second Division, consisted of nine regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery, the hussars, Royal Horse Artillery, Army Service Corps, Engineers, and volunteers. After the inspection it had been intended that there should be manœuvring; but the steepness of the hill on which the troops were drawn up made it impossible for this to be carried out with any effect, and what was done must merely be considered as showing off the troops. An attack was made to the front of the original line in which the troops had been drawn up, the first brigade of the skirmishers being covered by a field battery with its 16-pounder guns. This attack was supposed to fail, and the enemy was understood to advance on the left flank. The second brigade, which, with the second field battery, had been held in reserve, then pivoted on its left, the horse artillery and cavalry advancing towards the proper front, to cover the retreat which it was seen would be made eventually. The whole army retired with the covering of the horse artillery and the cavalry, the latter charging in a manner which was much approved. The troops reviewed on Yannadon in the afternoon, being the First Division, were rather superior in numbers; and there was a large assemblage of spectators from Plymouth, Tavistock, and other neighbouring towns. On Monday the Duke of Cambridge again reviewed all the troops, and in the evening published a general order, expressing his approval of their condition and behaviour. Tuesday was granted to the men as a holiday, in honour of the visit of his Royal Highness. The performances of Wednesday were to be confined to the Second Division, the two brigades of which were to be pitted against each other. The second brigade, under Brigadier-General Herbert, C.B., was to represent the advanced guard of an army marching south upon Plymouth; and the first brigade, under Brigadier-General Thackwell, C.B., the advanced guard of a defending army, with the support of the marines and a battery of artillery, under Brigadier-General Rodney. The execution, however, of these movements was seriously marred by the state of the weather, which had been very unsettled in the cloudy climate of Dartmoor. Many of the soldiers were laid up with bad colds, and many sent to the Devonport Hospital.

The two camps of the First and Second Divisions were separated from each other by a deep valley, being placed on hills a mile and a half apart; the head-quarters' camp being on Roborough Down. This place is situated on the border of Dartmoor, forming part of the high grounds between the upper vale of the Plym, with its

tributary stream the Meavy, and the waters that flow into the river Tavy, a few miles north of this, situate east of the high road and railroad from Plymouth to Tavistock. It is the south-western corner of the great Dartmoor highland, overlooking Plymouth and Devonport and the Tamar.

These camping-grounds the troops left on Monday the 11th to advance ten miles north-east, farther into the highland wilderness of Dartmoor. The First Division, under General Sir E. Greathed, moved to a position chosen for it on Beardown, near Two Bridges and Prince's Town, overlooking the upper glen of the West Dart, not far from the high road leading from Exeter to Tavistock and Plymouth, which branches off at Two Bridges to those different towns. The place is about eight miles from Tavistock and eighteen from Plymouth.

The Second Division of the troops, under General Smith, marched some miles farther, descending the valley of the West Dart towards Dartmeet, where it is joined by the East Dart; but they stopped short of Dartmeet, at Brimps and Hexworthy. In the strategic idea of these movements it was supposed that the Second Division, having got more to the eastward, was threatening the position held by the First Division near Prince's Town, while the First Division was trying to effect a right-flank movement, sidling down to the south-east, to join an allied force coming up from Buckfastleigh, on the Ashburton and Plymouth high road, by way of Holne to Two Bridges, up the valley of the Dart. The Second Division was posted so as to intercept this line of march. A battle took place on Tuesday afternoon (the 12th), under the heights of Belliver Tor and Lofty Tor, where nearly 12,000 men were actively engaged in mimic fighting, which was renewed on Wednesday morning, but the rain and fog did not permit much enjoyment of this military spectacle.

The series of military manœuvres was practically brought to an end by a grand review and "march past" on Thursday the 21st, in the presence of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. This performance took place on Roborough Down, between Plymouth and Tavistock, and attracted great numbers of people from those towns and other places in the neighbourhood. The troops in the field mustered about 10,000, the First Division under Major-General Sir E. Greathed, and the Second Division under Major-General Smith. The Prince of Wales, who arrived at noon from Plymouth, having come round from Holyhead in the "Victoria and Albert" yacht the day before, wore his uniform as a general officer: while his brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, wore that of Colonel of a volunteer artillery corps. Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for War, joined company with their Royal Highnesses. They rode along the line of troops, which extended half a mile, and the troops then marched past, first from right to left, afterwards the reverse way; but there was no sham fight that day. Several corps left the camp on the same evening.

The other great military gathering for practice and exercise in the autumn is on Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, under the command of Major-General D. Lysons, whose head-quarters are fixed at Etching Hill, a mile from the little town of Rugeley.

31. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—It is no new coincidence that this time of year should be marked by the frequency of railway accidents, but there is something alarming in the number and fatality of the accidents of the last few weeks. Ever since the disaster at Wigan the perils of railway travelling have been kept constantly before our minds by a variety of minor accidents. Every few days we have heard of some train having had a great escape at “facing points,” or having just evaded a fast express, or encountered a slight collision; and now, before the inquiry into the Wigan accident is closed, a fresh disaster is announced, scarcely less terrible in its character, though not fatal immediately to so many passengers. A collision which occurred on Saturday, the 23rd, at Retford, is marked by peculiarly distressing circumstances. The workmen of a large Sheffield firm had started early in the morning by a special train on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire line for a day by the seaside at Cleethorpe and Great Grimsby. At Retford this line is crossed on a level by the Great Northern, and as the excursionists neared this junction they saw a train on the latter line approaching them. The excursion train reached the crossing first, and before it could pass, the Great Northern train dashed into it, cutting it completely in two, and smashing to splinters the carriages with which it came in contact. The engine of the Northern train was also thrown off the line, and dashed into a signal-box, which was completely demolished, and the materials were scattered among the sufferers. It is only wonderful that the consequences were not more disastrous. As it was, three persons were killed on the spot, and about forty others have received severe and, in some instances, dangerous injuries. Of course there was an end of the excursion, and the survivors went back to Sheffield and Deepcar to announce the catastrophe.

But the list of casualties began immediately after the Wigan accident. At Glasgow, on August 4th, as the Wemyss Bay train was coming into the Bridge Street station, a pilot engine was run out and came into collision with the train. Two carriages were smashed, and twelve passengers more or less injured; of these, six were women.

Seven persons were dangerously hurt, and several others sustained scratches and bruises, by an accident which occurred on the Great Western line, between Salisbury and Wilton, on the 5th. The line is a broad-gauge single one, and the train which was due at Salisbury was thirty-six minutes late. The station-master at Salisbury, on the time for a luggage train to start from that place becoming due, telegraphed to Wilton—a distance of about three miles—to stop the train from Bristol until the luggage arrived there. The station-master at Wilton telegraphed that the line was clear, and that he

was then engaged in getting a van belonging to Blondin (who had given an entertainment at Wilton Park the previous day) on the railway. Meanwhile the passenger train from Bristol went on to Salisbury, and the two trains came into collision between Wilton and Salisbury, a few yards from a large bridge spanning the railway.

A London and North-Western train, from Leeds to Liverpool, came into collision with a Lancashire and Yorkshire Company's coal train, which was being shunted at Clayton Bridge station, near Ashton, on the 4th. The passenger train was more than twenty minutes behind its time. The signals were set against it, but partly in consequence of fog and partly from the slippery state of the rails, it was going at the rate of almost six miles an hour when the collision occurred. The train was very full of passengers. Nineteen persons, including several ladies, were taken into a waiting-room to be examined by medical men, but they were found able to pursue their journey or return home. The bruises were mostly on the face and head.

On the 2nd there was also a collision near the Redhill station of the South-Eastern Railway between an up passenger train from Tunbridge and an engine of the London and Brighton Railway Company drawing a goods train out of the goods shed. Both engines were thrown off the rails and much broken, and the rails for several yards were broken and torn up.

A serious collision also occurred on the North-Eastern Railway, a short distance from North Shields. The passenger train which left South Shields for Sunderland at 8.25 came in violent collision with the eight o'clock passenger train from Newcastle for South Shields. Great alarm was occasioned, and a number of passengers were severely shaken.

An accident, similar to that at Wigan, occurred on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, at Miles Platting, near Manchester, on the 9th, by which eight persons were injured, one of whom has since died. The engine and part of the train passed over the points safely, but the last vehicle but one—a truck—struck the points, and was thrown off the metals. The last carriage—a third-class—which was crowded, was thrown over on its side, and one of the passengers, Mr. Newhurst, so severely injured that he afterwards died in the infirmary. Another passenger had his leg broken in several places, and five others were slightly hurt. The resemblance of the accident to the one at Wigan is borne out by the fact that the points were found set in the right direction. They are on the patent interlocking principle. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," at the same time censuring the company for their inattention to repeated complaints made of the oscillation of carriages on the line.

A rather serious accident occurred on the 8th, on the Somerset and Dorset Railway, between the Cole and Evercreech stations. Several men had been engaged for three nights in succession loading

ballast-trucks with chalk, and the material was conveyed by train the following morning to Burnham. On the 8th the train, which consisted of the engine and tender, twelve trucks laden with chalk, and a break-van, supplied for the men, left the Blandford station about 9.30 a.m., following the ordinary passenger train. On arriving at Lamyatt crossing, one of the axles of the truck next the engine broke, and seven of the twelve trucks were thrown one upon another, the permanent way partially torn up, and the tender thrown off the line. Several of the men had the presence of mind to jump from the trucks, but others were hurled off with great violence. The train was brought to a stand within fifty yards from where the accident occurred, when it was found that six of the men had received severe injuries, one of them having had his leg broken in two places.

On the 11th the seven o'clock goods train from Exeter to North Devon, when about two miles from Exeter, got off the line while passing along the bridge over the Exe, and, after taking a zig-zag course, came in contact with the parapet, and the engine rolled over on its side into the river, taking with it the tender and two vans. The stoker jumped off, but the engine-driver stuck to his post, and went with the engine into six feet of water; fortunately for him, he was able to swim, and being uninjured he struck out for the shore, which he reached in safety. The engine is a total wreck, and only one wheel is visible above the water.

A goods train on the South-Western Railway, running from Portsmouth to Bishopstoke, took fire on the 7th, after passing Botley station. The driver endeavoured to reach Bishopstoke, but was compelled to detach the burning waggons from the other part of the train about a mile from the station. Four waggons, with their contents, were burnt, and the permanent way was slightly injured.

A Scotch express train had a narrow escape at Newlay station, near Leeds, on the 9th. The train, which leaves Leeds at 2.15, ran through two out of four horses which were drawing a waggon across the line. A man and boy who were driving escaped, and the train kept on the rails. The horses were literally smashed to pieces, and portions of their bodies were scattered in all directions.

While the 5.10 p.m. up-train from Southampton was on its way to London, on the 12th, one of the carriages containing a portion of the Australian mail caught fire. As soon as it was discovered, the carriage was uncoupled and the train sent on without it. The contents of the burnt carriage were sent on as soon as possible by special engine. No part of the mail was damaged.

A fatal accident happened at Eastbourne station on the 22nd. The two o'clock express train to London was six minutes late at starting, and the train from Hastings to Brighton, due at 1.59, was seven minutes late. The Eastbourne trains from Hastings have to cross over the up-rail just before entering the station, and those leaving Eastbourne for London and Brighton have to run on the



same metals for a short distance. Just after the up-train was despatched the Hastings train appeared round the curve beyond the station. It being impossible for the drivers to pull up in time, the two trains came into collision. The passengers in the Hastings train appeared to feel the shock most, several of them being injured, and a young lady, Miss Mary Constance Girling, of Holloway, so severely that she died two or three hours afterwards. The Rev. Mr. Bere, of Sunbury, sustained concussion of the brain. Mr. Frederick Simpson, a gentleman who was on his way to Brighton, and Miss Ranger, the daughter of a builder of Lewes, were cut on the head and much shaken.

Another railway collision occurred late on the night of the 25th, at Dodworth, on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, distant about two miles from Barnsley. It being Barnsley Feast, there were excursion trains to London, Hull, Grimsby, and Manchester. The return train from Grimsby arrived at Dodworth shortly after eleven o'clock. It was closely followed by another excursion train from Hull. Whilst so situated, the excursion train from Grimsby was run into by a goods train going to Barnsley and the south. No one was killed, but a great many persons were seriously injured, and Humphreys, a guard, was not expected to survive. The engine of the goods train was thrown across the rails, and in its course dragged several carriages along with it, all of which were smashed to pieces. The rails were torn up for a considerable distance, and the traffic was entirely stopped for more than nine hours.

By an accident which occurred at the Virginia Water station of the London and South-Western Railway, on the 25th, three well-known race-horses were killed, and two jockeys who were in charge of them have been seriously injured. A horse-box, containing three horses, was placed on the Chertsey siding opposite the station, for the purpose of being attached to the down train due at Virginia Water, and, owing to some fault in the points, the train, instead of keeping on the main line, ran into the siding, and came into collision with the horse-box. Two jockeys named Spencer and Cornery were looking after the animals. Spencer was taken from the van in an insensible condition, and Cornery was much hurt. A stable lad named Lake was on the step of the van at the time, and was thrown up the embankment several yards. The horses—Druid, Queen Mab filly, and Virgin Queen—were so much injured that they had to be shot. They were to have run at Oxford on the following day.

About noon on the 27th, as a heavy goods train was ascending an incline between Colwyn and Llandulas, on the Chester and Holyhead Railway, the axle of a waggon broke, and a number of trucks were pitched across the metals, damaging the permanent way and delaying the traffic about four hours. The Irish mails up and down had to transfer their passengers and mails.

## SEPTEMBER.

2. THE PILGRIMAGE TO PARAY-LE-MONIAL.—On this day (Tuesday) nearly 500 English Roman Catholics left Victoria Station by special train at 6.30 a.m. for Newhaven, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Marguerite Marie Alacoque, at Paray-le-Monial.

Prior to their departure early mass was celebrated at many Roman Catholic chapels in the metropolis. Some hundreds of spectators assembled at Victoria Station to witness the departure, but there was no procession or formal ceremony, as had apparently been expected. The pilgrims all wore the badge of the Sacred Heart, and the different Roman Catholic orders and brotherhoods each sent their representative.

They carried with them but little of this world's goods, as their luggage was strictly limited to such bags and bundles as could be stowed in the netting of the carriages they sat in.

Nearly half the throng were women, dressed chiefly in sombre colours, though not in actual mourning; and nearly half of the men were priests, dressed in ecclesiastical garb, varying from the mere white collar and long black coat to cassocks and hooded cloaks surmounted by shovel hats. Many of the pilgrims had begun their pilgrimage in the north and west of England, or on the other side of the Irish Channel, for the general hubbub was traversed by a rich vein of brogue. Lord Walter Kerr, Monsignor Capel, and other members of the committee were present and travelled by the train, but the presiding genius was Mr. Cook, inquired for on all hands by good Catholics come by night train from Manchester and other places, and anxious at the last moment about their vouchers. Archbishops and bishops may have their day, but on the railway platform the tourist agent must reign supreme. Sisters of Charity, in their black stoles and corpse-like face-cloths, came by twos and threes, and as these friends and nurses of the poor passed towards the train the men raised their hats, according to the point of religious courtesy. Banners in long brown-paper parcels and flat deal boxes were safely stowed away, to be unfurled and carried in splendour at the crowning moment. Despite a very distinguished committee, numbering among its members that trump card of English Catholicism, a Duke of Norfolk, Lords Denbigh and Herries, Lady Lothian, Lady Herbert of Lea, and ecclesiastics of high rank, the lay contingent of pilgrims seemed to comprise but few persons of the upper class. It is understood, however, that many such persons have been liberal in subscribing, and have thus not only enabled others to become pilgrims who could not have afforded the expense, but have themselves made the pilgrimage by proxy, and, to quote the express words of the manifesto, have "shared in the graces of this national Catholic act of homage."

The ecclesiastics were so distributed that each compartment was

an oratory with its allotted priest, ready to lead the devotions appointed to be begun the instant the train moved. Like any other congregation, the pilgrims took the matter more and less seriously; the Sacred Heart on the coat lapel did not deter some young men from a newspaper and a cigar, and some young women found that pleasant conversation went very well with the holy emblem and the occasion. It was quite impossible that the pleasure of a trip to Paris should be altogether lost in the profit of a trip to Paray. Nevertheless, the demeanour of the pilgrims was on the whole serious, and a certain joyousness which seemed to an outsider ordinary good spirits was, no doubt, religious enthusiasm. A good crowd of friends and strangers gave the pilgrim train a hearty, though somewhat incongruous, cheer. This was answered from the carriage windows, but most of the pilgrims immediately turned their faces down to the formidable "manual" issued by the committee. There was, indeed, no time to be lost, for between Victoria and Newhaven the Itinerarium, the Litany of the Sacred Heart, seven Paters and Aves for the Pope, the persecuted Bishops, and the Church, and the five joyful Mysteries of the Rosary were appointed to be said.

The train duly arrived at Newhaven in a couple of hours, where the London contingent found many of their co-religionists, most of whom had gone on board the "Marseilles" before the arrival of the special train, the ladies occupying the interval of waiting by reading their prayer-books, while the men enjoyed their cigars.

The party arrived only ten minutes before the time fixed for the departure of the boat, and the attractions of breakfast at the hotel had consequently to be passed over unnoticed. The embarkation took place with the least possible delay, Monsignor Capel being especially prominent in superintending all the arrangements. As might have been expected, the "Marseilles" proved inadequate for the reception of all the pilgrims, and many of them had to be content with a passage by the ordinary boat, the "Alexandra." As they were embarking, the flag of the Sacred Heart was run up at the mainmast of the "Marseilles," an incident which evoked a hearty cheer. In half an hour the steamers had got under way, the "Alexandra" having the advantage of the start by a few minutes, and as she went by she was cheered by the passengers of the "Marseilles." A crowd of spectators witnessed the departure from the pier, and as the steamer moved off one man rushed to the front, and, shaking his umbrella at the departing pilgrims, shouted after them as his malediction: "You are a disgrace to your country!" Others took up the cry, but it was received with no counter manifestation from the steamer. As soon as they were fairly on their way a "Pilgrimage Hymn," composed for the occasion by Lady Georgina Fullerton, was very effectively sung.

French priests met the pilgrims when they landed at Dieppe. Unfortunately, the proprietor of the buffet at the railway station could provide only 120 covers, and the great majority of the passengers had to rest contented with what they could get; indeed, many

who could not speak French had to go altogether without. The pilgrims left Dieppe in two special trains, the first of which arrived in Paris at nine p.m., and the second fifty minutes later. Devotions were said on the way, but most of the pilgrims were too tired to pay much heed to these holy exercises. The arrival of the first train was awaited by a crowd of about 500 persons, who regarded the pilgrims with much curiosity; but the number of spectators diminished considerably before the arrival of the second batch of travellers, who were treated with complete indifference.

Prior to the resumption of the journey from Paris on September 3rd, mass was celebrated in the church of Notre Dame des Victoires by Dr. Vaughan, Bishop of Salford. The special train left the Lyons Railway Station at seven o'clock in the morning, and did not arrive at Paray till after ten at night. The engine broke down for want of water.

On their arrival, the pilgrims, fully eight hundred strong, were met by a large procession of Catholics, carrying wax tapers, who had marched to the railway station. They warmly cheered the English pilgrims, who responded by shouts of "Long live France!" and "Long live Catholic France!" A short address was then delivered by a priest, and a procession was formed to the parish church, the banners being very effectively displayed. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and the spire of the Town Hall and several houses were brilliantly illuminated.

As the English pilgrims descended, each received a taper, for which he was afterwards invited to pay twopence sterling. The gorgeous banners previously prepared in the railway carriage were quickly brought, and the procession was formed. As pioneers marched a contingent of priests, the leader of the column being six feet six high, and as lean as his bishop is fat. Behind the foreign priests was Monsignor Talbot, with the banner of the Sacred Heart. After him the Duke of Norfolk struggled gallantly with the English banner, assisted by Lords Dormer and Arundell of Wardour. The females followed three abreast. Lord Walter Kerr bore the banner of Scotland, and the English priests formed the rear. The procession, flanked by files of nuns with lighted candles, moved slowly up, the lane of light resembling a moving fire, and singing "Magnificat anima mea Dominum." As the solemn strains of the chant rose in the evening air, one forgot the paltry wax figures of the painted shrine, and acknowledged the solemnity of the scene. The chapel having been at length reached, the pilgrims all knelt in the dust before the open doors, revealing the glories of the illuminated shrine within the church, to receive the benediction and offer thanksgivings. All night long and throughout the morning a changing army of priests were saying masses at the twenty altars. It was hard work, and was faithfully executed. One priest fainted at the altar and was carried out, but his place was soon filled. In the darkened corners of the church and the recesses between the pillars a succession of kneeling figures made confession and got absolution. At ten o'clock

there was high mass, followed by a short address from the Bishop of Salford. At the afternoon service Monsignor Capel preached, surpassing himself in eloquence.

The second procession to the shrine in the afternoon was intended to eclipse the night's, but fell short of it in effect—nineteenth century pilgrimages not being picturesque in sunlight.

It may be well to repeat here the story which has given rise to this strange pilgrimage:—

Marguerite Marie Alacoque, the saint whose shrine is now being visited, was born in 1647, and in her early life gave signs of the intense devotion which afterwards was her marked characteristic among human beings. At the age of twelve years she slept on the hard floor, in the depth of winter, engaged in prayer and meditation. In due time she became a nun, and in the parish church of Lhautecour the poor emaciated girl alleged that she had been personally and pointedly addressed by Jesus Christ, who promised that if she followed Him faithfully He would manifest Himself to her. At Paray, according to Marguerite's statement, the following transpired:—"One time, being before the Holy Sacrament, I found myself invested with the Divine presence so powerfully that I forgot myself and the place where I stood, and abandoned myself to the Divine Spirit, delivering my heart over to the force of His love. He made me repose for a long time upon His Divine breast, where He disclosed to me the marvels of His love and the inexplicable secret of His sacred heart. He had always kept it hidden from me before, but now He opened it for the first time, and in a manner so effective that He left me no room to doubt. And this is how it seems to me this interview passed:—He said to me, 'My Divine heart is so full of passionate love for men, and for you in particular, that it can no longer contain within itself the flow of its hardened lovingkindness. It is necessary that it should be distributed by your agency, and that it should manifest itself to mankind, in order to enrich them with the precious treasures that I show you, and which contain the sanctifying and saving graces necessary to their salvation. I have chosen you for the accomplishment of this design, as being in the depth of indigence and ignorance; everything will be done by myself.'" The Saviour then, she alleges, asked her for her heart, and she begged Him to take it. He did so, and put it in His own, in which she saw hers burn like an atom in an intense furnace. When the heart was returned to its place, and the wound closed up, there was left a legacy of pain—the wound and the pain to continue—lest she should in time come to look upon the gift as a mere freak of imagination. She then also received the designation of "Disciple of the Sacred Heart." Seventy visions the happy girl had in all. Her pain was often intense, but her pleasure was unbounded, and to her was committed the burthen, or gift, of confirming belief, and arresting unbelievers and sinners, and turning them to the right path.

5. SUSPECTED MURDER AND MUTILATION OF THE BODY.—It is



believed that an atrocious murder of a woman has been perpetrated on or near the Thames, the body hacked to pieces, and the pieces distributed over the river. A Thames policeman on this date (the 5th) found in the mud off the Battersea Waterworks the left quarter of a woman's trunk. The discovery was immediately made known, and the mutilated part taken to the Clapham and Wandsworth Union Workhouse, where Dr. Kempster, the divisional surgeon, saw it, and pronounced it to be the portion of a body which had not been in the water more than twelve hours. The police at once commenced a minute search of the river, but the next discovery was made by a policeman in the employ of the South-Western Railway Company, who, without knowing of the previous discovery, found the right side of the trunk off Brunswick Wharf, near the Nine Elms station. This part corresponded with the first part found, and the headless trunk, it was apparent, had been severed with a very sharp knife, and a saw had also been used. Soon after a portion of the lungs was found by Inspector Marley, of the Thames Police, under an arch of old Battersea bridge, and the other part near the Battersea railway pier. The search was now continued for the other parts of the body, and on September 6 the face, with the scalp of a woman attached, was found off Limehouse. It was evident at a glance that the murderer or murderers had taken revolting precautions to prevent identification, for the nose was cut from the face, but still hung attached to the upper lip. There was the mark of a bruise on the right temple, evidently caused by a blunt instrument, and this blow, it is thought, was the cause of death.

On September 9 two more portions of the same body were found, the right thigh being picked up in the river off Woolwich, and the right shoulder, with part of the arm, off Greenwich, the latter part being smeared with tar. The left foot, measuring ten inches and three-quarters in length, and ten inches across the instep, has also been picked up near the bank of the Regent's Canal, off Rotherhithe, and the right fore-arm near the Albert Embankment. Surgical skill has been employed to unite the fragments found, in order that they may have a better chance of identification, and the remains were photographed before interment.

The piece picked up at Woolwich is the only one which has found its way below the entry to the canals having London traffic; and another remarkable fact is, that each piece has been brought to light on an ebb-tide, each lower and lower down the river. This would seem to indicate that the heavier portions at least were committed to the river not very far from the place where the Wandle enters the Thames, and had washed down with the tide to where they were found—one to Battersea, which is about a couple of miles from the Wandle, and the other part a little below that, at a few hours later.

Medical opinions agree that the body was cut up but a short time before it was committed to the water; that death was caused by a

blow on the right temple—a blow, the scalp shows, hard enough to have crushed in the skull, and so to have caused instant death, and that the parts first found had been in the water but a few hours.

A belief for a time obtained that the murdered woman was a Mrs. Cailey, who was missing from her home at the time, and several people swore to the body as hers; but on the 17th she was found living.

The papers of the 20th reported: Government has given its direct aid towards discovering the murderer or murderers of the woman whose mutilated body has been found in the Thames by offering 200*l.* reward, and what virtually amounts to the certainty of free pardon to any accomplice, not the actual murderer, who gives the information which will bring the crime home to the murderer. The dredgers of the Thames will now feel that more interest attaches to their work, and clothing or anything else which may prove a means of identity will now be more likely to find its way into the hands of the authorities than it otherwise would. The coroner's jury has decided on the evidence that wilful murder has been committed; but the clue to the murderer, as well as to the murdered, seemed as far off as ever. All question as to Mrs. Cailey being the person whose mutilated remains were discovered was soon put an end to, she having been found on September 17 walking along one of the streets near the King's-road, Chelsea. Of course, the mystery is thus heightened. Those parts of the body which have been found have been skilfully arranged and "built-up," as far as possible, by Mr. Hayden, the medical officer of the large union workhouse where it lies, preserved in spirits of wine. The most anxious search is being made for the skull, for from that it will be seen whether the blows on the head as shown on the scalp really proved fatal, or whether they only stunned the victim, whose head, while she was insensible, was cut from her shoulders. A further part of the body was found on September 15, a piece of the right arm, and this was picked up near Hungerford bridge.<sup>1</sup>

9. FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.—A shocking accident occurred on the London and South-Western Railway, by which three lives were lost, and several persons more or less severely injured.

The Portsmouth train, which was due at Guildford at two o'clock, had arrived within two miles of the latter station at a place called Peasmarsh Crossing, when the driver saw a bullock come upon the line over the gate, which was shut. The driver immediately blew his whistle, thinking, no doubt, to scare or stop the animal, and put on the break; but the engine was on to the bullock before any perceptible check could be got upon the train, and the buffer struck the animal, knocking it on to the line. If it had happened that the

<sup>1</sup> Up to the time of publication of this volume no clue whatever has been discovered to the murderer or the murdered, and the story remains one of the undiscovered mysteries.

beast had been flung sideways, probably no accident to the train would have ensued; but, as it turned out, the carcase fell right in front of the engine, in the four-foot, and the train passing over it, the bulk of the flesh knocked up the ash-pan, knocked out the stove and several of the bricks from the furnace, and the break-van passing over it uninjured, the body doubled up, rolled over underneath the second carriage, which was a composite one, and threw that and the rest of the carriages completely off the metals in one general smash.

The catastrophe happened on a level part of the line—that is to say, the bullock got in the way there—but from the speed at which the train was going it had got about fifty yards further along towards Guildford before the carriages left the metals, at which spot there was an embankment about nine feet deep, down which the overturned carriages rolled.

With such a fearful smash, it is only matter for congratulation that the casualties do not include every person who was in the train; but the fatal cases are those of Mrs. Bridger, the wife of a grocer living at Old Goldaming, who had her baby in her arms, and they were both killed instantaneously. She was only going to Guildford, and had been put into the train by her husband only five minutes before the accident occurred. The other fatal case was that of Miss Martin, aged twenty-one, the daughter of the station-master at Milford, one of the stations on the Portsmouth line. Those were the only three who were taken out dead, but there were many who were in a very sad state, some of whom were hardly likely to survive many hours. There were from sixteen to eighteen persons injured altogether—excepting, of course, bruises, shakings, and minor casualties not requiring more than temporary medical assistance.

10. THE ST. LEGER STAKES of 25 sovs. each. St. Leger Course, 1 mile 6 furlongs and 132 yards. 189 subs.

Mr. Merry's Marie Stuart, by Scottish Chief—Morgan-la-

Faye, 8st. 5lb. (T. Osborne)	. . . . .	1
Mr. Merry's Doncaster, 8st. 10lb. (F. Webb)	. . . . .	2
Mr. H. Savile's Kaiser, 8st. 10lb. (Maidment)	. . . . .	3
Mr. Hemming's Chandos, 8st. 10lb. (Custance)	. . . . .	0
Lord Falmouth's Andred, 8st. 10lb. (T. Chaloner)	. . . . .	0
M. Lefevre's Negro, 8st. 10lb. (T. Jennings)	. . . . .	0
Mr. Merry's Merry Sunshine, 8st. 10lb. (Hooper)	. . . . .	0
Mr. Jos. Radcliffe's Mestizo, 8st. 10lb. (Morris)	. . . . .	0

Betting: 6 to 4 agst. Kaiser, 9 to 4 agst. Marie Stuart, 100 to 30 agst. Doncaster, 20 to 1 each agst. Chandos and Andred, 66 to 1 each agst. Negro and Mestizo, and 1000 to 6 agst. Merry Sunshine.

The field was the smallest which has run for the great race for some years, and, even including the favourites, the quality must be considered but moderate. Mr. Merry made no declaration, and the stable's advice was to back both Marie Stuart and Doncaster coupled,

as Mr. Merry said he thought he should be first and second. Merry Sunshine was also started to make the running. The flag falling to the first attempt, Merry Sunshine rushed to the front, and, followed by his stable companions, led the field at a good pace, Kaiser running into fourth place as they went up the hill, and the spectacle of four yellow jackets in the race—a novel sight—was seen as they disappeared over the hill, to reappear at the woodside in the same order. Here Kaiser was pulling Maidment out of the saddle, and at the Red House he closed with the leaders, Chandos and Andred lying well up. At the bend, however, Kaiser's bolt was shot, and a splendid race from this point ensued between Marie Stuart and Doncaster, the mare always appearing to most to have a little the better of it, though it was stated Doncaster did for a second or two get his head in front. But if he did, he could not keep his advantage, and the mare won, amidst the usual scene of excitement, by a head. Kaiser was third, three lengths behind the second; so we must accept the Derby as a true-run race, of which we had another proof in Chandos and Andred, who were fourth and fifth at Epsom, being in the same position here. Mr. Merry has attained, it must be added, the very pinnacle of a racing man's ambition. He has carried off Derby, Oaks, and Leger in the same year.

Gang Forward, who held the post of first favourite for the St. Leger, was struck out of the list of runners two days before the race, owing to an accident he had met with. Otherwise the question which was the better of the two—Kaiser or Gang Forward—would have been solved, and the rubber won. Gang Forward had beaten Kaiser by a head in the Two Thousand, they had fought a drawn battle at Epsom, and Kaiser had reversed the Two Thousand conclusion at Ascot.

— LAUNCH OF THE "SHAH."—This event took place at Portsmouth to-day. Originally it was intended that this vessel's name should be the "Blonde," and the recent visit of the Persian ruler was the occasion of its being changed. Apart from its name the vessel has strong claims to the attention of the public. The American war demonstrated the importance of swift ocean cruisers, with a higher rate of speed than could be got out of the ships handicapped with heavy armour and guns. To supply this want it was determined to build some ships of iron, with a wooden skin. The "Inconstant" was the first of this class, and it cannot be questioned that she has proved a success, as far as speed is concerned, for the anticipated rate of sixteen knots per hour was obtained without any great effort. The "Shah" is a vessel of the same type, but rather larger than the "Inconstant," and it is expected that her speed, when at full boiler power, will reach fully eighteen knots. Her keel was laid on the 8th of August, 1870. Her dimensions are as follows:—Extreme length, 348 feet; extreme breadth, 52 feet; depth in hold, 17 feet 6½ inches; tonnage, 4210; weight when fully equipped for sea, 5630 tons. Her armament will be far more formidable than that of the "Inconstant." On the upper deck she will have two 12½-ton

revolving guns, and six 64-pounders, and on the main deck 16 guns of 6½ tons each, and two 64-pounders. The smaller guns will be in position as bow and stern chasers, enabling a fire to be kept up in a line with the keel, fore and aft, according to the exigencies of her position. Her engines are of 1000 horse-power.

13. MORE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES have been going on at Cannock Chase, where they commenced about the 18th August. They perhaps have excited more interest among the civilians than military critics, the former of whom have assembled in great numbers to enjoy the sight of evolutions which, in a professional point of view, have been pronounced "absurd." The blame is laid upon the instructions from the War Office, which, by limiting the bounds within which the troops should manœuvre, prevented the leaders of divisions from exercising their judgment in any improvising movements.

— EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT OF A CONVICTED MURDERER.—James Moore, who was charged with the murder of John Delany on May 22, and whose case has been on trial for forty-three days at Maryborough, has been found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on October 9. At the close of the trial an extraordinary scene occurred. The jury, after three hours' deliberation, returned into court at a quarter to ten. On the verdict of guilty being announced, the prisoner was asked whether he had anything to say:—

He said he was innocent, and laid the blame of the conviction not upon the jury, but upon the false swearing of the witnesses. When asked if he had anything more to say, he replied, "What's the use of talking when I am found guilty?" and his lordship being about to pass sentence, the prisoner interrupted him repeatedly, saying, "If you are going to pass sentence, pass it soon and sudden, and as short as ever you can." The Chief Baron proceeded to say that Moore had had a trial longer than any within the remembrance of the most experienced in such cases: and the jury, after a most patient inquiry—"Yes," interrupted Moore, "but they found me guilty after all") His lordship was again proceeding, when the prisoner said, "Make haste; I am in a hurry; I'll go down below if you don't hurry. I don't want any speeching, and, if you will talk, I may as well have my half-hour." The prisoner then proceeded to give his version of what he said were the facts of the case, condemning several other persons, and saying he had been informed that the jury were nine in his favour and three against him. There was not, he added, much difference between himself and his lordship, for his lordship might die in a week; and although it was hard for a young man of thirty-one or thirty-two to be doomed to death, yet he might as well die now as at seventy. The Chief Baron was proceeding again to address the prisoner, when the latter said, "Are you not going to pass it? Be quick, or I'll pass it myself." The Chief Baron then passed sentence, observing that he would not pass it soon and sudden, but would give the prisoner time to prepare himself for the awful doom that awaited him.



14. **THE WIGAN ACCIDENT INQUIRY.**—Captain Tyler read a lengthy report as to the result of his inquiry. In this he says, amongst other things, that as regarded the cause of the accident there would appear to be practically only two alternatives. Either the last eight vehicles were turned by the signalman into the loop line, or the flange of the near leading wheel of the Caledonian carriage, No. 123, slipped during its passage along the main line over the near tongue of the facing points. The difficulties in the way of believing that the signalman moved the points and turned the eight vehicles along the loop line, including the question of how they reached the position they subsequently occupied, had been explained at length, and on the evidence were insuperable. The mode in which the accident might have occurred from the other cause stated had also been explained, and it seemed, on the whole, to be a conclusion that it was impossible to avoid, that this was the origin of the catastrophe; and such a conclusion led naturally and directly to further important questions as to the desirability of slackening the speed of fast trains whilst passing through this and similar stations. He (Captain Tyler) considered that in all cases in which the highest speeds were employed the highest conditions of security in construction and maintenance should also be provided. In conclusion, he expressed the opinion that the speed of fast trains should be materially slackened on passing stations like Wigan. The jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," and added that "the London and North-Western Railway Company are not justified in allowing engine-drivers to run through Wigan station at so high a speed as was the case with the tourist train on the night of the accident, and it is desirable that the speed of fast and through trains should be materially slackened on passing such places."

20. **RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.**—By a Parliamentary return of all railway accidents reported to the Board of Trade, in the United Kingdom, in 1872, it appears that the total number of killed was 1145, and 3035 were injured. These numbers include railway servants, persons killed in passing over level crossings, trespassers, and suicides. The total number of passengers killed was 127, and 1462 were injured.

The coroner's jury have returned a verdict of accidental death in regard to the three persons who were killed at the railway accident near Guildford last week, appending a recommendation of a communication between the guard and the driver. Col. Hutchinson, who was present at the inquiry, suggested that it might be worth while to consider whether some sort of plan could not be devised to throw out of the way such obstacles as the bullock which caused the disaster in question. He regarded the accident as evidence of the desirability of a continuous break wherever possible.

The London, Chatham, and Dover Railway has been the scene of an accident corresponding to that which occurred last week on the London and South-Western line, but happily without any such dreadful results. The London express which leaves Margate at ten

minutes before three o'clock in the afternoon was approaching the Birchington station on September 13, when the driver saw several head of cattle on the line a short distance ahead. He immediately slackened speed, and put on the breaks, but before the train could be brought to a stand the engine came into collision with the cattle, killing two fine Alderney cows and injuring several others. The engine was thrown off the line into the six-foot way, and the passengers in the carriage were much shaken. The driver had his hand very severely bruised. The railway at this spot is on the top of an embankment, and it is therefore fortunate that the engine went into the six-foot way. It appears that the cattle were being driven over a level crossing, and became unmanageable and ran down the line. The train was delayed about an hour.

An alarming collision occurred on the Lesmahagow Railway, between Ferniegair and Larkhall stations, on September 15. The passenger train which left Lesmahagow for Glasgow at 7.20 ran into a mineral train, which was standing at the Home Farm Colliery siding. This train, consisting of thirty waggons, loaded with gas coal, was blocked by a second mineral train, the engine-driver of which was at the time shunting waggons. He stated that he could not get them out of the way when the passenger train was due, and the pointsman showed the danger signal, but there being a curve on the line near the siding the obstruction could not be seen by the driver of the passenger train, and the signalman at his post further up the line being unaware of the block, a violent collision was the result. Both engines were destroyed, and the break-van and two of the mineral waggons were also rendered useless. Fortunately the passenger train, containing about one hundred passengers, never left the rails, but thirteen persons were more or less severely injured, one lady, Mrs. Crow, it is feared, fatally.

Various other collisions and accidents have been taking place.

22. CAPTURE OF THE "MURILLO."—This notorious Spanish steamer, which, on the 22nd of January last, is supposed to have run into and sunk the "Northfleet," off Dungeness, and then steamed out to sea, is now in the hands of the British Government. She left Calais this morning in ballast, bound for London, whither she was proceeding in accordance with an arrangement with the owners of the "Northfleet" that she should submit to embargo pending the settlement of the question of damages by an English Civil Court. Two writs had, however, long been issued against the ship, and these being lodged with the Customs authority, with standing orders to watch for her and take her into custody wherever she might be met, the Dover officers acted upon these instructions, and pounced upon the vessel the moment she entered within the limits of British waters. The captain in charge of the "Murillo" at once took boat, and, rowing ashore, reported the circumstance to the Spanish Consul here, and begged him to make arrangements whereby the ship might proceed to London. The Spanish Consul made a formal proposition to the Collector of Customs to the effect that the "Murillo"

should proceed to London in charge of an Admiralty officer. His request was submitted by telegraph to the proper authorities in London. Unfortunately for the ends of justice the "Murillo" is not now commanded by the same captain, nor manned by the same crew, who on that dark mid-winter night are accused of having been the destroyers of so many helpless men, women, and children. All hands, from captain to cabin boy, have been replaced, and all that remains to us now to do, if the charge can be proved against her, is through the medium of our courts of law to enforce repayment in money of the amount of property sacrificed. Vast numbers of persons appear surprised that the "Murillo" should have had the temerity to visit English shores again; but such surprise will not be so great when it is made known that this in all probability was, after many months' experience, deemed the easiest and least troublesome method of getting rid of her. For months she has lain, as it were, *perdu* in Spanish waters, and during these months it is stated that she was offered for sale to firms of many nations at any sacrifice. No buyers could be found, however, as her owners could not morally show a clean bill of health, and a stigma attached to the vessel which no amount of whitewashing could obliterate. Then the owners made the astounding proposal to wipe off the stain of the vessel's apparent guilt by offering to pay in money all losses which were sustained in the matter by the owners of the ill-fated "Northfleet." This offer was indignantly rejected, and the owners of the "Murillo" seem to have come to the conclusion that the best thing they could do was to send the vessel into English waters to be seized by the English Government. Of course the owners of the lost "Northfleet" were kept constantly posted up as to the movements of the "Murillo," and so were the authorities at the Board of Trade. The Government department received information last week from their consular agent at Cadiz that the vessel had sailed, it was believed, for England, but that it was probable on her way such changer would be made in her appearance as to almost destroy her identity. It was thought she was to be repainted, and have one of her funnels removed. As it has turned out, however, such transformation was not attempted. The vessel steamed up to Dover precisely in the plight in which she quitted Cadiz, and this fact strengthens the belief that it was the object of her owners to have her at once identified and seized by the English Government. So far the owners have succeeded.

— SAFETY OF THE MISSING CREW OF THE "POLARIS."—Just as the Americans have despatched another Arctic Expedition in search of the missing members of the crew of the "Polaris," the ill-fated seamen arrive at Dundee:—

The "Arctic" whaler brought safely to port the following members of the American expedition:—Capt. Buddington, sailing and ice master; Dr. Emil Bessels; H. C. Chester, first mate; W. Martin, second mate; Emil Schumann, chief engineer; A. Odell, second engineer; W. F. Campbell, fireman; N. J. Coffin, car-

penter; H. Semmens, Henry Hobby, and Noah Hayes, seamen.

In the summer of 1871 the expedition sailed under Captain Hall in the "Polaris," a small gunboat which had been voted for the purpose, with 50,000 dols., by Congress. The captain died in the first winter; and in the following August, Capt. Buddington, who had succeeded to the command, resolved to return. In October it was thought necessary to abandon the ship, and whilst engaged in getting out her stores, the ice opened, and the vessel was separated from about half the crew. Those left behind drifted about all through the winter, and were at last, on April 29, picked up in good health by the "Tigris," some forty miles off Labrador.

On October 15 last the accident which divided the crew was repeated. Arrangements were again in progress for abandoning the ship. The boats were all on the ice, and a great quantity of provisions were taken out. Suddenly the hawsers, by which the ship was made fast to the ice-floes, gave way, and one of them snapped asunder, and the other pulled the anchor, which was lodged in the ice, from its place. It was now about midnight. By the starting of the anchor a large piece of the floe was removed from its position. On it were three men, and as the "Polaris" was driven past them they cried in their agony, "Oh, what are we to do?" The captain replied that he could do nothing for them, that they had boats and provisions, and they must do the best they could. In a few minutes those on the ship saw the boat launched and manned by the three men, who made for the place where their comrades were stationed. Soon every object was lost to view, and one-half of the crew were left to live or die among the deserts of snow. The ship drifted away, and ultimately reached Lifeboat Cove. Here the captain succeeded in beaching her, and with the help of the friendly Esquimaux, who provided them with malodorous but most acceptable supplies of clothing made of skins, the party succeeded in passing the winter tolerably well. Towards its end Mr. Chester, their first mate, suggested that as the fuel and provisions were coming to an end it would be desirable to build two boats. In the cold spring months, when the thermometer was twenty-three degrees below zero, frequently in the midst of blinding drift, the construction of the boats proceeded. The situation was one exceeding trying, and well calculated to daunt the strongest hearts. Still, life depended upon the effort, and it could not be relaxed. Day after day a decided advance was made, and at the close of the month of June the party were ready to depart and make a determined attempt to push southward. The boats were launched, and though they leaked a good deal they proved a great success, for they sailed remarkably well, and were easy to pull. The first day Sontag Bay was reached. After remaining there a short time to regain strength, the party made for Hackluyt Island.

On June 21 they reached Cape York, where they were completely surrounded by ice, but two days later the "Ravenscraig," Captain



Allen, came in sight and rescued them. Subsequently some of the crew were transferred to the "Intrepid" and some to the "Arctic." The whole party is thus accounted for, except the three unfortunates who were left on the ice.

On September 22 the crew left Dundee for Liverpool. Great surprise is expressed at the appearance of the castaways. It was natural to expect that they would look worn out and "used up," but their healthy, strong appearance quite belie a long residence in the Polar regions. Loud and prolonged cheers were given as the train left, and the crew of the "Polaris" acknowledged the compliment in a very hearty way.

28. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—This was unhappily another grand "field-day" with the railway companies. At Wetheral station, on the North-Eastern Railway, an accident "of an appalling character" took place. It was, indeed, no less than a collision between a goods train and a mineral train on a viaduct a hundred feet above the Eden river. The latter "dashed round the sharp curve at the west of the station," and plunged into the goods train. The effect seems to have been magnificent. Trucks were dashed against the southern parapet, "huge coping stones were hurled from a height of about eighty feet on to the sloping side of the railway below," a goods waggon "made a breach of eighteen yards in the solid masonry," and fell over the viaduct on to a flight of steps below, some of its fragments "being projected a distance of fifty yards." After the smash was over it was discovered that two cattle salesmen were much shaken, and one of them severely injured. At Arthington—same line and same day—a "rather heavy" passenger train, laden with "merchants and professional men" from Harrogate, ran into "No. 2" goods train, "happily at slackened speed," but not so much slackened, apparently, but that "some eight or ten persons were more or less shaken and injured," one of them having his leg fractured. The accident seems to have been due to the trifling oversight of omitting to remove a signal which was "out of use." At the New-street station at Birmingham the guard's van at the tail of the Midland "special" dashed itself to pieces in a partially successful attempt to knock down a signal-box; but the guard, who appears to be used to such occurrences, sprang out of the ruins of his van, "ran after the train, jumped up the steps of the last carriage, and proceeded on his journey."



which had been despatched to the residence of the deceased by her Majesty the Queen, and only reached there during the morning. The pall was borne by Sir Francis Grant and five of the Academicians, and upon the coffin being placed upon the tressels two more wreaths were added. Then the chief mourners, notable among whom was the venerable form of Thomas Landseer, brother of the deceased, took their allotted seats, and the long train of Academicians and Associates went to their places in the stalls.

At the south-east portion of the crypt lie in a line the tombs of many of our celebrated painters. The place, in fact, might not inaptly be called, in imitation of part of another celebrated burial-place, "Painters' Corner." West, Daw, Dance, Turner, James Barry, and Sir Joshua Reynolds are here; while, looking down from the side wall of a niche, is the square tablet to the memory of Christopher Wren.

24. MR. THOMAS LEFROY, a landed proprietor, residing near the village of Clonbra, county Longford, was shot at and mortally wounded. The *Daily Express* gives the following particulars of the outrage:—

"About eight o'clock in the evening, and when six or seven men were in the house, Mr. Lefroy went into his drawing-room, which is on a level with the ground, for the purpose of packing some bottles in preparation for an entertainment of the character of a harvest-home, to which he had invited his tenantry, and which was to come off in a few days. He was in a stooping position, near the window, engaged as already mentioned, when a shot was fired through the window, which entered in an oblique direction the right arm, the side of the chest, and the back. The shot was fired from a height considerably above the level of Mr. Lefroy's body, as the would-be assassin had to raise himself and his weapon above the level of some timber which was lying in front of the window, the house being in an unfinished state. To the circumstance that the shot entered in this oblique direction the surgeons attribute Mr. Lefroy's escape from instant death. The police, on examining the place after the outrage, found some grains of No. 4 shot. It is said that Mr. Lefroy, who is a nephew of the late Chief Justice Lefroy, some time ago evicted some tenants, and that the evictions were followed by letters threatening him with death. The police were directed to patrol in the neighbourhood of his residence for his protection, and in order to enable them to do so more effectually he provided a boat for them in which they could cross the Shannon, which separates his residence from the constabulary station. The boat, however, was lost or sunk, and when some persons made an attempt to recover it they were threatened. Another statement is to the effect that Mr. Lefroy had recently had his land surveyed, with a view, as was supposed, to a revaluation and an increase of rent."

25. DREADFUL BOAT ACCIDENT.—An accident occurred at Woolwich, resulting in ten men being thrown into the River Thames, and of whom nine were drowned. In consequence of a dense fog,

the Great Eastern Railway Company's ferry boat, which usually conveys the workmen living at South Woolwich to their work at Henley's Telegraph Factory and Beckton Gas Works, on the north side of the river, did not run. The steamboat usually crosses over at a quarter past five o'clock, and when the workmen reached the pier and found it would not ply they rushed to the boats of the watermen, who charge a penny each for running them over. Amongst the others, one boat was filled in this manner with ten men, and they started off in the fog. Coming suddenly upon the saloon-steamer "*Princess Alice*," anchored in the river, the rowers dropped their oars, put out their hands against the steamer to push back, when, in the fast-ebbing tide, they were drawn under the stern of the "*Princess Alice*." The waterman's boat capsized, and her ten occupants were thrown into the river. The waterman managed to swim to the nearest buoy, and another man clung to the boat, which was bottom upwards. These two men were rescued, but all the others were drowned. Men have been busy dragging the spot, but no bodies have been recovered. The time when the accident occurred was twenty minutes past five. The "*Princess Alice*" was burning her anchor lights, but in the dense fog and extreme darkness it was impossible for the waterman to have seen more than a yard or two before him. The young man who was saved says that he felt sure they were on the north side of the river when he saw through the fog the white hull of the "*Princess Alice*," and the boat seemed to be sucked under her. The boat, he states, turned over outwards, but when he came up his head struck against the seat. He seized hold of the side, and although he was some time before he could get his head above water, he ultimately succeeded in climbing astride the keel, and remained there drifting down the river until his shouts brought assistance and he was taken off. The waterman, who was at first prostrated by the shock, has recovered. Four or five boats have been out for the bodies all down the Reach, especially in places where they would probably be carried by the tide, and also round about the "*Princess Alice*."

— THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET AT YORK.—The Lord Mayor of York entertained the Lord Mayor of London and the Mayors of two hundred other corporate towns with a banquet in the Guildhall at York.

Most of the provincial Mayors assembled in the city of York on the day before the banquet. The Right Hon. Sir Sydney Waterlow, Lord Mayor of London, accompanied by the two Sheriffs and several Aldermen and Common Councillors, with a number of ladies, left London at ten o'clock, and arrived at York at a quarter past two, by the Great Northern Railway express train. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs travelled in a saloon-carriage, wearing their robes of state. The Lord Mayor of York, with the Aldermen, Town Council, and city officers, met them at the railway station. They were first led, across a crimson-carpeted platform, to luncheon in the adjoining hotel. A procession was then formed to conduct them to the Mansion

House of the York Lord Mayor. In the city business was entirely suspended, nearly all the shops being closed. Some of the streets were canopied with flags, and there were inscriptions of welcome here and there. The Minster bells rang out cheerily, and the streets were thronged with people, heartily cheering the guests of their city.

The company at the Lord Mayor's banquet began to assemble at the Mansion House, in Spurriergate-street, about six o'clock. They passed through the ancient hall of the Mansion House, adorned with red cloth and tropical plants, to the top of the grand staircase, where they were announced to the Lord Mayors, and had the honour of shaking hands with the representatives of the two first corporations in England. All the arrangements had been well made, and the heads of the Corporations of more than a hundred other towns were among the general company.

The wall spaces between the windows and the old oaken octagonal pillars that support the fine wood roof of the hall were decorated with groups of shields of the arms of the Corporations of England and Wales, and around the shields were draped flags, while the lower part of the walls, the pillars, and the gallery were covered with crimson cloth. What with the remarkably fine stained glass illuminated from the outside of the Guildhall, the floral and green decorations, shields and flags, the gas and candles, and épergnes laden with fruit or flowers, and the bright scarlet robes which a few of the Mayors continued to wear, the scene was animated and brilliant. The speeches were appropriate to the occasion, and all in good taste. The toasts were expressive of loyalty and patriotism, and of particular zeal for the maintenance of all municipal franchises vested in the towns of England, or rather of the United Kingdom.

31. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS have continued during this month in the same proportion as previously.

On Saturday afternoon (the 4th) an alarming and fatal accident occurred at Maryhill station, on the Dumbarton section of the North British Railway, about five miles from Glasgow, by which one man was killed and twenty persons severely injured. While a general goods train was on the up-line at Maryhill, preparatory to shunting some trucks on to a siding, an express train was telegraphed as passing a junction about two miles distant. The home and distance signals were put to danger; but, notwithstanding this, the express was allowed to come up within 100 yards of the station at full speed. The driver of the express train at this point shut off steam, but, owing to the speed at which the train was going, it dashed into the goods train with fearful velocity. Seeing the approaching train, the driver of the goods was about to make an attempt to get his train on to the other line; but, observing that he had not time to do so, he shut off steam, and, along with his stoker, jumped off the engine, thus, doubtless, saving their lives. The shock of the collision was fearful, the noise being heard at a distance of

more than half a mile. Both engines were disabled; the tender and a portion of one of the locomotives were thrown off the line. Two carriages of the passenger train were telescoped, and several waggons smashed, and their contents, which consisted of general goods, destroyed. Immediate steps were taken to extricate the passengers, who were buried amongst the broken carriages, and it was then found that one man, James Mills, was dead, and about twenty injured. Mills, whose mutilated body had to be sawn out of the ruins, had died instantaneously, the buffer of the carriage adjoining that in which he was seated having struck him on the upper part of the body. Conveyances were immediately procured, and the injured conveyed to Glasgow Infirmary, where everything possible was done to relieve their sufferings. On Sunday eleven persons were able to be removed to their homes, but four were still lying in a very dangerous condition.

On the same night, at seven o'clock, as an empty train was being shunted at Twickenham station, on the London and South-Western Railway, three carriages ran off the metals. The line was blocked for an hour and a half. The traffic was worked on the down rails. No personal injury was sustained.

On Monday night (the 6th) the traffic on the Great Western line was delayed for several hours through an accident which occurred to a goods train on the other side of Maidenhead. A waggon got off the metals and turned over on the up-line, causing a block. The up-trains due at the time did not reach London till a very late hour.

The limited mail train from Scotland, due at Euston station at half-past four on Tuesday morning (the 7th), was delayed by an accident to the engine, which might have resulted in another disaster. When on the point of starting from Preston it was ascertained that the wheels of the engine were locked near the points leading out of the station. The tyre of the front wheel was found to be partly off, all the bolts used in fixing the tyre on the wheel being broken. After some delay another engine was attached, and the train proceeded to London.

On Wednesday night (the 8th), a collision occurred near Upper Greenhill, on the Caledonian Railway, which, though fortunately unattended with loss of life, was sufficiently serious and alarming in its character. The North British train from Stirling to Glasgow left the former station at five minutes past eight o'clock, and, while passing up Upper Greenhill, came into collision with some waggons standing on the main line. The cause of the accident may be attributed to the old irregularity of shunting goods waggons at the time a passenger train is due. In this case the signals stood "all clear" for the passenger train. Fortunately, however, there is a very heavy incline, up which the passenger train had to travel before reaching Upper Greenhill, and the speed was thus materially decreased. Notwithstanding this, the train dashed into the waggons with great force. A number of the passengers were very much shaken, but,



House of the York Lord Mayor. In the city business was entirely suspended, nearly all the shops being closed. Some of the streets were canopied with flags, and there were inscriptions of welcome here and there. The Minster bells rang out cheerily, and the streets were thronged with people, heartily cheering the guests of their city.

The company at the Lord Mayor's banquet began to assemble at the Mansion House, in Spurriergate-street, about six o'clock. They passed through the ancient hall of the Mansion House, adorned with red cloth and tropical plants, to the top of the grand staircase, where they were announced to the Lord Mayors, and had the honour of shaking hands with the representatives of the two first corporations in England. All the arrangements had been well made, and the heads of the Corporations of more than a hundred other towns were among the general company.

The wall spaces between the windows and the old oaken octagonal pillars that support the fine wood roof of the hall were decorated with groups of shields of the arms of the Corporations of England and Wales, and around the shields were draped flags, while the lower part of the walls, the pillars, and the gallery were covered with crimson cloth. What with the remarkably fine stained glass illuminated from the outside of the Guildhall, the floral and green decorations, shields and flags, the gas and candles, and épergnes laden with fruit or flowers, and the bright scarlet robes which a few of the Mayors continued to wear, the scene was animated and brilliant. The speeches were appropriate to the occasion, and all in good taste. The toasts were expressive of loyalty and patriotism, and of particular zeal for the maintenance of all municipal franchises vested in the towns of England, or rather of the United Kingdom.

31. RAILWAY ACCIDENTS have continued during this month in the same proportion as previously.

On Saturday afternoon (the 4th) an alarming and fatal accident occurred at Maryhill station, on the Dumbarton section of the North British Railway, about five miles from Glasgow, by which one man was killed and twenty persons severely injured. While a general goods train was on the up-line at Maryhill, preparatory to shunting some trucks on to a siding, an express train was telegraphed as passing a junction about two miles distant. The home and distance signals were put to danger; but, notwithstanding this, the express was allowed to come up within 100 yards of the station at full speed. The driver of the express train at this point shut off steam, but, owing to the speed at which the train was going, it dashed into the goods train with fearful velocity. Seeing the approaching train, the driver of the goods was about to make an attempt to get his train on to the other line; but, observing that he had not time to do so, he shut off steam, and, along with his stoker, jumped off the engine, thus, doubtless, saving their lives. The shock of the collision was fearful, the noise being heard at a distance of



more than half a mile. Both engines were disabled; the tender and a portion of one of the locomotives were thrown off the line. Two carriages of the passenger train were telescoped, and several waggons smashed, and their contents, which consisted of general goods, destroyed. Immediate steps were taken to extricate the passengers, who were buried amongst the broken carriages, and it was then found that one man, James Mills, was dead, and about twenty injured. Mills, whose mutilated body had to be sawn out of the ruins, had died instantaneously, the buffer of the carriage adjoining that in which he was seated having struck him on the upper part of the body. Conveyances were immediately procured, and the injured conveyed to Glasgow Infirmary, where everything possible was done to relieve their sufferings. On Sunday eleven persons were able to be removed to their homes, but four were still lying in a very dangerous condition.

On the same night, at seven o'clock, as an empty train was being shunted at Twickenham station, on the London and South-Western Railway, three carriages ran off the metals. The line was blocked for an hour and a half. The traffic was worked on the down rails. No personal injury was sustained.

On Monday night (the 6th) the traffic on the Great Western line was delayed for several hours through an accident which occurred to a goods train on the other side of Maidenhead. A waggon got off the metals and turned over on the up-line, causing a block. The up-trains due at the time did not reach London till a very late hour.

The limited mail train from Scotland, due at Euston station at half-past four on Tuesday morning (the 7th), was delayed by an accident to the engine, which might have resulted in another disaster. When on the point of starting from Preston it was ascertained that the wheels of the engine were locked near the points leading out of the station. The tyre of the front wheel was found to be partly off, all the bolts used in fixing the tyre on the wheel being broken. After some delay another engine was attached, and the train proceeded to London.

On Wednesday night (the 8th), a collision occurred near Upper Greenhill, on the Caledonian Railway, which, though fortunately unattended with loss of life, was sufficiently serious and alarming in its character. The North British train from Stirling to Glasgow left the former station at five minutes past eight o'clock, and, while passing up Upper Greenhill, came into collision with some waggons standing on the main line. The cause of the accident may be attributed to the old irregularity of shunting goods waggons at the time a passenger train is due. In this case the signals stood "all clear" for the passenger train. Fortunately, however, there is a very heavy incline, up which the passenger train had to travel before reaching Upper Greenhill, and the speed was thus materially decreased. Notwithstanding this, the train dashed into the waggons with great force. A number of the passengers were very much shaken, but,

fortunately, none of them were seriously injured. As might have been expected, great alarm was caused. The rails and plant were very considerably damaged.

A collision occurred on Thursday evening (the 9th) at Caldew Bridge, within a short distance of Carlisle station. A slow train comes from Beattock to Carlisle, and should start on its return journey shortly before seven, but, as usual, it was late. At Caldew Bridge there is an extensive intersection of points, and when the Beattock train arrived there, a pilot-engine started out of a siding for the same line. The train and engine arrived at the points simultaneously, but, the engine going quicker than the train, stripped the carriages of their foot-boards, and threw off a fish-truck and horse-box next to the tender, while the tender itself was thrown upon its side across the line. Both engines kept the lines, but all the carriages left the rails. The rails were torn up, twisted, and broken, and for half an hour all the lines were blocked. About nine o'clock a line was cleared, and admitted the Glasgow train, which was waiting a long time, and the limited mail. Fortunately there were only about four passengers, and none were hurt; but for some time the fireman of the passenger train was missed, and was found lying below the tender, much cut about the head and face.

On Sunday night (the 19th), to omit a few intervening casualties, a serious accident took place on the Highland Railway. A goods train, while on its way from Perth to Inverness, broke in two near Newtonmore station by the couplings giving way, and the latter half, consisting of a number of waggons and a break-van, ran two miles. Two waggons then left the metals, and the permanent way was destroyed for a great distance. Ultimately the rest of the waggons broke down, causing a general smash. The guard had three ribs broken, and traffic was stopped.

An accident, which narrowly escaped proving very disastrous, occurred, on Tuesday, the 21st, on the Ferryhill, Stockton, and West Hartlepool section of the North-Eastern Railway. The express passenger train, which left Stockton at 9.45 for Newcastle, had proceeded in safety as far as a point about midway between Sedgfield station and Ferryhill Junction, at which there is a colliery line, called the Chilton branch. Here, either the points were left open to the main line or else they were struck and forced open by the front wheels of the engine, as the train at once diverged on to the colliery line, upon which, 200 yards distant, stood a coal train, with the engine tender first, waiting a signal to come out. The driver and fireman of the express at once reversed their engine and put on the breaks, and, seeing a collision was inevitable, they both leaped off uninjured, the men upon the mineral engine doing the same. Afterwards a smart collision occurred, the engine of the passenger train seriously smashing the tender of the coal train, and throwing five or six waggons off the line. Most fortunately its speed was so reduced that it and the carriages all kept upon the rails, and the occupants of the latter escaped with a few bruises and a severe

shaking, in addition to the alarm. As it was so near Ferryhill most of them walked thither, and the train, being only slightly injured, soon followed, bringing the remainder.

A waggon laden with tow and other goods, forming part of a train between Dundalk and Newry, took fire on the same night, and all efforts to extinguish the flames proving futile, the waggon was disconnected, and allowed to burn out. No information as to the cause of the fire could be obtained.

A serious accident also occurred on the Tuam and Athenry Railway. In consequence of the Tuam Fair being held on that day, special trains were run in addition to the ordinary ones, and in the evening, after the ordinary train had left, a special was despatched. Ballyglunin is the only station between the two points, and here the passenger train was standing, when the special came up and dashed into it, smashing one carriage to pieces and damaging another. A gentleman seeing the special coming up had just time to leap out of the broken carriage. Another was seriously injured; and several others received severe bruises. The engine-driver and guard escaped by jumping from the train.

On the 28th a collision took place at Westbury station, on the London and North-Western Railway. The luggage train, as usual, was standing on the main line (which is a single one), and the mail was intended to go on to a siding; but in endeavouring to do so it overshot the mark, and ran into the luggage train at the other end of the platform. Two or three waggons were smashed, the engine damaged, and several of the handles of the carriages of the mail train knocked off. The passengers were severely shaken, but fortunately none were seriously injured.

## NOVEMBER.

4. A TERRIBLE EXPLOSION occurred at a firework manufacturer's in Broad-street, Lambeth, by which eight lives were lost. The house is the centre one of a block of three other old and low buildings, there being an arch of the London and South-Western Railway on one side, and a narrow turning on the other. A man named Fenwick occupied the two parlours, where he, unknown to his neighbours, carried on his business of a firework-maker, having in the house a store of gunpowder and other explosive materials. He was pursuing his usual occupation at about nine o'clock in the morning, when the explosion occurred. It blew out the front parlour window, hurled Fenwick's lifeless body through the opening, cracked the walls, blew up the ceiling, killed Mrs. Fenwick, and set fire to the house. After the fire the brigade men discovered some firework-cases, the remains of a small 10 lb. keg of gunpowder, the

bottom of another keg upon which were the exploded remnants of "fizzing powder"—i. e. a composition of sulphur, charcoal, steel filings, &c.—a press for making rockets, tubes and funnels for filling the cases, and a charred piece of wood. Inspector Huskisson applied for a search-warrant against a man who was carrying on the unlicensed preparation of fireworks not far from the scene of the disaster. The magistrate, in granting it, expressed his regret that a similar step had not been taken in Fenwick's case. He was assured by the inspector that the work had been conducted so secretly that not even the other occupants of the house were aware of its existence. It is understood that at this time of the year there are other places of the kind in full operation in that densely-crowded neighbourhood.

16. **STRANGE DEATH.**—At the Athenæum Assembly Rooms, Temple-row, Birmingham, this evening, a spiritualistic service was being held, and a medium named Benjamin Hawkes, a toy-dealer of New-street, spoke for fully half an hour, and described with startling vividness a séance in which the Apostle Peter had clasped hands with him, so that he felt the close pressure of the Apostle's grasp. From this he argued that it was quite possible to understand how Thomas thrust his hand into the side of "the Personification of Divine Love." The instant these last words were out of the speaker's mouth he fell back on a chair dead. The meeting broke up in wild confusion. At the inquest Mr. Hadley, surgeon, who had made a post-mortem examination, said he was of opinion deceased had died from syncopal asphyxia, resulting from congestion of the lungs. The jury returned a verdict of "Died by the visitation of God."

19. **MR. DISRAELI** was installed to-day Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and met with an enthusiastic reception. In the morning he addressed the students in an eloquent speech, and in the evening was entertained at a banquet in the City Hall, the Lord Provost being in the chair. About 500 sat down. In reply to the toast of his health, Mr. Disraeli spoke at some length. He began with the remark that he had always thought it to be one of the best characteristics of public life in England that we have never permitted our political opinions to interfere with our social enjoyment. "I believe it is characteristic of this country at large. I am not aware that it is shared by any other. For instance, if you were on the Continent and wished to pay your respects to a Minister and go to his reception, you are invited by the Minister, and the consequence is that you will find nobody there except those who follow him. Now, it is not so in England. I remember some years ago meeting under the charming roof of one of the most accomplished women of the time the most celebrated diplomatist of certainly our half-century, and he said to me, 'What a wonderful system of society you have in England! Now, I have not been on speaking terms with Lord Palmerston for three weeks, and here I am; but then you know I pay the visit to Lady Palmerston.'" Speaking of his political



career, Mr. Disraeli said, "It has been my fortune to be the leader in the House of Commons of one of the great political parties in the State for five and twenty years, and there is no record, I believe, in the Parliamentary history of this country of a duration of a leadership equal to it. There have been in my time two illustrious instances of the great parties being led by most eminent men. One was the instance of Sir Robert Peel, who led the Tory party for eighteen years, though unfortunately it twice broke asunder. There was also the instance of one who is still spared to us, and who, I hope, may be long spared to us, for he is the pride of this country as he was the honour of the House of Commons—Lord John Russell. He led one of the great parties of the State in the House of Commons for seventeen years, though at last it slipped out of his hands. Do not suppose for a moment that I am making these observations as any boast. The reason that I have been able to lead a party for so long a period, and under circumstances of some difficulty and discouragement, is that the party that I lead is really the most generous and most indulgent party that ever existed. I cannot help smiling sometimes when I hear the constant intimations that are given by those who are in the secrets of the political world of the extreme anxiety of the Conservative party to get rid of my services. The fact is, the Conservative party can get rid of my services whenever they give me the intimation that they wish it. Whenever I have desired to leave the leadership of the party, they have too kindly requested me to remain where I was, and if I made a mistake the only difference in their conduct to me is that they are more indulgent and more kind."

22. THE LOSS OF THE "VILLE DU HAVRE."—One of the most deplorable collisions at sea placed on record occurred on this date, off the Azores, between the large steamer "Ville du Havre" and the sailing-ship "Lochearn," of Glasgow. The former vessel was of the immense burden of 5100 tons, and was bound from New York for Havre. The "Ville du Havre" left New York with eighty-nine first-class passengers, nineteen second-class, twenty-seven third-class, and six stowaways, making a total of 141, besides the crew, which numbered 172 all told. Many of the cabin passengers were gentlemen with their wives and families, who were leaving America to spend the winter in France—some for pleasure, and others going there for the benefit of their health. Among the survivors are children who have lost their parents, and parents who have lost their children; others their sisters and brothers. From the time of the vessel sailing from New York a thick fog prevailed, which necessitated the most careful attention on the part of the captain and officers. On the night of Thursday, the 20th, the fog began to clear away, and on Friday a breeze sprang up, which raised a somewhat heavy swell. Friday night was a bright starlight night, and passengers and crew, relieved to some extent from the danger which surrounded them during the fog, retired to rest with hopes of a pleasant voyage to France. The captain, who had scarcely quitted



the deck since the vessel left New York, went to his cabin about twelve o'clock, leaving the second officer in charge. The passengers were all in bed, and everything seemed going on well. About two o'clock on Saturday all were startled from their slumbers by a dreadful crash, which seemed to shake every part of the vessel. Men, women, and children rushed on deck in their night-dresses to see the bows of a large vessel projecting over the deck of the "Ville du Havre," and to hear the rushing of the water into their own ill-fated vessel. The terror which prevailed among the passengers paralyzed their efforts to save themselves. From the force of the collision the mainmast and mizenmast fell, smashing in their fall the two large boats of the steamer and killing numbers of passengers, and from the rapidity with which the vessel went down the crew were only able to launch the whale-boat and the captain's gig. The most intelligible account of the collision is given by Alcide Lalanze, who was one of the French stewards on board the ill-fated ship. He says, "The night was clear and starlight, but there was no moon shining. We had our head-sails and topsails set, and were going before the wind at about twelve knots an hour. I went to bed at about half-past nine, and was awoken by the collision. I immediately rushed on deck, saw the 'Lochearn' astern of us, and heard some one call out that we were sinking. I went back to my bunk for the purpose of putting on a pair of pants, and found it already up to my knees in water. On returning to the deck, I went to help get one of the long-boats over the side. The passengers were all rushing backward and forward, some crying, 'Save me! save me!' while others fell down and prayed. They were all so excited that we could do scarcely anything. I tried to help some of the sailors to get a boat off, but the passengers were all jumping into it and frustrating our efforts. As soon as our ship began to fill she commenced to lean over on the port side. This, I think, accounts for the snapping of the mainmast, which brought down the mizenmast with it. The captain just happened to come out of his room before the collision took place, and as soon as he opened his door he saw the 'Lochearn's' jibboom over the bulwarks. After going on the bridge, he made every endeavour to keep the people quiet and to get the boats over, but the passengers all seemed so terror-stricken that we could do nothing scarcely. It was fearful to see the women and children running about the deck crying and entreating us to save them. We did all we could for them, but the time was so short that that all was very little. As soon as I saw her going below water, I jumped off the rail astern and swam towards the 'Lochearn.' The cries of the struggling people behind me I never, never can forget, and I seem to hear them now ringing wildly in my ears. After being in the water a few minutes I got hold of a buoy, which enabled me to keep afloat for nearly an hour, when I was picked up by one of the 'Lochearn's' boats. From what I have heard, I should think the 'Lochearn' was seen five or six minutes before she struck us." The "Ville du Havre" sank in

about fifteen minutes; but two of her boats, with the boats of the "Lochearn," saved eighty-seven of the persons on board her. They were transferred at noon of the next day to the American ship "Trimountain," Captain Urquhart, which brought them safely to Cardiff. The "Lochearn," on her part, was so much damaged by the collision that it is a wonder how she kept afloat. Her bowsprit was knocked quite out of the keel, and the entire bow of the vessel was shattered, being crushed flat, so that she would have filled and gone down but for a bulkhead 25 feet aft of the stem. In this condition she was unable to sail a mile, but drifted 210 miles, until the 28th, when she was met by another ship, the "British Queen," Captain Marsters, bound from Philadelphia to Antwerp. This was in mid-ocean, 1300 miles from land. The crew and officers, with two passengers, thirty-three in all, were then glad to quit the "Lochearn" and seek refuge on board the "British Queen," which brought them to Plymouth. The "Lochearn" was left to founder at sea. Both the French Government and the Board of Trade in Great Britain instituted official inquiries, to find out who was in fault, and what was the cause of this lamentable affair, which occasioned much distress at New York among the families of the passengers drowned. The result of the inquiries was curious. The English verdict acquitted the "Lochearn" of all blame, while silent about the French ship. At the same time the French decided that the "Ville du Havre" was not in any way in fault, but proceeded to impute the catastrophe to the "Lochearn."

25. SALE OF THE "MURILLO."—This notorious steamer, which last mid-winter ran down the "Northfleet" off Dungeness, and then sought to escape the consequences of the act by steaming away into the darkness, without making an effort to rescue any one amongst the hundreds which the collision sent to a sudden grave, was sold at Lloyd's Captains' Room, Royal Exchange. For the last two months the ill-starred vessel, which was taken possession of in Dover by the marshal's deputy on the 23rd September, has, in custody of officers of the Court, been lying at her moorings in the West India Import Dock. As might have been expected, no proprietary claim has been made upon her, and thus this Glasgow-built boat, only seven years old, 738 tons and 502 register, fitted with the most improved machinery, was brought to the hammer. Notwithstanding the vast number of persons present, there were but few bidders, so that in nine minutes from the time the auctioneer opened the proceedings his hammer declared that Messrs. Salcedo and Co., Spanish merchants, Gracechurch-street, City, were the purchasers of the "Murillo" for the sum of 7050*l*. One-fourth of the purchase-money was at once placed in the hands of the marshal of the Court, the remainder to be paid up within fourteen days.

30. FAST LIFE.—The following curious epistle was written by a young man named George Haymen, who was committed a day or two ago to take his trial from one of the police-courts upon the charge of robbing his employers, a firm in the City, of a large sum

of money, with which he was entrusted to pay into the bankers. The prisoner, it should be stated, is not twenty years old, and in the course of a few days he had squandered 116*l*. The letter in question was addressed to a young man with whom he was on terms of great intimacy. It was as follows:—"My dear H.,—You will no doubt think me very unkind for not writing to you before, but I do so now to tell you that I have been having a jolly good spree. I have been staying with a jolly nice little woman all the week—in fact, ever since I took my hook. I dare say you all consider me a —— fine fellow, but the temptation was too great. I have never been out of London, and I will tell you the whole spree I have had. On the first night to the Oxford, then supper, then home to a regular palace. Saturday, the Oxford in the afternoon, then dinner, then to the Alhambra, then to Scott's to supper. Sunday, made everybody drunk on champagne. Monday, boozing all the morning and afternoon; in the evening, went and took a box at the Oxford, and had two or three ladies—made them all drunk with champagne. We all went to the Argyll Rooms, and then to supper. Tuesday, boozing all day; went to dinner, then to the concert at Covent Garden, then to the Argyll, then to Scott's to supper—all jolly drunk. Wednesday, went for a walk in the morning, in the evening had a box at the Oxford, supper, &c., &c. Thursday, went to Pavilion first, and then to Argyll to have a dance; then, of course, supper, &c., &c. Friday, went to Argyll and Oxford, then supper; and Saturday, to Oxford in the morning, and Alhambra and Argyll in the evening—of course, supper afterwards; then every day have had dinner, &c., served in first-rate style at the house; of course, champagne to further orders. So you see I have not been concealing myself. In fact, I have passed the governor's house several times, and have been living in the next street all the time. Any amount of cabs, you know. I have not walked a single mile all the time. I can tell you I have had a fast time of it, and no kid. I have had the best little woman in London, bar none. She had one of the girls confined here on Saturday—such a —— lark. I was going to ask you to come and spend Sunday with us, but thought you would not like to come and see such a —— scamp. I suppose they are all in a nice stew about me. Do you know what F. and Co. [his employers] intend to do in the matter? but it is a caution to think that I have had my run so long. Remember me to ——. I dare say they have a good opinion of me, but I cannot help that. Talk about fast life, if you had been with me for the last week, it would have opened your eyes. What with the Haymarket night-houses, &c., &c., it is a place. You can tell —— that he will find his ring pledged at Arnold's, in the Broadway. If they had not made such a row about it, I should have got it out, but now he can do it himself. I feel very much obliged to him for the loan. It was all through that ring that I have done what I have done, but by the time you find this you will no doubt hear of my death. Look in the papers carefully for 'Suicide at an Hotel.' I cannot say where

it will be, but somewhere up West. I shall not do it where I have been staying. Give my last and best love to Aunt and Nelly, and tell them they will never see me again alive, and I extremely regret causing them all the trouble I have; but I have always said that I would have a jolly spree before I died, and I have kept my word. God knows I have had a spree, but it is all over. I should like to see your face again, but all the coin is gone, and I must go too—only spent 116*l.* on women and wine in ten days. Very moderate, don't you think? I must now conclude with kind respects to all, and love to yourself. Don't forget me, old boy.—Yours for ever,  
 “GEORGE HAYMEN.”

THE RAILWAY ACCIDENTS of the month have been as frequent as ever, but there has been no remarkable holocaust.

## DECEMBER.

7. THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC.—During the last few days very serious charges have been brought against the metropolitan police, the result of which amounts to the imputation of a widely-spread system of perjury among certain members of the body. In one instance the victims were a small party of officers who visited the Argyll Rooms one night, and were recklessly charged by the police with assaults, drunkenness, and various offences, which they clearly disproved. Another case was that of Mr. Bell, a barrister, which led to an inquiry before Sir Thomas Henry. Mr. Bell's account was as follows:—“On the 27th of October I had my luncheon at home at about half-past one, and left at about two o'clock for the purpose of going to my chambers at Stone's-buildings, Chancery-lane. I was perfectly sober. As I was walking on, when on the steps at Warwick-place, two young men, arm-in-arm, pushed me and laughed out. I saw it was done for the purpose, and walked through the gates, and told them to behave themselves. The stouter one said, ‘I will thrash you.’ Not accustomed to this behaviour, I raised my umbrella with the intention of striking him, but I thought better of it, and asked him for his name and address, which he refused to give. I then offered my card in exchange. He still refused, and said I was drunk, and had better go home. I looked for the police, and in Bedford-row saw a policeman, and walked towards him. When I reached him, I told him to be good enough to take the names of the young men. The defendant is the policeman. The young men were in sight when I spoke to the constable. He told me I was drunk and causing an obstruction. I told defendant he had no right to say so, and that I was a barrister. I walked slowly on my way, and the constable walked behind me. Some twenty or thirty boys followed me, and echoed the cry that I was drunk. The constable said, ‘You know you are drunk.’ I said

he had no right to turn me out of my way. At the corner of Bedford-row he made a stand and said, 'Will you or will you not go?' I said I would not. He then seized me by my right wrist, and placed it under his arm. Before he laid hold of me numbers were calling out that I was drunk. I said, 'Who charges me?' Defendant said, 'Never mind, you'll find out.' I said, 'Do you charge me on your own responsibility?' He said that did not matter. I took out a card and wrote his number down, E 368. He took me off at the rate of four miles an hour. I was not in good health, and it tired me. At the Foundling I asked him to stop a cab. He said they never took their prisoners in cabs. We went on to Hunter-street. I told him who I was. At the station he let go of me for the first time. He pushed me into a back room, and said the sergeant was not ready to enter the charge against me. The defendant eventually beckoned me into the next room, saying that the charge was ready. I said, 'Very well; I'll go quite quietly,' for I saw he was about to put his hand on me. He said he should see that I did do so. He laid hold of me by the wrist and collar of my coat. I said, 'Take your hands off; you are exceeding your duty.' As he persisted, I said, 'If you don't take your hands off I will throw them off.' He held on, and I, by a sudden twist, threw his hands off, pushed him aside, and stepped into the dock. I said, 'I will do that every time you exceed your duty. I know what your duty is, and what my rights are.' Sergeant Clifford was at the desk. He asked me my name and address, &c., which I told him. I gave him my card. The charge was given by the defendant—viz., that I was drunk and disorderly, and caused a crowd to assemble in Bedford-row. The sergeant said, 'Don't you also charge him with assault?' and defendant said that he did, and the charge was entered. I was told to follow the defendant to be locked up. One constable said, 'Where are we to put him?' and the sergeant (Clifford) replied, with a laugh, 'Oh, in the drunkards' cell.' When I was in the cell, I said, 'You are not going to put any one else in this cell?' and he said 'No.' I had previously asked to be allowed to communicate with my friends, and Clifford said I could send for one of them, but it was not usual to send for more. I said, 'Then please send to Mr. Statham, 50, Woburn-place. He is my doctor.' Clifford replied, 'We never send for doctors.' I said, 'Medical evidence is everything in a charge of drunkenness.' He said, 'We never send for them unless the prisoner is too drunk to stand, or unconscious.' I asked them to send for their own police doctor. He refused to do so. I asked them to send for my friend, Mr. Ellis, of the Chancery bar. I gave the address. Clifford then said, 'You'll have to pay for the cab.' I said, 'Of course; you will send it on directly?' and the sergeant said he would do so. The cell into which I was placed was like some dog kennels I have. There was a thick stench round of a nasty smell which came from the closet. I was visited occasionally by officers. I asked to see the inspector several times. About half-past six o'clock he came to see me. I said, 'Do



you intend to keep me here all night?' He replied that no one had come to bail me out. I said it was because the men had omitted to send the card as they promised. The inspector then said that he did not know what he could do, but, although not strictly in the rules, he would let me out on my own recognizances if I would engage to be at Bow-street the next day. I said I would give any security, and I left the cell with the inspector. I was taking out my purse. They told me there was no necessity to pay anything, and I merely signed a paper, and was liberated. I spoke of the doctor, and the inspector said that he was a better judge than a doctor when a man was sober or not. On the following morning I came to Bow-street. I was charged, and called Mr. Statham and Mr. Stock. The defendant and Clifford gave evidence, and I was discharged. I complained to the Commissioners of the Police, and I am here to-day as a witness only." The defence of the police was that the excitement of Mr. Bell led everybody who saw him to believe he was drunk; and on the ground that the belief was honest, though entirely mistaken, Sir T. Henry dismissed the charge against the police, but commented very strongly on their conduct.

8. SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S EXPEDITION.—There was a crowded and brilliant assembly at the meeting of the Geographical Society, held in the theatre of the London University, to welcome Sir Samuel and Lady Baker on their return from Central Africa. Sir Bartle Frere presided, and among the audience were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Houghton, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Rutherford Alcock, and many other distinguished persons.

Sir Samuel Baker said that after an absence of four or five years it was with mingled feelings of regret and pleasure he again met the Fellows of the Society—pleasure at seeing so many old faces, and regret that so many whom he used to know were departed for ever. Sir Roderick Murchison he especially mentioned as an ever-ready friend in time of need. Before giving an account of his African experiences, he wished to fully explain the object of his mission. There were some ten or fifteen thousand slave-hunters all around the dominions of the Khedive of Egypt. It was determined to put a stop to this trade. He believed a conversation between the Prince of Wales and the Khedive had a considerable share in this determination. Certain it was, that the Prince of Wales's influence had led to his being appointed to conduct the expedition, and induced him to accept the appointment. To put an end to the slave-trade the annexation of a large part of Central Africa was necessary, and an armed force was needed to accomplish it. The Khedive was a full century in advance of his people; and there were indeed but two officials, Nuba and Sherif Pasha, who sympathized with him. To attempt to put down the slave-trade was to attempt to put down one of the most cherished of the Mohammedan institutions. One thousand seven hundred was the number of men placed at his

disposal; and his staff consisted of Lieut. J. A. Baker, Mr. Higginbotham, Dr. Joseph Gedge, of Caius College, Cambridge, and six mechanics. There were many delays, and in the meantime the native officers fraternized with the men, and intrigues to frustrate the scheme were numerous. He finally started with 800 men, and found many natural difficulties to contend with. Heavy rains had altered the condition of the country since he formerly knew it. Continuous rains led to the loss of many of his men, and he found he must return for the season; but, instead of returning to Khartum, he went back only so far as the River Sobat. The traders, believing he was gone to Khartum, came down with several boat-loads of slaves, and fell an easy prey into his hands. The next year he pushed on, having to pass four months in mud slush. Everything had to be carried by his men—ammunition, arms, and all accoutrements. In time he reached Gondokoro, where he explained to a chief the object the Khedive wished to accomplish. This man appeared to approve of stopping the slave-trade, and then suddenly offered to sell his son for a spade. Finding he could not get any co-operation, he founded a station at Gondokoro and went on. Sir Samuel recounted the numerous attempts at conspiracy among the officers to abandon the scheme. The few Englishmen with him determined to die rather than go back, but his aim was for them to go on rather than die. The officers wrote to him explaining their intentions. He replied by ordering six companies to be under arms at midnight, with eight boats, and at once to attack the Baris. They captured much corn, and this checked the conspiracy. The great difficulty of transit remained, and this he overcame by getting 500 carriers from a tribe beyond (the Loberas). He returned with these men to his force, and then got on to Fatiko. There was a charming climate, and they made pleasant headquarters. Here again he had to guard against treachery. The natives, however, refused to assassinate him; but still he had only 500 men to accomplish the annexation of Central Africa. After detailing many of their difficulties, and giving an account of some sharp engagements, Sir Samuel described how he gained the alliance of Rionga. Soon after this the force was attacked, as the rumour had been spread that he was dead. He had 140 men against 270. The 270 made the attack, but were swept away by a bayonet charge. This engagement ended all warfare. The slave-traders were driven off, 30,000*l.* of ivory was confiscated, and the natives gladly agreed to annexation. He then had to establish a Government and to arrange taxation. This he did, and happily accomplished all he had undertaken to do. At Cairo this step of the Khedive was looked on with displeasure. The people did not like a Christian being employed, and the Khedive was charged with being not a true Mohammedan. Sir Samuel was afraid a Turk might be appointed to his post on his leaving, but he was glad an English officer had succeeded him. To the meeting with the Prince of Wales and with the Fellows of the Society he had looked forward all through his campaign, and he was now proud in the realization of his wishes.

10. **THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.**—The first meeting of the newly-elected School Board for London was held in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, Mr. Alderman Cotton presiding. There were only two absentees out of the forty-nine members of whom the Board is composed, one of them being Mr. Arthur Mills, M.P. Miss Chessar and Mrs. Cowell occupied the same places at the chairman's table that were formerly filled by Mrs. Garrett-Anderson and Miss Emily Davies on the former Board. The space appropriated to strangers was very much crowded. On the motion of Mr. Currie, seconded by the Rev. John Rodgers, Mr. Charles Reed, M.P., was unanimously elected chairman of the Board. The hon. gentleman, on taking the chair, stated that he should endeavour to carry out its duties with the same impartiality and vigour as his predecessor. He trusted the Board would remember that the only work they had to do there was to supply a good and sound education to the children of London. Mr. Currie was, with equal unanimity, elected to the vice-chairmanship. The following is an alphabetical list of the members of the Board, together with the divisions for which they are returned. An asterisk is prefixed to the names of new members:—

\*Bardsley, Rev. J., Tower Hamlets.  
 Barry, Rev. Canon, Westminster.  
 \*Bevan, Rev. Ll. D., Marylebone.  
 Buxton, E. N., Tower Hamlets.  
 \*Chessar, Miss J. A., Marylebone.  
 Clarke, T. C., Finsbury.  
 Cotton, Ald. W. J., City of London.  
 \*Cowell, Mrs. Alice, Marylebone.  
 Cromwell, Rev. Canon, Chelsea.  
 Currie, E. H., Tower Hamlets.  
 Freeman, Robert, Chelsea.  
 \*Daniel, Rev. Evan, Lambeth.  
 \*Foster, Richard, Hackney.  
 \*Gladstone, John Hall, Chelsea.  
 Gover, Henry, Greenwich.  
 \*Gregory, Rev. Canon, City of London.  
 \*Heal, John Harris, Marylebone.  
 \*Heller, Thomas E., Lambeth.  
 \*Irons, Rev. Preb., Marylebone.  
 Lafone, Alfred, Southwark.  
 Langdale, Arthur, Tower Hamlets.  
 \*Legge, Hon. and Rev., Greenwich.  
 \*Lovell, Charles H., Finsbury.  
 Lucraft, Benjamin, Finsbury.  
 MacGregor, John, Greenwich.

\*Maguire, Rev. R., Finsbury.  
 \*Martin, Rev. R. M., Southwark.  
 Mills, Arthur, Marylebone.  
 \*Morgan, William F., Lambeth.  
 Morley, S., M.P., City of London.  
 \*Murphy, Rev. G. M., Lambeth.  
 \*Napier and Ettrick, Lord, Westmr.  
 \*Peek, Francis, City of London,  
 Picton, James A., Hackney.  
 \*Pilkington, Rev. J. G., Hackney.  
 \*Potter, George, Westminster.  
 \*Reade, Rev. C. D., Chelsea.  
 Reed, Charles, M.P., Hackney.  
 Rigg, Dr. J. H., Westminster.  
 Rogers, Rev. John, Finsbury.  
 Scrutton, T., Tower Hamlets.  
 \*Sinclair, Rev. J., Southwark.  
 Smith, W. H., M.P., Westminster.  
 \*Stephenson, Rev. T. B., Hackney.  
 Stiff, James, Lambeth.  
 Tabrum, E. J., Finsbury.  
 Wallace, James, Southwark.  
 Watson, James, Marylebone.  
 Waugh, Rev. Benj., Greenwich.

There are thus twenty-five new members out of a total of forty-nine.

13. **A THREE-DAYS' FOG**, at first of extraordinary density, prevailed in London this week, commencing on Tuesday, the 9th, with brief intervals of daylight. There has been nothing similar to it for years, and the interruption to business caused serious losses in many quarters. There were numerous fatal accidents, and the effect of the continued asphyxiation, for it was no less, was very severe on many sufferers from illness. The death-rate of London, usually compara-

tively low, rose higher for the week than that of any other town in England, and as many as 1000 deaths are attributed to the fog. The annual Cattle Show was taking place at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, and the fog caused great distress among the unlucky animals. About one hundred were removed into the country while the Show was going on, but many of them suffered very severely, and several died of disease, while others had to be slaughtered. It is needless to add that the fog found London as utterly unprepared against its effects as if it was the first that had ever visited us.

16. **SERIOUS GALE IN THE NORTH.**—A violent gale, which has caused the death of about ten persons and serious injury to a number of others, besides doing considerable damage to property, broke over the midland and northern part of the country. Amongst the places where its destructive effects were most visible was Sheffield, where many lives were lost. The damage done to property in Leeds is estimated at 20,000*l*. It is reported that there is hardly a street in Sheffield which is not strewn with rubbish. In Trippet-lane an engine chimney, 120 feet high, fell across eight cutlers' workshops, owned by Messrs. Reynolds and Son, contractors, and buried the occupants in the rooms, which had been sublet to working cutlers, and which contained between twenty and thirty persons at the time of the accident. Of these six were killed and fourteen injured. The chimney, which was broken at the base by the force of the gale, fell with a tremendous crash, dragging the shops, which were raised on iron pillars, along with it. It had been erected about seventeen years ago, at a cost of 300*l*., and had been considered unsafe for some time past. The damage to property alone is estimated at 4000*l*. At the Norfolk Works, belonging to Messrs. Thomas Firth and Sons, a chimney, 120 feet in height, was blown across a hammer-shop and other buildings, reducing portions of them to mere heaps of rubbish. There were between thirty and forty men in the works; but, fortunately, most of them saw the chimney rocking, and rushed out before it fell. Three men were injured, one of them, it is feared, fatally. A large foundry which has only recently been erected at Attercliffe suffered very severely. The roof of an immense shop was carried almost bodily away, and immediately afterwards the side walls fell in. All the workmen contrived to make their escape, with the exception of two, who were buried beneath the ruins. When recovered, one was dead and the other so severely injured that his recovery is despaired of. Accounts have also been received from all parts of Yorkshire, Durham, Shields, Newcastle, Glasgow, the west of Scotland, and other districts in the north, which tell of an amount of damage to property and loss of life probably unequalled of late years in any gale, however severe.

— **COMMITTAL OF THE TICHBORNE WITNESS LUIE.**—Jean Luie, or Lungren, after having been twice brought up before Sir Thomas Henry, at Bow-street, was to-day committed to the convict prison at Pentonville, to complete the remainder of the sentence passed on him at Cardiff, in 1867, and which expires in September, 1874.



At the first examination Mr. Pollard, who attended to prosecute on behalf of the Treasury, said, "I attend here to charge this man with being at large against the conditions of a licence which he received in March this year. You may know, Sir Thomas, that this man gave evidence upon the trial of the case, the Queen v. Castro, now being tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, at Westminster. He then stated—as he has here before you to-day—that his name was Jean Luie. He was asked the history of his life, partly in examination in chief, and partly in cross-examination." Mr. Pollard having stated at length the various allegations made by Luie in the Court of Queen's Bench, said, "The circumstances which led to his being brought here happened in this way: Luie having, in common with the other witnesses in the Tichborne case, been photographed, the photograph appeared in all the shops, and two young men passing through Moorgate-street saw the photograph, and recognized Luie as a man who, on March 29th of the present year—four days after the prisoner had been released on a ticket-of-leave—had called at the office of a shipbroker and endeavoured to obtain a sum of 20*l.* to buy a chronometer. He represented himself as the captain of a ship lying at Hale, in Cornwall, and he very nearly succeeded in getting the money. They telegraphed to Hale, and found that no such person as Captain Grundben was known. On Friday night the two young men who had identified the photograph attended at Westminster just as the Court was rising, and had an opportunity of recognizing the prisoner. On the following Monday he was committed for contempt of Court in the evidence he had given as to his antecedents. From that time up to the present we have received day by day further information about him, and various witnesses were called during the present week to show that from the year 1852 the man who is now before you was a clerk in a shipbroker's office in the town of Hull. From that time to 1861 he was employed in the neighbourhood of Bristol as a water-clerk and shipping clerk by the name of Charles Lungren. In 1862 he was entrusted with a bank post-bill, which he appropriated. He was given into custody and tried at the Bristol assizes, and being convicted was sentenced to three years' penal servitude. He was liberated in April, 1865, on a licence, part of his sentence having been remitted. In October following he was at Newcastle-on-Tyne, under the names of Grindland and Paterson, where also he committed fraud, and was again in custody. He was tried, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment from the adjourned sessions of 1866. He was afterwards at Cardiff, and was again convicted of fraud, and, his former conviction being proved against him, he was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, which would expire in 1874. However, his conduct was so good that eighteen months of the sentence were remitted, and in March of this year he was set at liberty on a licence. The terms of the licence were that he should report himself within forty-eight hours of his arrival in any town, but at Folkestone, which he went to on his way to Belgium, he certainly did not do so. Within four



days of his release he was suspected of various other frauds. In July of the present year he called on Messrs. Winslow, Son, and Co., and, under the name of Captain Strong, endeavoured to obtain money. On July 4th he, in another name, endeavoured to obtain money from Messrs. Cordy, of Crosby-square. He said at the trial that he only arrived at Ostend in July. He truly did arrive at Ostend, but on July 4th he was within the jurisdiction of this Court. The facts of his life having become known, the Court ordered that Luie should be committed to Holloway Prison on a charge of contempt of Court in having committed perjury, and his own counsel admitted that he could not rely upon his evidence." Mr. Pollard then said that he would to-day simply call sufficient evidence to ask for a remand, and for that purpose would call the inspector who was present during Luie's examination. He would state that Luie had declared he had never gone by any other name than Jean Luie. One of the warders of the Chatham convict prison would prove that he was there in 1868 till March of the present year, and was then discharged on a licence.

The evidence of several warders who identified Luie was then taken, and the prisoner remanded.

On being brought up the second time, Luie was asked by Sir Thomas Henry if he had any statement to make, before being sent to prison under the revocation of his licence, to which he replied that he had.

Luie: "All I have to say is that I am sorry for what has happened. It would not have happened if I had not been encouraged, and 'made up' to do what I have done."

Sir Thomas Henry: "You wish to say no more than that you have been encouraged and 'made up' to do what you have done?"

Luie: "That is all I wish to say for the present."

Sir Thomas Henry: "Very well. Then it is now my duty to commit you to the convict prison at Pentonville, to undergo the remainder of your sentence, but you must understand that you may be brought here, according to the statement of Mr. Pollard, of the Treasury Solicitor's office, to answer the charge of perjury."

The prisoner, who preserved a quiet demeanour in the box, was then removed in custody.

20. A FATAL BOAT ACCIDENT occurred on the Thames, by which eight men lost their lives. In constructing new reservoirs for the Lambeth Water Company on the banks of the Thames at West Moulsey, 200 or 300 men are employed. After leaving work, twelve of these men had entered a boat to cross the river to their homes. On leaving the shore four or five more men rushed on board over the stern, and when about fifteen feet away the punt sank stern first, and all were immersed and struggling together in the water. The punt came up and floated bottom upwards some distance with two men on it, one of whom was saved. The boatman saved himself by swimming, and others by clinging to pieces of wood which were thrown from the bank. Of the fifteen men who were in the boat eight were drowned.

26. **WRECK OF A TYNE STEAM-TUG.**—A terrible accident occurred on the Tyne early this morning, by which eighteen lives were lost. The morning was pitch dark when the steamship "Gipsy Queen" left North Shields with a number of seamen and watermen, whom she had to place on the hoppers and dredgers in various parts of the Tyne. Calling at the Tyne Dock she took more men on board, making the total number on the boat thirty-six. On the north side of the river a wreck was sunk near a dredger, and, notwithstanding the fact that a brilliant light was seen burning over the wreck, the master of the steam-tug steered right into it. The boat struck the wreck with a fearful crash, and made a large hole in her starboard bow, and in a minute and a half sank head foremost. The bulk of the men who were thrown into the water clung together in a mass, and they seem to have drowned each other by clinging to each other's legs and arms. The scene was a terrible one, and the cries of the drowning men could be heard for a great distance. A man who was going up in a small boat picked up six men, and the dredger's boat put off and saved ten. Four of the men who are saved, though they burnt their hands very much by doing so, held by the boat's funnel until they were taken off, and another man, John Dunn, was rescued by the master's retriever dog. In all eighteen persons were drowned and twenty-eight were saved. Most of the drowned men whose bodies have been recovered had gone down in a cluster. The entire steamer's crew were lost in the small boat, which they launched, and which swamped with them.

31. **RAILWAY ACCIDENTS** of the month much as before.

# OBITUARY

OF

## EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1873.

### January.

#### THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON THE THIRD.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter upon a long and detailed history of the great life which ended at Camden Place, Chisellhurst, on the 9th January, 1873. Prince Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (to record merely the leading dates in his career), born at the Tuileries April 20, 1808, was the second son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland from 1806 to 1810, by his Queen Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine, Napoleon I.'s first wife, whose first husband was the Viscomte de Beauharnais. After the overthrow of Napoleon I., in 1815, Hortense, then called Duchess de St. Len, resided with her two sons in Switzerland and Germany; and in 1831, Prince Louis Napoleon and his elder brother having joined the Italian conspiracy of the Carbonari against the Papal Government, took part in the insurrection of Romagna, when the elder Prince died of a fever. By this and the death of his cousin, the Duke of Reichstadt, Prince Louis Napoleon became heir to the Bonapartist Imperial pretensions; and attempted, first, at Strasburg, in 1836, and secondly, at Boulogne, in 1840 (living, meanwhile, chiefly in London), to excite a mutiny of French soldiers in his favour, and was punished upon the former occasion by exile to America, and upon the latter by six years' imprisonment at Ham. In December, 1848, he was elected by universal suffrage President of the French Republic, which he converted,

after three years, into an absolute personal dictatorship—a despotism based on democracy—by his *coup d'état* and fresh appeal to the popular vote. His consort, the now widowed Empress, was a gentlewoman of mixed Spanish and Scottish descent, Mdle. Eugénie de Montijo, created in Spain Countess de Teba, daughter of the Count de Montijo, a grandee of that kingdom, by a lady of the Kirkpatrick family. The marriage of the Emperor and Empress in Notre Dame Cathedral took place Jan. 30, 1853, and their only child, the Prince Imperial, was born March 16, 1856.

The Emperor's death was caused by the painful illness of stone, which had been undermining his constitution for years. But during the last few weeks the operation of lithotrity had been more than once performed with apparent success, and the general progress of the case had not only been satisfactory on the night preceding and on the morning of the Emperor's death, but even more so than on any previous day. Rest had been uninterrupted and sleep peaceful and natural. In the morning the Emperor awoke refreshed and apparently strong; he was able to rise from his bed, and was hopeful and well satisfied. The prospect of relief was at hand, and seemed more sure and nearer than there had on previous days been reason to anticipate. The Emperor was visited by his medical attendants during the morning, and there was nothing in his condition to excite any sort of apprehension. Arrangements were in progress for the administration of chloroform at noon, in order to complete by what might, it was hoped, prove a final proceeding, the removal of the last particles

of that which had been the cause of so much distress. The Empress had paid her morning visit to the Emperor, and throughout the whole illness her attention had been constant and her solicitude unceasing. Just before half-past ten Sir Henry Thompson and Mr. Clover passed into the chamber to pay a visit to the Emperor, when a sudden change was apparent. The pulse, which had been at eighty four, rapidly fell; the action of the heart failed, there were signs of entire prostration. The Empress was instantly summoned, and came to the Emperor's bedside, but he did not appear to recognize her; he was fast sinking, notwithstanding the small doses of brandy which were ordered to be given him, and which had produced a momentary reaction. The Empress at once ordered a telegraphic despatch to be sent to M. Fallon, at Woolwich, begging him to bring the young Prince Imperial to Chislehurst at once; and then sent for Abbé Goddard, the parish priest of Chislehurst.

The priest arrived a few moments afterwards, and administered the last sacrament to his Majesty. The Empress, the Duke de Bassano, Viscount Clary, Count Davillier, M. Piétri, and Madame Lebreton were kneeling by the bedside, and nothing could be heard in the room but the prayers of the priest and the sobbing of those present. The religious ceremony terminated, during which the Emperor appeared to give some signs of consciousness, the Empress approached the bedside and embraced the Emperor. The patient then made signs that he wished to give his last kiss to his wife, after which he made a slight movement, heaved two sighs, and expired. It wanted a quarter to eleven.

#### MISS BLAGDEN.

This month died at Florence a lady well known in the world of letters, Miss Isa Blagden, the authoress of "*Agnes Tremorne*," "*The Cost of a Secret*," "*The Crown of a Life*," and many brilliant papers in *Fraser*, the *Cornhill*, and *All the Year Round*. She was linked to Mr. Browning and his illustrious wife by the ties of the closest friendship. She nursed the poetess in her final illness, and performed the same loving office for Theodosia Trollope, to whose memory, as to that of Mrs. Browning, Florence has erected a commemorative tablet.

#### MISS DURANT.

Miss Durant, one of our best known

female sculptors, died this month in Paris. Deceased, who was of a respectable Devonshire family, was at first an amateur only, but afterwards adopted sculpture as a profession. One of her latest works was the carving of medallion portraits of the royal family on the Prince Consort's shrine in Wolsey's Chapel. Miss Durant was the instructress of the Princess Louise in sculpture.

#### MR. GRAVES, M.P.

Mr. S. R. Graves, the senior member of Parliament for Liverpool, expired suddenly at the Easton Hotel, shortly after four a.m. on January 18. He had dined the previous evening with the Duke of Sutherland at Stafford House, returned to his hotel shortly after midnight in apparent good health, and went to bed. At half-past three o'clock he rang up the night porter and complained of being unwell. Medical aid was summoned, and no serious consequences were at first apprehended. But while appliances were being prepared a paroxysm of faintness supervened, and Mr. Graves died suddenly, in the presence of his friend, Mr. Beasley, of Liverpool, who had been summoned to his bedside. Mr. Graves, who was only in his 54th year, had filled all the public offices in Liverpool which are usually bestowed on prosperous and popular citizens. He was a large shipowner, and a director of various public companies. In private life he was universally esteemed. Mr. Graves was a native of New Ross, in Ireland. He was first elected for Liverpool in 1865. In politics he was a Conservative. He was a somewhat strong Protestant, and warmly opposed to secular education. Death was caused by fatty degeneration of the heart, producing syncope, probably accelerated by a slight attack of indigestion.

#### DR. LUSHINGTON.

On the 19th of this month died the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., formerly Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. He was in the 91st year of his age. He was born in 1782, being the second son of Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart., by a daughter of Mr. John Belders, of Aspenden Hall, Herts. He was educated at Eton, and at All Souls' College, Oxford, where he gained a fellowship. He took his degree of M.A. in 1806, and that of D.C.L. in 1808. Having been called to the bar in

the Inner Temple, he then entered Doctors' Commons and devoted himself to practice in the courts of civil and ecclesiastical law. But he soon obtained a seat in Parliament as M.P. for Yarmouth, having a private fortune of his own. He was attached to the Whig party, and earnestly advocated the abolition of the slave-trade, as well as other Liberal measures. As one of the counsel for Queen Caroline, with Brougham and Denman, his forensic efforts gained him much renown. He was a zealous and consistent political reformer while in Parliament, where he represented, at different times, Yarmouth, Ilchester, Winchelsea, and other boroughs, previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, when, in acknowledgment of his signal services, he was returned by the new constituency of the Tower Hamlets. He represented the Tower Hamlets for several years, until an Act was passed by which the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty (this appointment had been conferred on him in 1835) was disqualified, like the other judges, from sitting in the House of Commons. His first judicial promotion had been to the Consistory Court, in 1838; he was likewise Chancellor of the dioceses of London and Rochester, and held other minor appointments. The judicial character of Dr. Lushington will stand high amongst the standard authorities in his distinctive sphere.

#### LORD LYTTON.

Lord Lytton died unexpectedly, on January 18, at Torquay, his usual winter residence, having been seriously ill but for three days. Only a day or two before he had finished his last novel, "Kenelm Chillingley," and appeared as well as usual. An ailment of the ear, which had often given him trouble, suddenly became acute, and he died of the inflammation.

The late Right Hon. Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, Baron Lytton of Knebworth, county Hertford, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet (creation 1838), was the third and youngest son of General William Earle Bulwer, of Woodalling and Heydon Hall, Norfolk, by Elizabeth Barbara Lytton, only daughter and heir of Mr. Richard Warburton Lytton, of Knebworth, Hertfordshire, who by royal licence in 1811 resumed her paternal surname of Lytton, and died in 1843. He was born in May, 1805, and, after his elementary education at several private schools, entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1826, and M.A. in 1835,

and while at that university he carried off the Chancellor's Prize Medal for his English poem on "Sculpture." He entered Parliament in 1831 for the borough of St. Ives, as a supporter of the Whigs, his brother Henry, the late Lord Dalling, representing Coventry in the same Parliament. At the general election in 1832 (the first Reform Parliament) he was elected, in conjunction with Mr. G. F. Heneage, for Lincoln, defeating Colonel Sibthorp by a majority of ninety-six. He continued member for that city up to the general election in 1841, when Colonel Sibthorp and Mr. W. Rickford Collett both headed the poll, the latter gentleman defeating Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton by a majority of thirty-eight. In July, 1852, he again entered the House of Commons as one of the members for Hertfordshire, and represented that county in successive Parliaments till his elevation to the peerage in 1866. During his early parliamentary career in the House of Commons he voted for the Reform Bill, and at the celebrated contest for Speaker he recorded his vote for the Right Hon. James Abercromby, and also voted in favour of the Irish Tithe Bill. On the formation of Lord Derby's Administration in 1858, Sir Edward was selected as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was created a Privy Councillor; he remained in office till June, 1859. He continued to support the Conservative party in the House of Lords. As a parliamentary speaker Lord Lytton may be classed as one of the most finished orators of the day rather than as a frequent debater; he never rose to address either House of Parliament without gaining earnest and respectful attention from all political parties. The late Lord Lytton received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford in 1853, and he also received the same distinction from the University of Cambridge. He was twice elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow—namely, in 1856, and in November, 1858—an honour never bestowed on any other Englishman; only one Scotchman had received a similar distinction, namely, Thomas Campbell, the poet.

The late Lord Lytton married, August 29, 1827, Rosina, only surviving daughter of Mr. Francis Massey Wheeler, of Lizzard Connell, county Limerick, by whom he leaves issue an only son (who succeeds as second baron), Hon. Edward Robert, born November 8, 1831, and married in October, 1864, to Edith, second daughter of the late Hon. Edward Villiers, brother of the late Earl of Clarendon.



Lord Lytton was at heart an author, and his life is the life of a man of letters. At the age of 15 he made his first appearance in print with a volume, entitled "Ismael, an Oriental Tale: with other Poems." In 1826 he published a volume of miscellaneous poems for private circulation, entitled "Weeds and Wild Flowers:" in this, in a poetic narrative published about this time, "O'Neil; or, the Rebel," and in "Falkland," a highly-coloured tale of passion, subsequently suppressed, Byronic influence is very visible. In 1828 he produced "Pelham," his first well-known work; and close upon it the "Disowned." "Devereux" followed in 1829; in 1830, "Paul Clifford." In 1831 appeared "The Siamese Twins," a satire, but this had little success; and, turning to fiction again, Bulwer produced "Eugene Aram" and "Godolphin." He next, as editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* (a post in which the poet Campbell had preceded him), turned to criticism, and published in the serial a variety of essays, subsequently collected under the title of "The Student." Other novels, "The Pilgrims of the Rhine," "The Last Days of Pompeii," and "Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes," followed in quick succession. In 1834, when the King had abruptly dismissed the Whig Ministry, and Sir Robert Peel, then upon his vacation travels, was sent for from Rome to form a new Administration, Mr. Bulwer announced his pamphlet on "The Crisis," of which a single day exhausted the first edition, and fourteen days as many successive reprints. About the same time Bulwer's first play, the "Duchess de la Vallière," was produced, Macready acting the part of the Marquess de Bragelone. The play, however, did not take. "Athens, its Rise and Fall," a fragment, the well-known "Ernest Maltravers," and "Alice, or the Mysteries," were the literary outcome of 1837. Then came another play, the famous "Lady of Lyons." On the evening of its production Bulwer had spoken with brilliant success in Parliament on the ballot; and he arrived at the theatre just in time to hear "author" called with vociferous plaudits. But the drama was produced anonymously, and it was not till its success was assured, a fortnight later, that Sir E. Bulwer answered the response. "Richelieu" appeared in 1839; the "Sea Captain" (produced quite recently at a London theatre under the altered title of the "Rightful Heir") immediately afterwards; "Money" (which was being played in London at the date of his death) was brought out in 1840. Then followed another venture in periodical

literature, Bulwer associating himself with Sir David Brewster and Dr. Dionysius Lardner in a scientific publication, the *Monthly Chronicle*, brought out by Messrs. Longman. It was not a success, and after a few months was discontinued. "Night and Morning" and "Zanoni" appeared in 1841 and 1842 respectively. In 1841 Sir Edward lost his seat in Parliament, and travelled in Germany. Here he took to German literature, and translated Schiller. Four years later, and his health seemed to show signs of yielding before his incessant labours. But he was restored by a sojourn at Malvern, his experiences at which seat of hydropathy he embodied in a sparkling volume, "The Confessions of a Water Patient." In 1847 appeared a brilliant series of metrical portraits embodied in the "New Timon"—a work in the favourite couplet of Pope and Dryden, and in their manner. In this work it was that Tennyson was satirized as "school-miss Alfred," the poet retorting by describing Bulwer as a "dandy-lion" who "shook a mane *en papillote*," and "the padded man who wears the stays." Meanwhile "Harold" was struck off as a mere side work, while the principal objects of his attention were the poem of "King Arthur" (in which Bulwer took Tennyson's subject) and the immortal "Caxtons." In 1851 appeared the "crown of the edifice," in the shape of "My Novel." In 1859 appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* "What will He Do with It?" in 1862, "A Strange Story," betraying a sneaking kindness towards spiritualism; in 1866, another poem, the "Lost Tales of Miletus;" in 1869, a "Translation of Horace;" and in the same year, "Walpole; or, Every Man has his Price." A play, entitled "Not so Bad as we Seem," was also written for a brilliant band of amateur actors, including Mark Lemon, John Forster, Douglas Jerrold, and Charles Dickens. "Not so Bad as we Seem" was jocularly criticized by Jerrold in a suggestion that it be re-christened "Not so Good as we Expected." "Walpole," the last of his dramas, was an experiment in literature—the form being rhymed Alexandrines, after the French type. Of late years his pen has been less active, and, till very recently, his health bad. Of late years, however, he has written (anonymously) "The Coming Race," and the "Parisians," a set of papers in *Blackwood's Magazine*. These last he leaves unfinished.

Reviewing the literary works of the late Lord Lytton, the *Times* says:—"The vigour, wit, and polish of 'St. Stephen's,' entitle him to high rank in the masculine

school of Dryden and Pope; 'The Lost Tales of Miletus' have charmed scholars with their playful fancy, and the translations from Schiller have been vouched by Mr. Carlyle as the versions an English reader should consult who wishes to know the lyrics of the great German author. Those who are most familiar with Lord Lytton's essays are most fond of them, and are most persuaded that they have never received fit recognition. Certain it is, that among the earliest collected of his writings of this kind—'The Student'—are some papers of singular power and beauty which have never been adequately appreciated. The author of 'The Lady of Lyons' was flattered by the preference of every actress on the stage for the part of Pauline; and the audience in the most fastidious of our theatres have welcomed 'Money' every night for more than six months past. The whole world knows his fame as an orator and novelist, and remembers the singular range of knowledge and experience upon which he built up his success. We are not poor in parliamentary oratory, yet veterans in the House of Commons confessed that Bulwer's speech on Lord Derby's Reform Bill in 1859 equalled anything they had ever heard at Westminster."

#### THE HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL.

This well-known Evangelical clergyman, who died on the 19th, was highly esteemed by many religious persons, both in the Established Church and among the Non-conformists. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Wriothlesley Noel was brother to the first Earl of Gainsborough, being a younger son of the late Sir Gerard Noel Noel, of Exton Park, Rutlandshire, by his first wife, Diana, in her own right Baroness Barham, of Barham Court and of Teston, Kent. An elder son of Sir Gerard—namely, Sir Charles Noel, who succeeded his mother in the Barham peerage—was created Earl of Gainsborough in 1841. The subject of this memoir was born on July 16, 1798, so that he was in his 75th year at his death. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the usual degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. Having assumed holy orders, he became one of the Royal Chaplains and minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford-row. There he drew together a very numerous audience of the upper classes. But in 1848 arose the celebrated "Gorham Case," which disturbed the Church of England and caused a few secessions of its clergy to the Roman

Communion. On the other hand, Mr. Baptist Noel considered that the Church of England, in her sacramental teaching, approached too near to the Church of Rome; he therefore declared himself a Dissenter. From that time he has been connected with the Baptist body; but he was always a warm supporter of most of the leading Evangelical societies, whose cause he has advocated on the platform. Among others, he took an active part in the City Mission. He was a voluminous writer. Besides a variety of sermons on special occasions, Mr. Noel published, in 1848, a volume explaining his grounds for relinquishing his position in the Church of England, under the title of an "Essay on the Union of Church and State." He was also the author of an "Essay on the Duty of Englishmen towards the Hindoos," an "Essay on the External Act of Baptism," another on "American Freedom and Slavery," a "Comparison between Christianity and Unitarianism," "Notes of a Tour through Switzerland," and "Notes of a Tour through Ireland," the last two works bearing date many years ago.

#### GENERAL SIR J. SCOTT, K.C.B.

General Sir John Scott, colonel of the 7th Hussars, while riding in Rotten-row on the afternoon of January 18, fell from his horse, which was going at a walking pace, and on being raised was found to be dying. This occurred immediately opposite Knightsbridge Barracks. The general was at once carried into the officers' quarters, and several medical men immediately attended, and pronounced that life was extinct. The late Sir John Scott was the only son of Mr. J. F. Scott, by Mary, daughter of Mr. John Serjeant, of Whitehaven, Cumberland. He was born in 1797, and married in 1829 Alicia, eldest daughter of the Rev. H. Forster Mills, Chancellor of York, and granddaughter of Archbishop Markham. After his rudimentary education at Chiswick he went to Westminster, and in May, 1815, entered the army, and shortly afterwards joined the forces under the Duke of Wellington in Paris. He was subsequently present with the French army, under Marshal Gerard, at the siege of Antwerp, in December, 1832, and, by permission of the marshal, he accompanied the troops upon every occasion during the siege. In October, 1838, he was appointed to the command of the cavalry of the Division of the Army of the Indus, as brigadier, served in that rank during the campaigns of 1838 and 1839 in Afghanistan, and

was present at the attack and capture of Ghuznee. During the latter part of 1839 he commanded a detached column, consisting of the whole of the artillery (except four guns), the cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. This column was detached to secure the subjugation of Upper Scinde, and to co-operate with the main column under Sir Thomas Walslake, directed against Kheilat. He was also, on December 29, 1843, at the action of Maharyahpore, where he commanded a brigade of cavalry, and also at the battle of Sohraon. Sir John was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath for his services in Afghanistan, and an aide-de-camp to the Queen after the battle of Sohraon, and in 1865 he was made Knight Commander of the Bath. He had received numerous medals for his services previously to being on the staff in India. He was appointed colonel of the 3rd Dragoon Guards in 1859, till in June, 1866, he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 7th Hussars. As already stated, he entered the army in 1815, and by purchase obtained his lieutenancy in October of the same year, he became captain in June, 1821; and major in November, 1826. For his services in the field he was made lieutenant-colonel in August, 1830, and colonel in June, 1846. He was promoted to the rank of major-general, June 20, 1854; lieutenant-general, October 13, 1860; and general, May 1, 1868.

#### PROFESSOR SEDGWICK.

This venerable scientific man died on the 25th, in Trinity College, Cambridge. Adam Sedgwick was one of the fathers of geology, and was born at Dent, in Yorkshire, in June, 1784, or, according to another account, in 1785. In due course he was entered at Trinity College, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1808, being fifth Wrangler. In 1810 he was elected to a Fellowship in his College, of which at his death he was senior member. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him. He held one or two college offices in due course, among others that of Vice-Master of Trinity, and in the year 1818 he succeeded Professor Hailstone in the chair of geology founded at Cambridge by Dr. John Woodward. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; he also acted as one of the secretaries of the Cambridge Philosophical Society at its first institution, in 1819, and contributed largely to its "Transactions." He also became a Fellow of the Geological Society of London, and, having served on its council, was elected

to its presidential chair in the years 1829-30-31, and twice delivered the customary address as President. During more than half a century Professor Sedgwick prosecuted the study of geology with great diligence and success. His published works upon that science are numerous and of high authority. He delivered lectures in the University during fifty years, but was recently compelled by physical infirmity to resign. During his long life the late Professor has compiled many works upon the subject of geology, some of them with the assistance of the late Sir Rodrick Murchison. He entered heartily into the work of reforming the studies of the University, and his celebrated "Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge" passed through five editions. As a politician he was a steady Liberal. The last great meeting he attended was two or three years ago, at St. John's College, on the subject of University tests, which have since been abolished. His speech on that occasion will long be remembered. The late Professor, who was in holy orders, was a Canon of Norwich Cathedral, which preferment he had held since 1834.

#### THE REV. H. VENN.

The Rev. Henry Venn, the venerable honorary secretary of the Church Missionary Society, died at his residence at East Sheen on January 13. Mr. Venn was known as a prominent member of the Evangelical school, though for a long time past he has been but little before the public. He was a Cambridge man, and was nineteenth Wrangler in 1818. He took his M.A. degree in 1821, and became a B.D. in 1828. He was ordained deacon in 1819, and priest in 1821. He was formerly curate of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, was perpetual curate of Drypool, in Yorkshire, from 1827 to 1834, and incumbent of St. John's, Upper Holloway, from the last-named year to 1846.

#### February.

#### MR. B. BROWN.

The death is announced of Mr. Baker Brown, F.R.C.S., who but a few years since was considered one of the most skilful operating surgeons of the age. He sustained many attacks of illness, and lastly was attacked with cerebral paralysis, which ended on February 3 in death.

school of Dryden and Pope; 'The Lost Tales of Miletus' have charmed scholars with their playful fancy, and the translations from Schiller have been vouched by Mr. Carlyle as the versions an English reader should consult who wishes to know the lyrics of the great German author. Those who are most familiar with Lord Lytton's essays are most fond of them, and are most persuaded that they have never received fit recognition. Certain it is, that among the earliest collected of his writings of this kind—'The Student'—are some papers of singular power and beauty which have never been adequately appreciated. The author of 'The Lady of Lyons' was flattered by the preference of every actress on the stage for the part of Pauline; and the audience in the most fastidious of our theatres have welcomed 'Money' every night for more than six months past. The whole world knows his fame as an orator and novelist, and remembers the singular range of knowledge and experience upon which he built up his success. We are not poor in parliamentary oratory, yet veterans in the House of Commons confessed that Bulwer's speech on Lord Derby's Reform Bill in 1859 equaled anything they had ever heard at Westminster."

#### THE HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL.

This well-known Evangelical clergyman, who died on the 19th, was highly esteemed by many religious persons, both in the Established Church and among the Non-conformists. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Wriothesley Noel was brother to the first Earl of Gainsborough, being a younger son of the late Sir Gerard Noel Noel, of Exton Park, Rutlandshire, by his first wife, Diana, in her own right Baroness Burham, of Burham Court and of Leston, Kent. An elder son of Sir Gerard—namely, Sir Charles Noel, who succeeded his mother in the Burham peerage—was created Earl of Gainsborough in 1841. The subject of this memoir was born on July 16, 1798, so that he was in his 75th year at his death. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the usual degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. Having assumed his orders, he became one of the Royal Chaplains in ordinary to St. John's College, Bath. It was there he drew together a very numerous and noble of the upper classes. But in 1848 arose the celebrated question of the withdrawal of a few secessions of its clergy to the Roman

Communion. On the other hand, Mr. Baptist Noel considered that the Church of England, in her sacramental teaching, approached too near to the Church of Rome; he therefore declared himself a Dissenter. From that time he has been connected with the Baptist body; but he was always a warm supporter of most of the leading Evangelical societies, whose cause he has advocated on the platform. Among others, he took an active part in the City Mission. He was a voluminous writer. Besides a variety of sermons on special occasions, Mr. Noel published, in 1848, a volume explaining his grounds for relinquishing his position in the Church of England, under the title of an "Essay on the Union of Church and State." He was also the author of an "Essay on the Duty of Englishmen towards the Hindus," an "Essay on the External Act of Baptism," another on "American Freedom and Slavery," a "Comparison between Christianity and Unitarianism," "Notes of a Tour through Switzerland," and "Notes of a Tour through Ireland," the last two works bearing date many years ago.

#### GENERAL SIR J. SCOTT, K.C.B.

General Sir John Scott, colonel of the 7th Hussars, while riding in Rotten-row on the afternoon of January 18, fell from his horse, which was going at a walking pace, and on being raised was found to be dying. This occurred immediately opposite Knightsbridge Barracks. The general was at once carried into the officers' quarters, and several medical men immediately attended, and pronounced that life was extinct. The late Sir John Scott was the only son of Mr. J. F. Scott, by Mary, daughter of Mr. John Serjeant, of Whitehaven, Cumberland. He was born in 1797, and married in 1829 Alicia, eldest daughter of the Rev. H. Forster Mills, Chancellor of York, and granddaughter of Archbishop Markham. After his rudimentary education at Chiswick he went to Westminster, and in May, 1815, entered the army, and shortly afterwards joined the forces under the Duke of Wellington in Paris. He was subsequently present with the French army, under Marshal Gerard, at the siege of Antwerp, in December, 1832, and, by permission of the marshal, he accompanied the troops up to every season during the siege. In October, 1838, he was appointed to the command of the cavalry of the Division of the Army of the Indus, as brigadier, served in that rank during the campaigns of 1838 and 1839 in Afghanistan, and



was present at the attack and capture of Ghuznee. During the latter part of 1839 he commanded a detached column, consisting of the whole of the artillery (except four guns), the cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. This column was detached to secure the subjugation of Upper Scinde, and to co-operate with the main column under Sir Thomas Willshire, directed against Kelat. He was also, on December 29, 1843, at the action of Maharajahpore, where he commanded a brigade of cavalry, and also at the battle of Sobraon. Sir John was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath for his services in Afghanistan, and an aide-de-camp to the Queen after the battle of Sobraon, and in 1865 he was made Knight Commander of the Bath. He had received numerous medals for his services previously to being on the staff in India. He was appointed colonel of the 3rd Dragoon Guards in 1859, till in June, 1866, he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 7th Hussars. As already stated, he entered the army in 1815, and by purchase obtained his lieutenancy in October of the same year; he became captain in June, 1821; and major in November, 1826. For his services in the field he was made lieutenant-colonel in August, 1830, and colonel in June, 1846. He was promoted to the rank of major-general, June 20, 1854; lieutenant-general, October 13, 1860; and general, May 1, 1868.

#### PROFESSOR SEDGWICK.

This venerable scientific man died on the 25th, in Trinity College, Cambridge. Adam Sedgwick was one of the fathers of geology, and was born at Dent, in Yorkshire, in June, 1784, or, according to another account, in 1785. In due course he was entered at Trinity College, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1808, being fifth Wrangler. In 1810 he was elected to a Fellowship in his College, of which at his death he was senior member. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him. He held one or two college offices in due course, among others that of Vice-Master of Trinity; and in the year 1818 he succeeded Professor Hailstone in the chair of geology founded at Cambridge by Dr. John Woodward. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; he also acted as one of the secretaries of the Cambridge Philosophical Society at its first institution, in 1819, and contributed largely to its "Transactions." He also became a Fellow of the Geological Society of London, and, having served on its council, was elected

to its presidential chair in the years 1829-30-31, and twice delivered the customary address as President. During more than half a century Professor Sedgwick prosecuted the study of geology with great diligence and success. His published works upon that science are numerous and of high authority. He delivered lectures in the University during fifty years, but was recently compelled by physical infirmity to resign. During his long life the late Professor has compiled many works upon the subject of geology, some of them with the assistance of the late Sir Roderick Murchison. He entered heartily into the work of reforming the studies of the University, and his celebrated "Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge" passed through five editions. As a politician he was a steady Liberal. The last great meeting he attended was two or three years ago, at St. John's College, on the subject of University tests, which have since been abolished. His speech on that occasion will long be remembered. The late Professor, who was in holy orders, was a Canon of Norwich Cathedral, which preferment he had held since 1834.

#### THE REV. H. VENN.

The Rev. Henry Venn, the venerable honorary secretary of the Church Missionary Society, died at his residence at East Sheen on January 13. Mr. Venn was known as a prominent member of the Evangelical school, though for a long time past he has been but little before the public. He was a Cambridge man, and was nineteenth Wrangler in 1818. He took his M.A. degree in 1821, and became a B.D. in 1828. He was ordained deacon in 1819, and priest in 1821. He was formerly curate of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, was perpetual curate of Drypool, in Yorkshire, from 1827 to 1834, and incumbent of St. John's, Upper Holloway, from the last-named year to 1846.

#### February.

#### MR. B. BROWN.

The death is announced of Mr. Baker Brown, F.R.C.S., who but a few years since was considered one of the most skilful operating surgeons of the age. He sustained many attacks of illness, and lastly was attacked with cerebral paralysis, which ended on February 3 in death.



from congestion, caused by the sudden accession of cold weather acting upon a brain already seriously disorganized.

#### BARON CHANNELL.

We have to record the death of the Right Hon. Sir William Fry Channell, late a Baron of the Court of Exchequer—an event which happened at his residence in Clarendon-place, Hyde-park-gardens, on February 26. Deceased, who was in the 68th year of his age, was a son of the late Mr. Pike Channell, of Peckham, Surrey, and was born in the year 1804 or 1805. He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1827, and went the Home Circuit, of which he became the leader on the promotion of Thesiger and Platt. As a junior counsel he enjoyed an extensive practice, and for some years after his promotion to a serjeant's coif, in 1848, he divided with Serjeant Talfourd the leading business in the Court of Common Pleas. He was an able and effective advocate, but stood higher still in respect of legal erudition. In 1857 he succeeded the late Sir Edward H. Alderson as one of the Barons of the Exchequer, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. Sir William Channell retired from the bench recently, and it was only a fortnight or three weeks since that he was sworn a Privy Councillor.

#### MR. J. MILNES GASKELL.

Mr. James Milnes Gaskell for many years represented the borough of Wenlock in the House of Commons. He was the eldest son of Mr. Benjamin Gaskell, who represented the borough of Malden, Essex, from 1812 to 1826. He was born in 1810, and was educated at Eton, whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1820. He was first returned for Wenlock in 1832, and in the same year was married to a daughter of the late Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, M.P. On the formation of Sir Robert Peel's Government on September 6, 1841, Mr. Gaskell was appointed a Lord of the Treasury, and continued in that office until the retirement of the Ministry in 1846.

#### ROBERT GRAVES, A.R.A.

Mr. Graves, the last member of the Associate Engravers of the Old Class of the Royal Academy, died, on the 28th, in his 75th year, leaving the line en-

graving of "Lady Bowater," by Gainsborough (in the exhibition at the Academy), unfinished. His last complete plate was the portrait of Charles Dickens, after Mr. Frith, R.A., for the second volume of "Mr. Forster's Life." He was elected a member of the Royal Academy in 1836, when he had just completed his line engraving of "Lord Byron," after Thomas Phillips, R.A. Among his principal plates were several after Sir George Harvey, P.R.S.A., "The Highland Whisky-Still," after Sir Edwin Landseer; "Cromwell resolving to refuse the Crown," after C. Lucy; "The Slide," after T. Webster, R.A.; the "Origin of the Harp," after MacIise; "The Good Shepherd," and "Madonna," after Murillo; and "Via Dolorosa," after Raphael. In 1866 was exhibited the first of the series of engravings after Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds, which included "Mrs. Graham," "The Blue Boy," "Mrs. Lloyd," "Mrs. Siddons," "The Duchess of Devonshire," and "Mrs. Beaufoy." His grandfather was Robert Graves, a well-known printseller, 100 years ago, of Catherine-street, Strand. His father, Robert Graves, was considered the best judge of engravings of his time. He was the eldest brother of Mr. Henry Graves, the well-known print-publisher of Pall-mall.

#### DR. GUTHRIE.

Dr. Guthrie died at St. Leonard's-on-Sea on February 24, where he arrived for the benefit of his health on the 31st of last month. He died without a struggle, his last moments being most peaceful. Dr. Guthrie was born in 1803 at Brechin, in Forfarshire, where his father was a merchant and banker. He went through the curriculum of study prescribed by the Church of Scotland to candidates for the ministry at the University of Edinburgh, and devoted two additional winters to the study of chemistry, natural history, and anatomy. Meanwhile, he was licensed as a preacher by the Presbytery of Brechin in 1825. He subsequently spent six months in Paris, studying comparative anatomy, chemistry, and natural philosophy. Returning to Scotland he for two years conducted on behalf of his family the affairs of a bank agency in Brechin. In 1830, he became minister of Arbirlot, in his native county; and in 1837 was appointed one of the ministers of Old Greyfriars parish in Edinburgh. Here his eloquence, combined with devoted labours to reclaim the degraded population of one of the worst districts of the city, soon won

for him a high place in public estimation. In 1813 Dr. Guthrie joined the Free Church, and ministered to a large and influential congregation in Edinburgh. In 1815-46 he performed a great service to the Free Church, in his advocacy throughout the country of its schemes for providing manse or residences for its ministers. His zeal, however, was not diverted into mere denominational or sectarian channels. He came forward in 1817 as the advocate of Ragged schools; and to him the rapid extension of the system over the kingdom is very much to be ascribed. He also earnestly exerted himself in many ways in opposition to intemperance and other prevailing vices. He possessed great rhetorical talent; and his style was remarkable for the abundance and variety of the illustrations he used. Few public speakers have blended solemnity and deep pathos so intimately with the humorous, his tendency to which was more frequently than anything else pointed out as his fault. He was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May, 1862. The deepest interest was manifested as to the condition of the deceased from the moment when it became known that he was so seriously ill, especially in Scotland, from whence a very large number of telegrams have been received.

#### ADMIRAL W. HOTHAM, K.H.

The death is announced of Admiral William Hotham. He was the eldest son of the late Lieut.-Col. George Hotham, and entered the navy in 1803. In 1806 he was engaged at the defence of Gaeta and the storming of Capri, and in 1809 attended the expedition to Waleheren, taking part in the following year in the siege of Cadiz. In 1813 he participated in the operations against Fiume, Rovigno, and Trieste, during the siege of the citadel of which latter place he served on shore, and displayed an admirable degree of courage and activity. On June 8 of that year he had partial command of the boats at the destruction, near Orago, of a two-gun battery and the capture of four vessels laden with wine, and on the following July 7 accompanied a party that stormed, carried, and levelled the fortress of Farsina, mounting five long 18-pounders. From August, 1813, until January, 1814, he commanded a flotilla employed in the river Po, in co-operation with the Austrian army, and was honourably mentioned in the official letters of Captain Rowley to Admiral Fremantle, as well as in a despatch from Count Nugent to Earl

Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War. After his promotion to commander, June, 1814, he was appointed to the "Fervent," sloop, and afterwards proceeded to Bermuda and the West Indies. The "Fervent" was put out of commission in June, 1815, and Commander Hotham was out of active employment until April, 1824, when he obtained command of the "Sappho," eighteen, fitting for the Halifax station, whence he returned on his advancement to post rank, April 4, 1825. He accepted the half-pay of retirement on October 1, 1846. He became rear-admiral on the retired list in 1853, vice-admiral June 25, 1858, and admiral November 30, 1863. He was appointed a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, January 25, 1836.

#### MR. J. K. HUNTER.

Mr. John Kelso Hunter, whose writings were popular in the North, and among Scotchmen in foreign lands, died at Pollokshields, near Glasgow, on February 3, in the 71st year of his age. He wrote an autobiography under the title of "The Retrospect of an Artist's Life," published in 1868, the success of which encouraged him to bring out in 1870 a volume of "Life Sketches of Character." Mr. Hunter was a self-taught portrait-painter of some merit, and exhibited a remarkable portrait of himself as a cobbler in the Royal Academy's Exhibition more than a quarter of a century ago.

#### MR. J. S. LE FANU.

Mr. J. S. Le Fanu, author of "Uncle Silas" and other works of fiction, died in Dublin on February 7. He was between 60 and 60 years of age, and had long suffered from bronchitis. He was a member of the Irish bar, but had never practised. He became connected with the Irish press in early life, and continued occasionally to contribute until 1870. He was also at one time proprietor and editor of the *Dublin University Magazine*.

#### March.

#### COUNT BERNSTORFF

Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, who had been in a hopeless condition for some

torical and genealogical writings. He had been a Gentleman of her Majesty's Privy Chamber since 1834, having previously (in 1832) been nominated by William IV. a Knight of the Hanoverian Order of the Guelphs, and the following year created a Knight Bachelor. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and connected with several other learned institutions. The deceased was the seventh son of Capt. William John Madden, R.M., and nephew of Major-General Sir George Allan Madden, C.B. He married, first, in 1829, a daughter and co-heir of Mr. Robert Hayton, of Sunderland; and, secondly, in 1837, a daughter of William Robertson, LL.D., of Tottenham, Middlesex; this lady predeceased him on the 15th ult., in her 60th year.

#### MAJOR-GENERAL O'CONNOR, C.B.

Major-General Luke Smyth O'Connor, C.B., who died at Dresden on March 24, aged 67, for some years commanded the 1st (West India) Regiment of Foot, and while in that command—from 1853 till the end of 1855—rendered valuable services, which are recorded as follows in Colonel Hart's Army List:—"Colonel O'Connor commanded a brigade of detachments, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd West India Regiments, Enrolled Pensioners, Royal Gambia Militia; Commander Bradshaw, officers, sailors, and marines of H.M.S. 'Resistance,' against the Mahometan rebels of Combo, near the Gambia; stormed, captured, and totally destroyed the strongly stockaded town of Sabajee on June 1, 1853, and acquired by treaty a valuable tract of territory: the sense entertained by her Majesty's Government of the very effective manner in which this service was performed by Colonel O'Connor, and the officers and men under him, was conveyed by the Duke of Newcastle in a despatch to Colonel O'Connor. On July 17, 1855, he attacked and repulsed a numerous force of Mahometans commanded by Omar Hadajee, the Black Prophet, on which occasion twenty-nine men were killed and fifty-three wounded of 240 British, and Colonel O'Connor was severely wounded in the right arm and left shoulder. On August 4, 1855, he commanded the combined British and French forces against the Mahometan rebels of Upper and Lower Combos, and after four hours' fighting in the Pass of Baccow Kouko, stormed their stockade and totally routed the rebel forces, with a loss of 500 killed and wounded." In recognition of his services he was in 1856

nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath, and was among the officers receiving rewards for "distinguished or meritorious services." The deceased officer's first commission as ensign was dated April 27, 1827.

#### LORD OSSINGTON.

The death of Lord Ossington, who, as Mr. Evelyn Denison, was Speaker of the House of Commons during fifteen years, took place on the 7th inst. The Right Hon. John Evelyn Denison was eldest son of Mr. John Denison, of Ossington, in Nottinghamshire, some time M.P. for Chichester, by his second wife, a daughter of Mr. Samuel Eastwicke. He was born in 1800; he received his education at Eton, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he obtained the degree of M.A., and not long ago was created honorary D.C.L. At a very early age he entered into public life, becoming member for Newcastle-under-Lyme in July, 1823. He sat for that borough until 1826, when he migrated to Hastings, which he represented until 1831. In the following year he was chosen one of the members for his native county, Nottinghamshire. He was a Junior Lord of the Admiralty in Canning's Ministry of 1827. In December, 1832, after the Reform Act had passed, and Nottinghamshire had been separated into two divisions, he was elected for South Notts. He represented that constituency until 1837, when circumstances rendered it necessary to take refuge in the borough of Malton, under the influence of Earl Fitzwilliam. At the general election of 1841 he again sought the suffrages of the electors of Nottinghamshire, and it was to those of North Notts that he owed the seat which he occupied from that time until his retirement from the House of Commons in the early spring of last year.

He filled the Speaker's chair—as successor to Mr. Shaw Lefevre, now Lord Eversley—from the year 1857 down to last year; when, feeling that, after fifteen years of constant work, his health was no longer equal to the strain and fatigue of that position, he expressed his wish to be relieved from his official duties, and was summoned to the Upper House as Viscount Ossington, a title which he took from his family seat in Nottinghamshire. He refused the usual retiring pension. Lord Ossington had married, in July, 1827, Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck, third daughter of William, fourth Duke of Portland; but by his marriage had no issue. His title, therefore, has



become extinct. Several of his Lordship's brothers rose to eminence in their respective professions.

#### GENERAL B. B. PARLBY.

General Brook Bridges Parlbry, C.B., of the Madras army, died at Upper Norwood, Surrey, on March 7, in his 90th year. He was the son of the Rev. S. Parlbry, of Stoke-by-Nayland, Suffolk, and was entered at Rugby School in 1796, at the age of 13. Having entered the Madras army early in the present century, he was present as a lieutenant of the 7th N.I. in the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, at the battle of Argaum. He was wounded at the storming of Gawilghur on December 15, 1805, and also at the attack of Fort Sassoungarm on October 8, 1804. Having risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he served in the Burmese war in 1825, and commanded a brigade of the army in the attack upon Maha Bundoolah's trenches, near Rangoon, on December 8, 1824, and the following day he drove the Burmese in great confusion from all their strongholds; and, as the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Archibald Campbell, reported, "fully confirmed the high opinion entertained of him by his coolness and judgment." Colonel Parlbry likewise commanded the 28th and 43rd Regiments of Madras N.I. at the storming of Melloon in 1826, and was at the head of the 43rd Regiment again on February 9, when the Burmese army was defeated at Pagahm Mew. The King of Burmah then accepted the terms proposed by Sir Archibald Campbell, and the war terminated. The deceased officer attained the regimental rank of infantry colonel on November 13, 1829, and became a full general on October 13, 1857. For his services in Burmah he was made a Companion of the Bath in 1826.

#### PROFESSOR PARTRIDGE, F.R.S., F.R.C.S.

This eminent surgeon died at his residence, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square, after a short illness, on March 25. The deceased gentleman was born in Shropshire in 1805. He commenced his professional career at the Birmingham General Hospital as a pupil of the late Mr. Hodgson. He afterwards studied at St. Bartholomew's Hospital under Mr. Abernethy, and was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons in April, 1827, and a fellow in 1843. On the opening of

King's College in 1830, Mr. Partridge was appointed demonstrator, and subsequently professor of anatomy in the medical school of that institution. While holding the post of demonstrator of anatomy he was the instigator of finding out the murderers of the Italian boy, and causing the apprehension of the notorious Bishop and Williams, who were afterwards executed. Mr. Partridge filled in succession all the important offices within his reach in the profession. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1837, professor of anatomy in the Royal Academy in 1851, a member of the Council and Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1852 and 1864 respectively, and president of that body in 1866.

#### MR. R. W. THOMSON.

This distinguished Scottish engineer was inventor of the locomotive traction steam-engine, with broad india-rubber tires on the driving wheels, for use on common roads, also of the portable steam-crane and the elliptic rotary engine, as well as of an improved hydraulic floating dock. He died at Edinburgh on the 8th instant, in the 51st year of his age, having been born in 1822, at Stonehaven, where his father had established a factory. In early youth he showed great talents for mechanical science, and, after spending two years of his boyhood in America, served a practical apprenticeship in workshops at Aberdeen and Dundee, followed by learning the profession of a civil engineer at Glasgow, and subsequently with his cousin, Mr. Lyon, builder of the Dean Bridge at Edinburgh. He was employed in the blasting of Dunbar Castle, and in that of Dover Cliff, where he first applied the method of firing mines by electricity. He next passed into the employment of the Stephenson, as a railway engineer in the Eastern Counties. In 1852 he went to Java, to erect the machinery of a sugar-plantation, which he greatly improved, and, becoming a partner in the estate, resided there till 1862, when he came home and settled at Edinburgh.

#### ARCHDEACON SANDFORD, B.D.

The Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, after a protracted illness, died on his 72nd birthday, March 23. He was the son of Bishop Sandford, of Edinburgh, and brother to Sir R. Sandford, the eminent Greek scholar, of Glasgow. He

obtained first-class in classics at Oxford, was admitted member of Balliol College in 1824, received the title of B.D. in 1846, and appointed to the canonry of Worcester in 1851. In 1853 he was appointed examining chaplain for the diocese of Worcester, which office he held for seven years. He became rector of Slocchurch in 1854, and Bampton lecturer at Oxford in 1861. In 1864 he was appointed one of her Majesty's Commissioners for revising forms of clerical subscription. He wrote the biography of his father, and, in addition, the following works: "Porchilia; or Church, School, and Parish," in 1845; "Vox Cordis; or Breathings of the Heart," in 1849; "Bampton Lecture," in 1861; "Church of Rome," in 1862, and has delivered ten charges, and several visitations, lectures, and sermons. He had for some time been a member of the Lower House of Convocation, and exhibited great energy in its recent labours as chairman of the Committee of Convocation on Intemperance.

### April.

#### DR. BENICE JONES.

Dr. Henry Bence Jones, M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., honorary secretary of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, died this month, at his residence, 84, Brook-street, Grosvenor-square. This eminent physician was born Dec. 31, 1813, and was the son of Colonel William Jones, of Lowestoft. He was educated at Harrow School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the degree of B.A. in 1836, and M.A. in 1840. In 1836 he commenced the study of medicine, and especially devoted his attention to animal chemistry, through the pursuit of which he chiefly obtained his very great reputation in the treatment of some of the most painful and mysterious diseases to which man is liable. In 1846 he was elected physician to St. George's Hospital and a Fellow of the Royal Society, to whose "Transactions" he contributed several important papers; and he was also an active Fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society and the Chemical Society. In 1851 he gave a gratuitous course of lectures on animal chemistry to medical students in the laboratory of the Royal Institution. In 1860 he was unanimously elected honorary secretary of that body, and from that time till almost the very day of his death he manifested very great energy in the promotion

of the objects of the institution, especially experimental research; and he was greatly instrumental in the establishment of a donation fund for that purpose, and in the erection of extensive new laboratories. In the lecture-theatre he gave several important Friday evening discourses—in 1854, on "Wines;" in 1856, on "Ventilation;" in 1865, on "The Chemical Circulation in the Body;" and in 1866, on "The Existence in the Texture of Animals of a Fluorescent Substance closely resembling Quinine," in all of which he embodied the results of his own researches, elucidated by striking experimental illustrations. He was author of "Animal Chemistry," "Lectures on Pathology and Therapeutics," "Croonian Lectures on Matter and Force," "The Life and Letters of Faraday" (two editions), and "The Royal Institution, its Founder and First Professors," besides many papers inserted in scientific and medical journals. He was, moreover, exceedingly generous in promptly giving from his purse and from his vast store of medical knowledge. He was married, in 1842, to Lady Millicent Acheson, daughter of Archibald, the second Earl of Gosford, who survives him, with a family of several sons and daughters.

#### SIR G. ETIENNE CARTIER, BART.

The death of the above baronet took place in Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, on April 21. He had been sojourning in England for some months past for the benefit of his health. Born in 1815, he was called to the bar in 1835; and he succeeded to the leadership of the French Canadian Conservative party on the retirement of M. Lafontaine. In 1858 he was entrusted with the formation of a Government, and the Cartier-Macdonald Administration will be remembered, for very important events occurred during its existence. Sir G. Cartier was a delegate to England respecting the defences of Canada and the acquisition of the North-West territory.

#### CAPTAIN D. T. CHAMBERLAYNE.

The death is announced of one of the gallant six hundred who took part in the memorable charge of light cavalry at Balaklava. Capt. D. T. Chamberlayne entered the army as cornet in the 18th Light Dragoons. He embarked with his regiment for the Crimea on the breaking out of the war with Russia, and greatly distinguished himself by his courage and coolness in the fatal charge at Balaklava.



He rode up to the enemy's guns on the right hand of Lord Cardigan in the front of his regiment, and on fighting his way out with the few of his gallant comrades who remained, his favourite charger, "Pimento," was shot three times through the body before he fell, and then his gallant rider was seen standing within the range of the Russian batteries, the ground around him being ploughed up by round shot and shell, coolly taking off the saddle and holsters, and with them on his arm he quietly walked up to the rising ground, where what remained of the gallant six hundred had halted and formed up; and there he was received with a burst of hearty cheering. Capt. Chamberlayne was so much beloved by the whole of his troop that, on his retiring from the army, each man subscribed a day's pay and presented him with a very handsomely chased silver snuff box and a feelingly-expressed address. He died at his residence at Dartmouth, on April 16, after a protracted and painful illness, in the prime of life.

#### GENERAL FOX.

The death of this gentleman, on the 13th inst., at his residence in Addison-road, Kensington, removes from society a person associated with eminent names of the last generation. General Charles Richard Fox, who had reached his 77th year, was a son of the third Lord Holland, and grand-nephew to the celebrated Charles James Fox. He served in the navy from 1809 to 1813, and was present at the siege of Cadiz in 1810, and Tarragona in 1813. He took a commission in the first Grenadier Guards in 1815, and became lieutenant-colonel in 1830. He sat in the House of Commons successively for Calne, Tavistock, and Stroud. In 1832 he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and was subsequently secretary to the Master-General of the Ordnance. In 1830, he became equerry to Queen Adelaide, and in 1832 an aide-de-camp to William IV. At the time of his death he was Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, an office he had held for a considerable period. General Fox married, first, 1824, Lady Mary Fitzclarence, second daughter of the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan; and, secondly, 1865, Katherine, second daughter of the late Mr. John Maberly, M.P. His presence, while yet surviving, bore witness to the genial memories of Holland House, with those celebrated dinners where the wit of Charles Fox and of Sheridan, of "Tom Moore," Rogers, Luttrell, Jeffrey, and Sidney Smith, shone in many a festive conversation.

In the death of General Fox (observes the *Times*) we lose one more of the links which connect us with the generation now passing away. He did not take, like his father, a leading part in politics, but he inherited from both parents those social qualities for which his family has been distinguished for three generations. In him was combined the genial temperament of his father, with that keen and rapid intuition of character which Lady Holland possessed in an eminent degree. His conversation had a peculiar charm; it was so fresh and original, so Horatian in its inexhaustible joyousness and playful irony, so frank and fearless in denouncing shams and conventionalities, and in upholding right against wrong. Himself learned in various departments of archaeology, especially numismatics, he loved the society of those who had attained intellectual eminence in any branch of knowledge, following the traditions of Holland House, he lost no opportunity of bringing out latent merit in whatever rank of life it could be found, and at a time when strong prejudices of caste still kept asunder men who would have been the better for knowing each other, he gathered round him a society of peculiar interest from its cosmopolite variety. The leading feature of General Fox's character was the large-minded and far-reaching benevolence which pervaded his whole life. He was always trying to help others, and he was no ostentatious, indiscriminating charity, administered through the machinery of societies and paid agents. He liked to be his own almoner, and he devoted his life to this good work. His ready sympathy did not blind his judgment, and his bounty was enhanced by the tender and considerate manner in which it was bestowed. Though he had outlived the friends of his youth, his hold on the affections of all about him seemed to grow stronger as his life decayed, and the memory of his constant and unfailing kindness, enshrined as it is in so many grateful and mourning hearts, will not readily pass away.

#### MR. A. HARRIS.

The death of Mr. Augustus Harris, the well-known and popular stage manager of the Royal Italian Opera, took place on April 19, at his residence in Upper Bedford-place. On April 10, Mr Harris was attacked by a severe cold, which resulted in inflammation of the lungs, from which he expired. His loss will be deeply felt in artistic circles.

**MR. HOPE SCOTT, Q.C.**

Mr. J. R. Hope Scott, Q.C., died on April 29, after a protracted illness, having retired from the bar some years owing to impaired health. The deceased, James Robert Hope Scott, was the third son of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope, G.C.B., Lieut.-Governor of Chelsea Hospital. He was born in 1812, and was twice married, his first wife, Charlotte, being the daughter of the late Mr. J. Gibson Lockhart and granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott. On his marriage with this lady the deceased gentleman assumed the name of Scott in addition to his patronymic. His second wife was Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.

**BARON VON LIEBIG.**

The great chemist, Baron von Liebig, died on April 18. He was born at Darmstadt in May, 1803. After having completed his classical education at the Gymnasium of his native city, his father was induced to place him, when about 15 years of age, in a pharmaceutical establishment at Heppenheim. Here Justus Liebig remained not quite a year, and in 1819 he entered as a student at the University of Bonn, where he pursued his favourite studies with great industry and success. From Bonn he was transferred to Erlangen, where he continued to follow up the same course of study, and where he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine before he was of age. His most popular work, and that by which his name will be most widely remembered, is his "Familiar Letters on Chemistry considered in its Relation to Industry, Agriculture, and Physiology." Liebig must be honoured with the credit of having very extensively simplified the processes of organic analysis, and of having by their aid made numerous investigations which were formerly impracticable on account of the complexity of the methods then in use. He was also the sole author of nearly three hundred, and the joint author of from thirty to forty separate memoirs on chemical subjects, which have been published from time to time in the leading scientific journals at home and abroad. The scientific attainments and valuable researches of Liebig were rewarded with honours of various kinds in almost every country where natural science is held in honour.

**CAPTAIN H. B. LYNCH, C.B.**

Capt. Henry Blosse Lynch, C.B., formerly of the Indian navy, died at Paris on April 14, at the age of 66 years.

The deceased was a son of the late Major Henry Blosse Lynch, of Partree House, county Mayo, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Finnis, Esq., of Hythe, Kent, and was born in 1807. He entered the Indian navy in 1823, and was soon after employed in the survey of the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf, acting as Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee interpreter to the commodore commanding in those waters. From 1830 to 1832, in command of the "Enterprise" steam vessel, he examined the southern provinces of Persia, and the communications from the Gulf into Southern Persia. In 1834 he was second in command under the late General (then Colonel) Chesney, in the Euphrates expedition, and narrowly escaped with his life when one of the vessels composing it foundered. From 1837 to 1842 he was in command of the "Euphrates" and "Tigris," and in charge of the postal service across Syria, from Bagdad to Damascus. In 1842 he was in command of the Indian Naval Squadron off the coast of Scinde, and co-operated with the late Sir Charles Napier during the war against the Ameers of that country. From 1844 to 1851 he was employed in civil duties at Bombay as assistant-superintendent of the Indian navy, captain of the flagship "Hastings," officiating superintendent of the Indian navy, and member of the Oriental Examination Committee. In 1851, on the outbreak of the Burmese war, he was despatched to the river Irrawaddy in command of a squadron of steam frigates, and took part in the capture of Rangoon, the relief of Martaban, and the whole of the naval operations of the campaign. Capt. Lynch was created a Companion of the Bath for his services in Burmah, on December 3, 1853. In 1857, on the termination of the war with Persia, he was employed at Paris in conducting negotiations with the Persian Ambassador, which resulted in the Treaty of Paris, ratified on March 4, 1857, and he accompanied the Persian Ambassador to England in 1857-58. The Shah of Persia, in consideration of these services, nominated him a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion and Sun.

**MR. MACREADY.**

Mr. W. C. Macready, an actor whose name has been familiar to two generations of playgoers, and who commanded the esteem of a very large circle of friends, connected or unconnected with the drama, died, on Sunday, April 27, at Wellington-square, Cheltenham. A few weeks ago

he attained the good old age of 80, having been born in London, according to "Men of the Time," on March 3, 1793. His father (the manager of a provincial company and lessee of several theatres) desiring a different profession for his son, sent him to Rugby. In his 16th year, whilst expecting to proceed to Oxford, his father's affairs became so deeply embarrassed that the son resolved to bring to his aid those talents which the latter had made sacrifices to improve, and in June, 1810, made his first appearance at Birmingham, in the character of Romeo, where he was recognized as a valuable actor, and his exertions were soon crowned with success. Until Christmas, 1814, he remained with his father's company as a leading actor and stage director, performing with applause at many of the chief provincial towns. In the two following years he visited Ireland and Scotland, increasing his reputation, which was thought sufficient to warrant him in making his appearance on the London stage, and he accordingly came out at Covent Garden as Orestes, in "The Distressed Mother," Sept. 16, 1816. His first appearance caused much excitement, and Edmund Kean, among many other eminent actors, witnessed his performance, at the conclusion of which the announcement of the continuance of his engagement was hailed with great applause. He had, nevertheless, a hard battle to fight for many years. Kean, Kemble, and Young were the great favourites of the town; and the monopoly which limited the representation of Shakspeare's dramas to the two patent theatres narrowed the arena of competition. New comers, moreover, were not allowed to trespass upon what was considered the domain of established favourites. Under these circumstances he was compelled to refrain from assuming a number of Shakspearian characters in which he afterwards became a popular favourite. His *Virginia*, *Mirandola*, and *Rob Roy* were pronounced masterly impersonations; and after his success in the first he speedily took his place as a Shakspearian actor. On removing from Covent Garden to Drury Lane he became the original representative of the heroes in the late Mr. Sheridan Knowles's "*Caius Gracchus*" and "*William Tell*." He reappeared at Drury Lane in 1826, and from that time continued to rise in public estimation. Mr. Macready, who undertook in turn the management of the two patent theatres, and sustained considerable loss in his endeavour to elevate the character of dramatic amusements, went to the United States in 1826, and in 1828 visited Paris, where he was enthusi-

astically received. He revisited the United States in 1843-4, and again in 1849, on which occasion the jealousy of Mr. Forrest, the actor, led to a desperate riot at the Astor Opera House, at New York, in which he was performing, when he was attacked by the mob, and with difficulty escaped with his life. The military were called out to suppress the disturbances, and having fired, killed twenty-two men on the spot, besides seriously wounding thirty others. On his return to England, shortly afterwards, in the autumn of 1849, he commenced his final engagement at the Theatre Royal Haymarket, the completion of which he was obliged to relinquish on account of ill-health, but resumed it in the autumn of 1850, and brought it to a conclusion February 3, 1851. His benefit took place at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, February 26, and the Macready banquet, at which Lord Lytton presided, was celebrated soon afterwards. He retired to Sherborne, Dorsetshire, whence he removed to Cheltenham on his second marriage, occupying himself chiefly with schemes for the education of the poorer classes.

#### CAPTAIN H. PARKER, R.N.

Capt. Henry Parker, a retired captain, expired at his residence in Greenwich Hospital on April 7, in the 86th year of his age. Capt. Parker was signal midshipman and aide-de-camp to Capt. Hargood, in the "*Bellerophon*," at the ever-memorable battle of Trafalgar, and had the honour of nailing the colours to the stump of the mizenmast when five of the enemy's line-of-battle ships were firing into the dismantled ship. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in April, 1808, and served on the North American station, taking part in the various operations during the war. Capt. Parker was flag lieutenant to Admiral Sir John Warren, the commander-in-chief on the North American station, and became a commander at the peace of 1814, and after a service in the Irish Coastguard he was appointed, in 1853, in reward for his services, a commander of Greenwich Hospital, and at the exodus of that institution he elected to retain his honourable position. Capt. Parker is the last of the original establishment of Greenwich Hospital. He married a sister of the present Earl of Huntingdon, and leaves four sons connected with the army, navy, and marines.

#### SIR W. TITE, M.P.

Sir William Tite, M.P., F.R.S., who has been one of the representatives of



Bath since 1855, died at Torquay on April 20. Towards the end of last month Sir William was attacked with bronchitis; inflammation of the throat supervened, and the administration of nutriment became a matter of the greatest difficulty. The lamented gentleman was in his 71st year. By profession an architect, pupil to Mr. Laing, who designed the Custom House, he superintended, when a mere youth, the rebuilding of the church of St. Dunstan-in-the-East. As one of the earliest and best specimens of restored Gothic architecture, this contributed much to his reputation, and in early life he obtained a large share of public favour. He built the great Gothic church in Gordon-square for the late Edward Irving, and many public and private buildings, including some of the largest railway stations in England and France. In 1840 he was appointed architect of the new Royal Exchange. In 1835 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1839 of the Society of Antiquaries; was for some time President of the Architectural Society, and was President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He strongly opposed the adoption of the Gothic style of architecture for the new Foreign Office. Sir William Tite, who paid attention to the subject of banking, was on the select committee on the Bank Charter in 1856, was a director of the London and Westminster Bank, and Governor of the Bank of Egypt.

#### MR. H. W. WILBERFORCE.

The death is recorded of a gentleman once well known as a leader of the High Church party in the Church of England, and for the last twenty years a distinguished convert to the Church of Rome—Mr. Henry William Wilberforce, formerly vicar of East Farleigh, Kent. He was the youngest son of the late eminent philanthropist, William Wilberforce, and consequently brother of the late Archdeacon R. J. Wilberforce, of Mr. W. Wilberforce, formerly M.P. for Hull, and of the Bishop of Winchester. He was born in 1809, and graduated in high honours at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1830. For some years after his secession to the Roman Catholic Church he was proprietor and editor of the *Catholic Standard*, which was subsequently called the *Weekly Register*. Mr. H. W. Wilberforce was also a magistrate for the county of Galway. Early in life he married one of the daughters of the late Rev. J. Sargent, of Lavington, Sussex, the eldest of whom was the wife of Bishop Wilberforce.

## May.

### THE BISHOP OF ARGYLE.

The Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, LL.D., D.C.L., the Bishop of Argyle and the Isles, who expired on May 22, was the eldest son of Mr. John Ewing, of Sheelagreen, Aberdeenshire, and was born in 1815. He was consecrated Bishop of Argyle in 1847. He married, first, in 1835, the eldest daughter of Major Ludovic Stewart, of Pittyvaich, Banffshire, who died in 1856; and in 1862 he married, secondly, Lady Alice Louisa, third daughter of the eighteenth Earl of Morton. The late bishop had written a considerable number of books and tracts. He was also the author of one of the most popular hymn tunes, that to which "Jerusalem the Golden" is usually sung, and which in most collections bears the name of "Ewing." Theologically, Dr. Ewing belonged to the subdivision of the Liberal party in the Church, which has been called "Broad, with unction." In private life he was a very kindly and benevolent man.

### MR. E. DEUTSCH.

The death of Mr. Emanuel Deutsch is announced as having taken place at Alexandria on May 13. Mr. Deutsch had long been in ill-health, and was on a former occasion obliged to seek refuge in a prolonged absence from his duties. Some weeks since he left England for the East. Mr. Deutsch, though still comparatively a young man, had earned for himself an eminent name in literature. He was one of those acute and industrious Germans who do so much of the work of learning in this country and in France. He early became connected with the British Museum, where he has ever since been employed. He had an excellent faculty, cultivated by practice, of deciphering inscriptions. To the general public he is principally known by his brilliant article on the Talmud, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* some six years ago. It was succeeded some time after by an article in the *Quarterly Review* on Islam. Besides these, Mr. Deutsch contributed the excellent article on "Versions" to Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible."

## SIR JAMES DUKE, BART.

Alderman Sir James Duke, Bart., died at Loughton Lodge, his seat, near Lewes, Sussex, on May 28. Sir James was the third and only surviving son of Mr. John Duke, a merchant of Montrose, where he was born in 1792. He married, in 1862, the eldest daughter of Mr. William Bennett, of Aberdeen Park, Highbury. He was originally brought up to the navy, and was secretary to Admiral Sir John Gore at the close of the general war, and did not commence his commercial career in the City of London till 1819. He was chosen Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1836, and in 1840 was elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, on the resignation of Mr. Harmer. He served the office of Lord Mayor in 1848, and was created a baronet at the close of his mayoralty at the opening of the Corn Exchange. Sir James had represented Boston in the House of Commons from 1837 to 1839, and was returned one of the members for the City of London from 1849 to July, 1865. He was a Whig in politics, and supported several Liberal Governments during the period he was in Parliament. Sir James was a deputy-lieutenant of Lincolnshire and of Middlesex, a commissioner of lieutenancy of London, and also a magistrate of Sussex. He is succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, born in 1865.

## JOHN STUART MILL.

Mr. John Stuart Mill died at Avignon on May 9, from an attack of erysipelas, after but four days' illness. The first doctor who was called in gave no hope of recovery. A telegram was sent to Dr. Gurney, of Nice, asking him to come at once; and he arrived on Tuesday evening (6th), and remained till the end. The disease proved fatal by the closing of the throat. To the last the mind of the sufferer was perfectly clear. Mr. Mill was the son of Mr. James Mill, the historian of India, and was born in 1806 in London, and educated at home by his father. Mr. Mill, the elder, was a great friend of Jeremy Bentham, and no doubt the younger Mill benefited greatly by this intimacy, for he was one of a circle of young disciples who gathered around Bentham and Mill, many of whom (as Mr. Grote, the historian of Greece) subsequently rose to distinction. John Stuart Mill was sent to France in 1820, and lived for a time with Sir Samuel Bentham, the brother of Jeremy, and also in

the house of the well-known French economist, Jean Baptiste Say, where his education was further improved and his mind expanded by daily intercourse with scientific and literary men. His intimate knowledge of French history, politics, and literature, is due in a large measure to this residence in France. In 1823 he entered the India House, and became a clerk in the Examiner's office, where his father was assistant-examiner. For thirty-three years he continued in the department of the office named the Political, or the transactions of the company with the native states; although he occasionally acted in other departments, as Public Works and Education. In 1831 he was appointed assistant-examiner, but without any change in his duties, and he held this office until 1838, when, on the retirement of Mr. Peacock, the Examiner, and Mr. Hill, the first assistant, he was appointed to Mr. Peacock's place at the head of the department. He was understood to have energetically assisted the directors in opposing the measure for the transfer of the India Government to the Crown, which was carried in 1858. He was offered by Lord Stanley a seat at the new Indian Council, but declined on the score of failing health, and retired from office in October of the same year on a compensating allowance. Mr. Mill became an author at a very early age, and besides a considerable amount of periodical writing, has produced an extensive and important series of works. His first publications consisted of articles in the *Westminster Review*, and in 1827 he edited Bentham's work entitled "Rationale of Judicial Evidence." He took an active part in the political discussions that followed the Revolution of 1830 in France, and the Reform Bill movement in England; and from 1835 to 1840 was editor and, along with Sir W. Molesworth, proprietor of the *London and Westminster Review*, where many articles of his own appeared. He was the author of "A System of Logic" (1843), "Essays on Unsettled Questions of Political Economy" (1844), "Principles of Political Economy" (1848), "Liberty" (1859), "Considerations on Representative Government" (1861), "Utilitarianism" (1862), "Auguste Comte and Positivism," an "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy" (1865), "England and Ireland" (1868), "The Subjection of Women" (1869), &c. In 1865 Mr. Mill was returned for Westminster; but at the general election in 1868 he was defeated by Mr. W. H. Smith. This closed his short parliamentary career, during which



he always acted with the advanced Liberals. It must be confessed that his later essays in speculation on the ethical principles of political and social reform had not commanded much success. His authority had, on the whole, been rather diminished since the three years he sat in the House of Commons by his attempts to urge the practical application of those principles. The enthusiastic hopes of his supporters at the Westminster election of 1865 were disappointed, in some degree, by his manifest failure as a statesman. But as a great scholar and original thinker upon all subjects belonging to the Science of Mind, and as a man of many very great and lofty qualities, moral as well as intellectual, he is justly esteemed by those who could not follow his guidance in controversies of the day.

#### MAJOR-GEN. W. H. MILLER, C.B.

We have to record the death of Major-Gen. W. H. Miller, C.B., at his residence in Kildare Gardens, Bayswater, on Thursday, May 15. A son of Major Miller, of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), the deceased was born at Windsor in May, 1805, and consequently had attained the age of 68. He entered the Madras Artillery in 1823, and, after a long and faithful service of thirty-six years in India, retired from the army in 1860. He served with the force of Col. Evans, C.B., employed against the insurgents in the Nuggur province of Mysore in April, May, and June, 1831, and was present in the affairs of April 23 and 30, May 1, 2, and 16, 1831. But the gallant general is chiefly known for his services with the Saugor Field Division, under General Sir C. Whitlock, in the Bundelkund campaign of 1858, where, as brigadier commanding the artillery, he was present at the actions of Jheenjun, April 10, and of Kubrae, April 17, 1858. At the famous battle of Banda, April 19, 1858, while performing a conspicuous act of gallantry, he was severely wounded, losing his right arm. For these distinguished services he was appointed a colonel and aide-de-camp to the Queen. He was also nominated a Companion of the Bath on attaining the honorary rank of major-general. Shortly after his retirement from the Indian army, and arrival in England (1860), General Miller set his vigorous mind to work in order to vindicate the right of his renowned grandfather, Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, to be regarded as the first inventor of practical steam navigation. This is admirably done in a published "Letter to Bennett Woodcroft, Esq., F.R.S.," of the Patent

Office. For several years past the name of General Miller has occasionally been brought before the public in connexion with the famous Banda and Kirwee case of prize. As president of the prize committee, his labours were incessant in the cause, and the worry and brainwork attendant on such a difficult position perhaps hastened the end.

#### LORD W. PAGET.

The death is announced of Lord William Paget, R.N., after a protracted illness of some years' duration. His lordship was the second son by his first wife, Lady Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Jersey, of the late Field-Marshal the Marquis of Anglesey, and was born March 1, 1803. He entered the navy April 1, 1817, as a first-class volunteer on board the "Glasgow." He has not, since 1833, been actively employed. Lord William Paget sat in Parliament for a short time in 1826, as member for Carnarvon, and from 1841 until 1847 for Andover, in the Liberal interest.

#### DR. T. ROBINSON.

Dr. Thomas Robinson, one of the canons of Rochester Cathedral, died at his residence in the Cathedral Precinct, at a very advanced age, on May 13. Dr. Robinson was formerly Master of the Temple, a preferment he resigned some years since in consequence of his age and infirmities. He was Archdeacon of Madras under Bishop Heber. His strength had failed greatly of late years, and he had been unable to perform his duties for some time past.

#### THE EARL OF ZETLAND.

The death of the Earl of Zetland took place somewhat suddenly at his country seat, Aske Hall, Richmond, Yorkshire, on May 6. His lordship was first taken ill about two years ago, since which time he has been a frequent sufferer from paralysis; and previous to the recent parliamentary election for Richmond his illness assumed an alarming shape, but under the care of his medical attendant he made considerable progress towards recovery. He continued in this improved state of health until May 6, when he was seized with a sudden general exhaustion, under which he sank gradually, and expired about

10.40 a.m. The Right Hon. Thomas Dundas, Earl of Zetland, was the eldest son of the seven children of the family of Lawrence, first Earl of Zetland. He was born February 5, 1795, was educated at Harrow, and shortly after attaining his majority, in 1818, entered Parliament as representative for the family borough of Richmond, which he represented in the House of Commons up to 1830. He sat in Parliament as member from 1830 to 1832, again from 1833 to 1835, and, lastly, represented Richmond from 1835 to 1839. The late earl, who succeeded to the family honours on the death of his father in February, 1839, married, September 6, 1823, Sophia Jane, daughter of the late Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart., who died in 1865. In consequence of there being no issue from the marriage, the earldom and other honours devolved upon his nephew, Lawrence, recently of the Royal Horse Guards, eldest son of the late earl's youngest brother, the Hon. John Charles Dundas. The late Earl of Zetland had for nearly half a century been one of the most honourable supporters of the Turf, and during some years achieved many successes. He belonged to that honourable class of noblemen which had the late Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Jersey, the Duke of Cleveland, and the Duke of Grafton among its members, and he retained his connexion with the Turf up to his death. The late Lord Zetland was made a Knight of the Order of the Thistle in 1861, and only a few weeks ago was further honoured by being created a Knight of the Garter. Lord Zetland had for many years occupied the highest prominence among the Masonic body of England, having been appointed Grand Master Mason of England on the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. He only resigned that proud position in the Masonic fraternity two winters ago, when the present Marquis of Ripon, the Lord President of the Council, succeeded him in that exalted office in the craft.

## June.

### DR. T. GARNIER.

The death is announced of the Very Rev. Thomas Garnier, D.C.L. Oxon, late Dean of Winchester. He took his degree of B.C.L. in the year 1800, and proceeded D.C.L. exactly half a century later. He was

elected fellow of All Souls' College, and retained that post until he was appointed rector of Bishopstoke, Hants, in 1807. He held the living until 1868. In 1840, when he was 65 years of age, he was appointed head of the Chapter of Winchester, in which cathedral he served for thirty-two years, nearly always taking a prominent part in the morning and afternoon services, and even in his later days reading one or other, sometimes both, of the Lessons at Evensong. He died on June 29, in his residence in the Close, under the shadow of the cathedral which he had ruled so long, at the great age of 98 years.

### VICE-ADMIRAL W. GRIFFIN.

Vice-Admiral William Griffin, on the reserved half-pay list, died at his residence, Windsor-terrace, Plymouth, on June 7, in his 75th year. This gallant officer was son of the late William Griffin, Esq., of Norwich. He entered the navy on August 13, 1812, as a first-class volunteer on board the "*Horatio*," 38, Captain Lord G. Stuart. While engaged on detached service in connexion with that vessel in the North Sea, in 1813, he was taken prisoner by the French. As second captain of the "*Ganges*," he participated during 1840 in the operations on the coast of Syria. He was paid off from the "*Ganges*" in 1842, and promoted to the rank of captain in October of the same year for his Syrian services. He had not since been employed. His commission as rear-admiral bore date May, 1862, and that as vice-admiral October, 1867.

### MR. THORNTON HUNT.

The death of Mr. Thornton Hunt, in the 64th year of his age, took place on June 25. The eldest son of Leigh Hunt, his first exertions were directed towards art, and he studied drawing and painting. But he soon turned aside into the paths of journalism. He took a large share in producing the *Spectator* when it was in the hands of its founder, Mr. Rintoul. Essentially industrious, his efforts were not confined to one newspaper, and his pen supplied, at this and other times, many contributions to the daily press. In 1845 he published the "*Foster Brother*," a Venetian novel, having been led to the subject by his Italian experience when a youth, in the society of his father, Shelley, and other well-known names. In 1850, in conjunction with politicians holding similar views, he aided materially in

founding the *Leader*, and subsequently became one of the principal writers on the *Globe*. In 1861 he joined the *Daily Telegraph*.

#### LORD MARJORIBANKS.

The Right Hon. David Robertson, Baron Marjoribanks, of Ladykirk, Berwickshire, who was raised to the Peerage only a few days back, died, at his residence in Upper Brook-street, on the 19th inst. His lordship was born April 2, 1797, the fourth son of Sir John Marjoribanks of Lees, in the county of Berwick, by Alison, his wife, eldest daughter of William Ramsay, Esq., of Barnton, in the county of Mid-Lothian, and was uncle to the present Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart. He had received his education at the University of Edinburgh, and represented that county in Parliament from 1859 till his recent elevation to the Upper House. Lord Marjoribanks was Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Berwickshire. He married, Sept. 10, 1834, Marianne Sarah, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bart., and coheir of her mother, Margaret, only child and heir of William Robertson, Esq., of Ladykirk: and his lordship assumed, in consequence, the surname and arms of Robertson in lieu of those of Marjoribanks. He leaves two daughters, Sarah, wife of Watson Askew, Esq., of Pallinsburn, Northumberland, and Alicia Margaret, Lady Ingilby. Lord Marjoribanks having died while the patent of creation was in process of completion, the barony would appear to have fallen through without taking effect, a case not without parallel in the history of peerages.

#### HIRAM POWERS.

Hiram Powers, the American sculptor, died of heart disease at Florence on June 27. Mr. Powers was born at Woodstock, Vermont, U.S., on July 29, 1805. He was originally waiter at an hotel, then traveller for a tradesman and afterwards apprenticed to a clockmaker in Cincinnati. He received his first instruction in modelling from a Prussian sculptor, who happened to be in that city. He produced, in 1838, his figure of "Eve," followed by the "Greek Slave," exhibited in the London Exhibition of 1851, and perhaps the most popular piece of sculpture in the first Crystal Palace.

#### MR. JACOB WALEY.

The death is announced, at the age of 54, of Mr. Jacob Waley, the eminent

conveyancer, and lately Professor of Political Economy at University College. Mr. Waley was the first M.A. of the London University, and took honours of the highest grade, passing first in the first-class both in classics and mathematics. Mr. Waley was the second gentleman of the Jewish religion called to the Bar in this country, Sir Francis Goldsmid, Bart., being the first. He was an active member of the governing body of his university, and one of the secretaries of the Political Economy Club.

### July.

#### MRS. CLIVE.

This distinguished lady, Caroline Clive, the authoress of "Paul Ferroll," whose lamentable death by an accident from fire occurred on the 12th inst., at Whitfield, Herefordshire, was the second daughter and coheir of Edmund Meysey Wigley, Esq., of Shakenhurst, in the county of Worcester, and was born in 1801. In 1840 she was married to the Rev. Archer Clive, of Whitfield, J.P. and D.L., who was formerly rector of Solihull, Warwickshire, and is now Chancellor and Prebendary of Hereford Cathedral. Besides "Paul Ferroll," Mrs. Clive was authoress of "Paul Ferroll's Wife," and a volume of poems, published under the signature of "V."

#### MR. M'CLEAN, M.P.

The death of Mr. John Robinson M'Clean, M.P., happened at Stonehouse, near Ramsgate, on July 18. Mr. M'Clean, who was a son of the late Francis M'Clean, of Belfast, was born in 1818, was an eminent member of the civil engineering profession, and at one time President of the London Institution. He was educated at a school at Tillicoultry, N.B., and afterwards at the Belfast Institution and at the University of Glasgow. He was a fellow of the Astronomical, the Geological, and of other scientific societies, and has presided as a director and as chairman or deputy-chairman over one or two telegraph companies, and also many other important companies connected with his profession. He had represented the Eastern Division of Staffordshire in the Liberal interest since the last general election, and he was an unsuccessful candidate for Belfast, in 1857, against Sir Hugh (now Lord) Cairns.



## PRINCE PONIATOWSKI.

Prince Poniatowski died suddenly on the afternoon of July 3. Prince Poniatowski was born in Rome in 1816, and having been naturalized in Tuscany, was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, London, and Brussels successively. In 1854 he was naturalized in France, and was afterwards appointed a senator. He was an accomplished musician and composer, and during the last three years maintained himself in London by his musical talents.

## SIR D. SALOMONS.

The death of Alderman Sir David Salomons, Bart., M.P., took place on July 18, at Great Cumberland-place, Hyde Park, after an illness of several months. The deceased baronet was second son of Mr. Levy Salomons, a retired merchant and underwriter of London. Sir David was in his 76th year. He had filled all the chief civic offices, having been High Sheriff, Alderman, and Lord Mayor. He was also a magistrate for Kent, Sussex, and Middlesex, and had represented Greenwich in Parliament from 1851 to 1852, and again from 1859 to the present time. Sir David was the first of the Jewish faith who took his seat in Parliament. Sir David was created a baronet in 1869, with special remainder to his nephew, David Lionel, only son of his brother, Mr. Philip Salomons, born in 1851, by whom he is succeeded.

## LORD WESTBURY.

Lord Westbury died at his residence at Lancaster-gate, Hyde Park, early on the morning of the 20th, at the age of 73 years.

The son of a physician at Bristol, of ancient Welsh extraction, whose family name was identified by the Herald and pedigree hunters with that of "Ap-Ithel," Richard Bethell was born on the 30th of June, 1800. Having received his early education at a school at Bristol, he showed such a precocity in scholarship and also in mathematical learning, that at the age of little more than fourteen, while still wearing (as he himself said) a jacket and a frill, he presented himself at Wadham College, Oxford, for matriculation. His extreme youth caused at first a little demur, but he was matriculated and had worn the commoner's gown for only a few months when he gained, being then but just fifteen, a Scholarship in his College—an instance of precocity paralleled at

Oxford, in modern times, so far as we are aware, only by the late Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter.

His undergraduate career was one of high promise, and, in the Easter Term of 1818, when he had not yet completed his eighteenth year, he took his Bachelor's degree, obtaining a first-class in the classical and a second in the mathematical schools.

For some time after taking his degree, Mr. Bethell resided in Oxford, taking pupils; he succeeded to a Fellowship in his own College; and having previously been entered as a student at the Middle Temple, he was called to the Bar in Michaelmas Term, 1823. He now settled in London, and applied himself heart and soul to the study of the profession which he had chosen, and selecting the Chancery Bar, soon succeeded in obtaining a sufficient share of business to warrant him in throwing up his Fellowship by contracting an early marriage. In 1826 he married Elinor Mary, daughter of the late Mr. Robert Abraham.

Mr. Bethell, as the tradition runs at Oxford, owed much of his early distinction at the Bar to the high impression which he had produced while resident at the University upon the late Dr. Gilbert, the Head of Brasenose College, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester, who had examined him for his Bachelor's degree. The story is told as follows: A suit in Chancery was instituted against the College by a wealthy and influential nobleman in the east of England. An unfavourable decision would have seriously affected the interests of the Society over which Dr. Gilbert presided, and, mindful of the ability displayed by Mr. Bethell at his examination for honours, he selected the young Chancery barrister as counsel for the College. It is said that an eminent authority advised the College to agree to a compromise, and that the Principal and Fellows were only encouraged to resist the action by the earnest representations of Mr. Bethell, then a young man and untried lawyer. The College persevered, and Mr. Bethell's self-reliance was rewarded by success. Briefs rapidly flowed in, and Mr. Bethell's practice continued to increase until early in 1840, when Lord Cottenham, then Lord Chancellor, gave him a silk gown. Mr. Bethell, by the promotion of Messrs. Knight-Bruce and Wigram to the Bench, became, before reaching middle life, the leader of the Bar in the Chancery Court, and his practice rapidly multiplied, the more rapidly, indeed, because it was generally believed that his opinions had an almost irresistible influence over the de-

cisions of Sir Lancelot Shadwell. He continued to practise with almost equal success in the Equity Courts under the successive Chancellorships of Lords Cottenham, Lyndhurst, Truro, St. Leonards, and Cranworth; and it may indeed be said that for upwards of twenty years there was hardly a Chancery suit of importance in which he was not engaged. Among the most interesting and important of such cases were the great Bridgewater Will Case (which gave to the Brownlow family the large fortune they inherited from the Duke of Bridgewater free from the conditions imposed on Lord Alford, as contrary to public policy), and also the Montrose Peerage Case and the great Shrewsbury Case, in which he appeared first as Attorney-General, *virtute officii*, as assessor on behalf of the Crown, and subsequently, when out of office, as counsel for the infant son of the late Duke of Norfolk, who was made a party to the suit.

Unlike many of his legal brethren, Mr. Bethell was in no hurry to enter the House of Commons, and it was not until 1847 that he offered himself to a Parliamentary constituency as a candidate for their suffrages. In that year he contested Shaftesbury as a Liberal Conservative, but without success, being defeated by Mr. Richard B. Sheridan. In April, 1851, however, he was more successful at Aylesbury, where he presented himself to the electors with a far more advanced political creed, and was returned to the Lower House as a "Liberal, favourable to the Ballot and to the abolition of Church-rates." He continued to represent that constituency down to April, 1859, when a difference arose as to the terms of a compromise with the Conservative party, and he withdrew from the contest. He was, however, almost immediately invited by the Liberals of Wolverhampton to succeed Mr. Thomas Thornely in the representation of that important borough, and he continued undisturbed in the possession of his seat until called to the Upper House.

Almost immediately upon being elected for Aylesbury he had been nominated Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In December, 1852, he for the first time took office, becoming Solicitor-General under the Coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen, when he received the customary honour of knighthood. At this time many rumours of intended legal reforms were current, and, in all probability, had the circumstances of the time been different, Law Reform would have occupied the serious attention of Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues. But the Crimean war

rendered this impossible. Still, the services of Sir Richard Bethell were of much use to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Gladstone) in carrying his Succession Duty Bill, many of the points in which were so intricate and so strictly technical that not even Mr. Gladstone—and, indeed, no one but an Equity lawyer—could have made them plain to the comprehension of the House of Commons. In fact, a great part of the success of this measure was confessedly due to Sir Richard Bethell, who also took an active part about the same time in carrying the Bills for reforming the University of Oxford and for abolishing the Ecclesiastical Courts. In the winter of 1856-7 Sir Richard Bethell became Attorney-General, on the promotion of Sir Alexander Cockburn to the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas. Two important measures of legal reform were added to the Statute Book in 1857—the Probate and Administration Act and the Divorce Act. It was the duty of Sir Richard Bethell, as Attorney-General, to introduce these Bills into Parliament, and to take on himself the principal share of the work of carrying them through the Lower House. This duty he discharged most efficiently, although upon the question of Divorce he had to reckon among the resolute opponents of the measure his old colleague, Mr. Gladstone.

When the new Court of Probate and Matrimonial Causes was first formed, the Judgeship was offered by Lord Palmerston to Sir Richard Bethell, and it cannot be doubted that the public regarded Sir Richard Bethell as eminently fitted to discharge its functions. He, however, declined the offer, being conscious that a higher dignity would be within his grasp if he would only wait for it.

During the Session of 1857 the new Attorney-General carried also through the House of Commons another important measure—the Fraudulent Trustees Bill—which remedied a defect much felt in our criminal jurisdiction, for up to that time a trustee who robbed a helpless woman or orphan was regarded, not as a criminal, but only as a debtor. The British Bank scandal had then just occurred, and the Attorney-General declared that he would try without delay whether the law was not strong enough to meet the case of its directors. He did so, and the result was that they were tried for a criminal offence, and convicted. Sir Richard Bethell also had a large share in the preparation of the Conspiracy Bill of February, 1858, the rejection of which caused the retirement of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet from office; and his statement of the law of England



in cases of conspiracy as it stood gave rise to a sharp passage of arms between Sir Richard and several of the Law Lords, including Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Campbell, and the then Chancellor, Lord Cranworth.

The year 1859 was not distinguished by any great measures of Law Reform. The Conservatives, under Lord Derby, were in office, and their Solicitor-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, brought in a Bill for simplifying and facilitating the transfer of land. Sir Richard Bethell, though sitting on the Opposition benches, heartily praised Sir Hugh Cairns' speech, but warned him of the difficulties he would have to encounter before he could hope to effect the desired reforms. A change of Ministry occurred soon afterwards, and the matter was left over for future legislation.

When, in the summer of the last-named year, Lord Palmerston returned to office, some little surprise was expressed, and probably more still was felt, at the fact of the Great Seal not being offered to the eminent Equity lawyer who had so effectively served his party, and who, as an Equity lawyer, was at all events as well fitted for the Woolsack as "plain John Campbell," who had reaped all his laurels at *Nisi Prius*. But Lord Campbell, too, had "claims" on his party; and it seemed ungenerous to grudge the Lord Chief Justice, then close upon eighty, a dignity which, in all human probability, he would not live long to enjoy. And so it turned out; for on the sudden death of Lord Campbell, in June, 1861, the Seals were offered to Sir Richard Bethell, and a few days later he took his seat upon the Woolsack as Lord Westbury, of Westbury, in the county of Wilts. He did not, however, go to the Upper House until he had done one further service to the profession and to the country at large by passing the Bankruptcy Bill of 1861 through the Lower House—a task of no small magnitude and difficulty.

On the Woolsack and in the Equity Courts, during his three years' tenure of the Great Seal, Lord Westbury made his mark, and there are few of his predecessors in the present century whose judgments can be said to stand higher.

Lord Westbury was a fluent speaker, though he never rose into high flights of oratory, and his mincing lisp and drawl and apparently affected style of pronunciation must have affected his rhetorical fame, even if he had had other pretensions to it. His great merits, both as an advocate and as a Judge, were ease and self-possession, clearness of thought, exquisite precision and conciseness of language, and a marvellously acute logical faculty, with

a mind capable at once of entertaining the broadest views and the most subtle distinctions. It must be owned also that his words sounded, and read also too often "like butter," when in reality they were "very swords," so keen was the edge of that razor-like wit to which he could give play, if provoked.

We will not re-open here the melancholy question of Lord Westbury's fall. It will be enough to say that in the summer of 1865 scandals which, though not originating with him, it was felt he ought to have detected and checked, were brought to light in connexion with the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, and in consequence of these, and of an adverse motion proposed in the House of Commons, he resigned the Great Seal in the July of that year. His resignation was accepted by her Majesty, and Lord Cranworth again took his seat upon the Woolsack as his successor.

From that date down to a recent period Lord Westbury constantly took part, as one of the "Law Lords," in the decision of Appeals brought before the House of Peers. It should be added that as "Arbitrator" in the many delicate and important questions which arose out of the European Life Assurance Company, his lordship showed all the ability which had marked his tenure of the Woolsack. Above all, it must not be forgotten that many years ago, when the subject was far from popular, Sir Richard Bethell took a great interest in the improvement of our system of education for legal students, and that, as Chairman of the Council of Legal Education, he largely contributed to bring about those measures which have been recently adopted with this object by the Inns of Court.

Lord Westbury was twice married; by his first wife, Miss Abraham, he had a family of four sons and four daughters. He married as his second wife Miss Eleanor Margaret Tennant, on the 25th of January last.

His title passes to his eldest son, the Hon. Richard Augustus Bethell, who was born in March, 1830, and who married in July, 1851, Miss Mary Florence Luttrell, youngest daughter of the Rev. Alexander Fownes Luttrell, rector of East Quantoxhead, Somersetshire, by whom he has a youthful family; his eldest son, Richard Luttrell Pilkington Bethell, now heir-apparent to the title, having been born in April, 1852.

REV. J. WILSON.

The Rev. John Wilson, D.D., formerly President of Trinity College, Oxford, died

K

at his residence, Wood Perry House, near Oxford. Dr. Wilson took a first-class in classics in 1809 (the late Dean Gaisford being one of his examiners), the year after Sir Robert Peel had obtained a double-first, while Mr. Keble took his degree in the subsequent year. He was appointed President of his College in 1850, but resigned the office in 1866.

### THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Samuel Wilberforce, for upwards of a quarter of a century Bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester, was born at Broomfield House, Clapham-common, Surrey, on the 7th of September, 1805; he had not, therefore, completed his 68th year at the time of his death. He was the third son of William Wilberforce, celebrated for the share he had in the abolition of the slave trade, and the author of the well-known and ever-popular "Practical View of Christianity," who, after representing Hull and his native county, Yorkshire, in Parliament for many years, died in July, 1833, full of days, and was honoured by a public funeral and a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Half a century and more ago our public schools were not what now they are, and the Evangelical party had imbibed from the writings of Cowper and from other sources a mistrust of them as seminaries of Christian education. In fact, as a rule, many of this school kept aloof from them, and the elder Wilberforce, who tells us in his diary that he looked forward to no prospect more hopefully than to his sons becoming good and worthy ministers of the English Church, formed no exception to the rule. Accordingly, he sent his son Samuel to Edgbaston, near Birmingham, to receive his early education under the late Archdeacon Hudson. In due course of time, having completed his studies, he was entered as a commoner at Oriel College, Oxford, then at the height of its reputation under Copleston, afterwards Bishop of Landaff. As an undergraduate, as we learn from Mr. Trench's "Notes from Past Life," if not a very distinguished scholar, in the limited and Oxford sense of the word, young Wilberforce was a constant and very frequent speaker at the Union Debating Society. In Michaelmas Term, 1826, he brought his undergraduate career to a close by taking his Bachelor's degree, when he obtained a second-class in classics and a first in mathematics.

He did not gain any of the University

or other Oxford prizes, either as an undergraduate or a Bachelor, and we believe that from the time of taking his degree he began to prepare himself for the ministry, to which his father had always hoped that he would "prove his calling." Accordingly, in 1828 he was ordained by the late Dr. C. Lloyd, then Bishop of Oxford, his "title" for orders being the curacy of Checkendon, a remote country parish, about midway between Henley, Wallingford, and Reading, where, long after he returned into those parts as a bishop, his name was remembered with affection by the aged poor. A short time before his ordination he had married Miss Emily Sargent, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the late Rev. John Sargent, of Lavington, Sussex, who died in 1841.

At the end of the customary period of probation for curates Mr. Wilberforce was appointed, in 1830, to the great delight of his aged father, to the living of Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight, a benefice in the gift of his old friend, Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, to whose See he afterwards succeeded in Dr. Sumner's lifetime, but whom in the end he has not outlived. In 1841 he was promoted to the rectory of Alverstoke, near Gosport, an important and populous parish, where he had at one time as his curate Dr. Trench, the present Archbishop of Dublin. He had already been nominated by Bishop Sumner to the archdeaconry of Surrey, attached to which was a canonry in Winchester Cathedral, and in the year of which we speak he was chosen by the authorities of Oxford to deliver the Bampton Lectures. The delivery of these was, however, prevented by the death of Mrs. Wilberforce. The subject chosen by him, we believe, was the personality of the Holy Spirit. Preferments were now showered thickly on Archdeacon Wilberforce. In 1843 he was nominated one of the chaplains to his Royal Highness the late Prince Consort.

In the year 1844 he was appointed by the then Archbishop of York sub-almoner to the Queen, and early in 1845 was promoted to the deanery of Westminster, which had become vacant by the death of Dr. Ireland. About this time he proceeded to his degrees in divinity as Bachelor and Doctor.

He was not, however, destined to stay long at the deanery of Westminster. Before the close of 1845 the See of Bath and Wells had become vacant by the death of Dr. Law, and, Dr. Bagot having been translated from Oxford to fill the vacancy, the See of Oxford was offered to his acceptance. He was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel by Dr. Howley, at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, on St.

Andrew's Day, 1845, the consecration sermon being preached by his elder brother, Robert, Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire. As Bishop of Oxford he became also Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, for under the ecclesiastical arrangements of a few years previously Windsor Castle and St. George's Chapel were included in the diocese of Oxford instead of in that of Salisbury, to which they had belonged. In 1847 Bishop Wilberforce received also the appointment of Lord High Almoner to her Majesty. Joined with the See of Oxford at that time was the rectory of Cuddesdon, near Oxford, and as at Alverstoke Dr. Wilberforce had one future archbishop as his curate, so here he had Dr. Thomson, the present Archbishop of York.

As a bishop, Dr. Wilberforce lost no time in showing himself earnest, zealous, and indefatigable, confirming not only in the larger towns, but in the village churches, mixing personally with his clergy, and stirring up their dormant energies by taking part in "special services" at Lent, at Advent, and other sacred seasons. He was active also in preaching on behalf of new and old religious societies, which he regarded as useful handmaids of the Church, and in promoting all well-considered measures of school improvement, of Church extension, and of Church restoration. He also established, almost under his own eye, at Cuddesdon, a training college for clergymen, in order to bridge over the years which young men who intended to "take orders" too often wasted after taking their degree at Oxford and Cambridge, while not yet of canonical age for ordination as deacons.

He had not long taken his seat on the bishops' bench in the House of Lords before he began to make his presence felt there, speaking frequently on subjects in which the Church was more or less directly interested, such as the religious education of the young, the admission of Jews into Parliament, the Bill for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and the revival of the active powers of Convocation, which, as we need scarcely remind our readers, had been long dormant at the time of his consecration to the episcopate. In 1843 some bitter controversy was excited by the part he took in reference to the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford, and it is worthy of note that, sixteen or seventeen years ago, he was one of the most active opponents of the Bill passed at the instance of Lord Palmerston to enable the late Bishops Blomfield and Malby to resign respec-

tively the Sees of London and Durham. Within the last four years he accepted the See of Winchester upon Dr. Sumner's resignation; but before that time he had already changed his views upon the subject of clerical resignations, and was the most active promoter, if not the author, of the Act passed to enable aged incumbents to resign their livings and retire on a pension when incapacitated for further work.

In the Upper House of Convocation it would be more easy to give a list of the subjects on which Bishop Wilberforce was silent than to mention one half of those on which he spoke. Enough to remember that seldom or never did he open his lips on subjects connected with the Church except with energy and fervour. It was in 1869, after twenty-four years of constant labour in the diocese of Oxford, Bishop Wilberforce was translated to the great See of Winchester upon Bishop Sumner's resignation.

The late Bishop was most popular in society, and beloved, both as Archdeacon and Bishop, by all his clergy except the extreme men of either side and party. Whatever he undertook he did with grace and ease, and, above all, with a heartiness which proved contagious. As a platform orator he has rarely been equalled; an anecdote from his lips gained a point which its author could not give it. He was indeed, in its best sense, a "many-sided" man, and into his active career many careers, so to speak, were crowded together. He was indefatigable in work, and never knew what it was to be fatigued, scarcely what it was to take rest. In the management of two very important dioceses he showed administrative ability and an energy of personal character which does not often display itself on the episcopal bench.

His was an eloquence which never failed. It shone equally in his pastoral charges, in his confirmation addresses, whether to the Eton boys or to the boys and girls of country village schools, and in those spirit-stirring appeals which he would deliver in Cuddesdon Chapel to the candidates for holy orders. Regarded as a Parliamentary orator, there was much of truth in the observation of a statesman now deceased that, "although the late Lord Derby was *facile princeps* among debaters, and the late Lord Ellenborough probably the next best debater in the House of Lords, still in Parliamentary eloquence no one so nearly approached either the one or the other as Bishop Wilberforce."

Although he was not the author of any learned and laborious work, and perhaps

was not so deep a theologian as his brother Robert or many of his episcopal brethren, yet his name will be remembered as the author of a "History of the Episcopal Church in America," and of two or three charming religious allegories, the most popular of which are "Agathos" and "The Rocky Island." He was also the author of numerous "Charges," archidiaconal and episcopal, "Occasional and other Sermons," "Sermons Preached before the Queen," "Sermons Preached at Oxford," &c. It is worth mention also that, jointly with his brother Robert, he gave to the world the "Life and Correspondence" of his father in five octavo volumes—a work which would have been more valuable had its authors been less filial and consequently more critical in the work of selection.

#### LORD WOLVERTON.

The death of George Carr Glyn, Lord Wolverton, occurred on the 24th, at his residence in Upper Eccleston-street. His lordship was in his 77th year, having been born March 27, 1797. He was fourth son of the late Sir Richard Carr Glyn, Bart., and was the head of the banking firm of Glyn, Mills, and Co.; was for some years chairman of the London and North-Western Railway, which he resigned in September, 1852; and was a director of the St. Katherine Dock Company and Globe Assurance Company. Previous to his elevation to the peerage in 1869 he represented Kendal in the House of Commons in several Parliaments, having been first elected for that borough in 1847. The late Lord Wolverton was a governor of Harrow School and a commissioner of the Lieutenancy for the City of London. He was also chairman of the Committee of Bankers for the Railway Clearing House. He married, March 13, 1823, Marianne, daughter of the late Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, of Tqhow, Bucks, by whom he had a numerous family. His eldest son, the Hon. George Grenfell Glyn, M.P. for Shaftesbury, and secretary to the Treasury, born February 10, 1824, and married, June 22, 1848, to Georgiana Maria, eldest daughter of the Rev. George Tufnell, succeeds his father as second Baron Wolverton.

#### August.

##### TOM FRENCH.

One of the most jockeys, Tom French, died suddenly at Newmarket, on August

30, in his 29th year. Naturally of a weak constitution, his exertions to keep himself at racing weight proved the primary cause of his death. The first winner he rode was St. Albans, in the Great Metropolitan Stakes in 1861, and he followed up the victory on the colt in the Chester Cup. In 1863 he won the Goodwood Cup with Isoline, and after two defeats in the Derby he gained two successive victories on Kingcraft and Favonius. At the Newmarket July Meeting, in 1869, French accomplished the unprecedented feat of riding six winners in one day. In the present season he was the rider of no fewer than thirty-four winners.

#### COLONEL K. D. MACKENZIE.

Colonel Kenneth Douglas Mackenzie, C.B., whose death under very melancholy circumstances is reported in our Chronicle, was a very distinguished officer of her Majesty's service, which he entered as a subaltern in November, 1831. During the Irish rebellion of 1848 he was attached to General Macdonald's flying column, and he was mainly instrumental in capturing Smith O'Brien and forwarding him to Dublin. Immediately after the capture he stopped a railway engine at Thurles by pointing a loaded pistol at the driver's head, he having refused to halt, and this engine at once conveyed Smith O'Brien to Dublin. General Macdonald in his report stated, "The conduct of the officer in this emergency I cannot too highly commend;" and Sir George Grey (then Home Secretary), in the House of Commons, said that "the conduct of Captain Mackenzie has received the unqualified approbation of the Commander-in-Chief" (the Duke of Wellington). The deceased officer also served in the Crimean campaign of 1854-55 as brigade-major of the Light Division, and afterwards as assistant quartermaster-general, being present at the battles of Alma and Inkerman, and at the siege and fall of Sebastopol. For his Crimean services he received a medal with three clasps, the Sardinian and Turkish medals, and the brevets of major and lieutenant-colonel respectively; he was also created a Knight of the Legion of Honour, and received the Fifth Class of the Turkish Order of the Medjidie. In January, 1858, he proceeded to India with the 92nd Highlanders, with which corps he served for a short time in Central India, but was subsequently attached to the staff, and appointed assistant and adjutant-general and deputy adjutant-general in Bengal. In June, 1859, he was selected by the Governor-General to quail



the mutiny of the 5th Bengal European Regiment at Berhampore, for which service he received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council and the Secretary of State for India. He proceeded to China in January, 1860, as deputy quartermaster-general and head of the department, having been present at the assault of the Taku Forts, and in all the engagements throughout the campaign. He was created a Companion of the Bath in 1861; he also received the China medal with two clasps, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel unattached. For several years past he has served on the staff as assistant quartermaster-general at headquarters, and was always considered a most efficient officer in his department.

#### SIR FRANCIS RONALDS.

Sir Francis Ronalds, F.R.S., died at his residence, St. Mary's Villa, Battle, in Sussex, on August 8, in the 86th year of his age. The deceased gentleman, who was well known for his services in connexion with electric telegraphy, was the son of Francis Ronalds, Esq., a merchant, of Highbury. He was born in London in 1788, and educated at a private academy at Cheshunt, under the Rev. E. Cogan. Having devoted much time and attention to the science of electricity in connexion with telegraphs, he invented and constructed, in 1816, a dial electric telegraph, and in 1825 a perspective instrument. He was the original and honorary director of Kew Observatory from 1843 to 1852, during his connexion with which institution he invented an apparatus for the observation of atmospheric electricity, which was afterwards adopted at the observatories of Greenwich, Madrid, Bombay, &c. In 1849 he received a Government reward for his "invention of photographic self-registering meteorological and magnetical instruments," and in 1852, on his retirement from the directorship of Kew Observatory, he was awarded a pension from the Civil List for his "eminent discoveries in electricity and meteorology." Finally, in 1870, when he had attained the advanced age of eighty-two years, his services in connexion with electric telegraphy were deemed worthy of the honour of knighthood, and he was duly created a knight bachelor. Sir Francis Ronalds was the author of various papers on electricity in the *Philosophical Magazine*, the "Reports of the British Association," and in the "Transactions of the Royal Society."

#### MR. J. WYON.

Mr. Joseph S. Wyon, medallist, whose death at the early age of 37 is announced, held the appointment of Chief Engraver of her Majesty's Seals. This appointment had been previously held by his father, Mr. Benjamin Wyon, and by his grandfather, Mr. Thomas Wyon, upon whom it was first conferred in the year 1816. The lately-deceased artist was educated by his father, Mr. Benjamin Wyon, and in the Royal Academy of Arts, where he obtained two silver medals. His first work of importance was a medal of James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine. This medal so pleased the late Robert Stephenson that, at his recommendation, it was adopted as an annual prize medal by the Royal Institute of Civil Engineers. The first work by the late Mr. J. S. Wyon, executed in his capacity as Chief Engraver of her Majesty's Seals, was the Great Seal of England now in use. In the year 1863 he executed the medal struck by order of the Corporation of the City of London to commemorate the passage of the Princess Alexandra through the City previous to her marriage with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and in the year 1867 the medal for the same Corporation to commemorate the visit of the Sultan. In the latter year he executed the medal struck by order of the Canadian Government to commemorate the confederation of the four provinces of the Dominion of Canada. The Great Seal of the Dominion of Canada, a beautiful work of art, was also executed by him at the same time. The works above-mentioned are but a few of the most important of the late artist's works, which also comprise medals of various members of the royal family, and which are well and widely known. The late Mr. J. S. Wyon was a juror in the London Exhibition of 1862, and in conjunction with his brother, Mr. A. B. Wyon, who assisted, and who survives him, received the only medal awarded in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 to British exhibitors in the class of sculpture. They have also recently been awarded two medals in the Exhibition of Vienna. Mr. J. S. Wyon was decorated by the Sultan of Turkey with the Order of the Medjidie.

#### September.

##### THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

From Vapereau's *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains* it appears that



the Emperor of Morocco, Sidi Muley Mohammed, whose death is announced, was born in 1803 and ascended the throne at the end of 1859 as the successor and eldest son of Abd-er-Rhaman. The reign of the latter had been only a long course of differences with European Powers, terminating almost invariably to his disadvantage. A difference with Spain, more serious than its predecessors, marked the commencement of Sidi Muley Mohammed's rule. A short but sanguinary war ensued; the Moorish army were twice defeated and the Emperor was obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty. After this he endeavoured to establish amicable relations with the different countries of Europe; he encouraged navigation, erected several lighthouses on his coasts, and made concessions to foreigners in regard to Customs duties. The discontent excited among his subjects by those concessions was so great that in 1862 he almost found it necessary to abdicate. In June, 1864, he promulgated a decree according to which Europeans have freedom of commerce through Morocco. Various insurrections occurred in the country; and in 1867 the Emperor had to put himself at the head of 30,000 men to repress the most extensive.

#### MISS E. CARNE.

The death is announced of Miss Elizabeth Carne, a leading celebrity of West Cornwall, of which county she was a native. She died on September 7, at Penzance, aged 56. She was the daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Carne, F.R.S., and inherited her father's scientific tastes and literary acquirements as well as his fortune. For years she was one of the most frequent writers of the *London Quarterly Review*, and has published several works which have obtained much popularity, although her dislike of publicity led her to write anonymously. Her works include "Country Towns," "Three Months' Rest at Pau," and "The Realm of Truth." Miss Carne for many years largely devoted her time to the Mineralogical Museum of the Royal Geographical Society, every specimen in which she classified and arranged, so that the museum was regarded as a model of method. She was thoroughly versed in geology and mineralogy, and contributed many papers to the Royal Cornwall Geological Society. Her benevolence was as great as her attainments were rare, and, in addition to large benefactions in more ordinary channels, Miss Carne lately offered to build a new wing to the local mineralogical museum and furnish it with

the mineral collection, valued at 3000*l.*, which her father had amassed. This project having fallen through, Miss Carne resolved to build a museum of her own at Penzance, and this is now approaching completion.

#### MR. CLAY, M.P.

James Clay, Esq., M.P. for Hull, who died on the 26th, was born in 1804, the son of the late James Clay, a London merchant, by Mary, his wife, eldest daughter of William Emes, Esq., of Bowbridge, Derbyshire, and Elvetham Park, Hants. He was educated at Winchester, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1827. Following his father's pursuits, he became an eminent merchant of this city, and, advocating extreme Liberal views, was elected M.P. for Hull in 1847. In 1837 he had unsuccessfully contested Beverley, and in 1841 the borough for which he afterwards sat. He married, in 1830, Eliza Camilla, daughter of Joseph Allen Woolrych, Esq., of Weobley, Herefordshire, and by her, who died in 1855, had four sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Harry Ernest Clay, Esq., for some time *Chargé d'Affaires* at Paris, and subsequently Secretary of Legation at Berne, assumed the additional surnames and arms of Ker-Seymer by royal licence, in 1864, on his marriage with Gertrude, the only child and heiress of the late Henry Ker-Seymer, Esq., of Hanford, M.P. for Dorsetshire.

Mr. James Clay's best-known title to celebrity was that he was one of the most accomplished whist-players of the day.

#### MAJOR-GENERAL MATSON.

Major-General Edward Matson, colonel, retired full pay, of the Royal Engineers, whose death on September 3 is announced, at the age of 82, had seen considerable active service during the early part of his military career. He served in the Peninsula from November, 1812, to the end of the war, including the affair of San Milan, advance of the army and crossing the Ebro; the battle of Vittoria, blockade of Pampeluna, sieges and storm of San Sebastian, passage of the Bidassoa, battle of Nivelle, blockade of Bayonne and repulse of the sortie. In 1815 he accompanied the expedition to America, and in June the same year joined the army in the Netherlands, to which he was attached till November, 1818. He had received the silver war medal with three clasps for his services in the Penin-

sula. The venerable general obtained his first commission in May, 1810; was gazetted lieutenant May 1, 1811, captain, January 9, 1821; major, January 10, 1837, lieutenant general, April 1, 1846; colonel, June 20, 1854, and became major-general, September 10, 1856.

## October.

### THE KING OF SAXONY.

King John I. of Saxony died after a short illness on October 29.

The deceased monarch, whose Christian names were John Nepomucenes Marie Joseph, was the son of Maximilian, Duke of Saxony, and was born December 12, 1801.

He succeeded his brother, King Frederick August II., on August 9, 1854. When he was 20 years of age, he entered the Ministry of Finance at Dresden, in which he attained the highest post. He retired in 1831 to command the National Guard. As a member of the Saxon Parliament he took an active part in politics. His tastes, however, led him to devote much of his time to archaeological and philological studies. He visited Italy twice, and in 1849, under the *nom de plume* of "Philalethes," he published a German edition of the "Divina Commedia" of Dante, with critical notes. He has been President of the Society of Antiquaries of Saxony since 1824, and in 1852-3 he presided over the German Historical and Antiquarian Society. On his accession to the throne, he adopted a policy hostile to the Western Powers in reference to the Eastern question, and identified himself with the lesser German Monarchies acting in conjunction with Austria. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 he sided with Austria, and his army took part in the battle of Königgratz, which was fought on July 3. Peace was signed between his Majesty and the King of Prussia on October 21 following, one of the conditions being that the Saxon army should henceforth be subject to the control of Prussia. The late King also agreed to pay a sum of about a million-and-a-half sterling, and to cede the fortress of Königstein. His Majesty returned to Dresden on November 3. During the Franco-German war of 1870, the Saxon army, under the Crown Prince, greatly distinguished itself, but the King, personally, took no part in the campaign.

The late King married, on November 21, 1822, the Princess Amelia Augusta, daughter of the late Maximilian I., King

of Bavaria, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The Crown Prince Frederick Augustus Albert, who succeeds his late Majesty, was born on April 23, 1828.

### MR. HENRY BRIGHT.

The death is announced of Mr. Henry Bright, a water-colour painter of some eminence. He was born at Saxmundham, in Suffolk, in 1814, and after a career of more than twenty years in London, where he became the friend of Turner, David Cox, Samuel Prout, and other well-known artistes, he retired about five years ago, incapacitated by illness, to Ipswich, where he died.

### DR. F. CRACE CALVERT.

This well-known chemist died, on Oct. 24, at his residence, near Manchester. He had, whilst acting at Vienna as juror, contracted typhoid fever, which latterly caused disease of the lungs, and thus closed his career at the age of 53. He was born in London, and studied under the celebrated chemist Girardin at Rouen, and subsequently was a pupil of Chevreul at Paris. He left France in 1846, and settled in Manchester with a scientific reputation already gained, and shortly afterwards was appointed honorary professor at the Royal Institution of that city. For some time also he was lecturer at the Manchester School of Medicine. His scientific investigations in hygiene led him incidentally to the useful application and commercial preparation of carbolic acid, with which his name will ever be associated. His processes for desulphurizing coke, for sizing cloth, and for the production of aniline colour; and his three series of Cantor Lectures at the Society of Arts in London, showed an immense amount of the technical knowledge he possessed. For some years past he was engaged in investigations upon protoplasmic life. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, of the Chemical Society, Honorary Fellow of the Chemical Society of Paris, and member of the Royal Academy of Turin and the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.

### DR. CANDLISH.

The Rev. Dr. Candlish, Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, and senior pastor of Free St. George's Church there, died at Edinburgh, on October 20, in the

68th year of his age. Dr. Candlish was well known as a leader in the Free Church of Scotland, having taken a prominent position in the important debates during the "ten years' conflict" before the disruption of 1843, and since that time he may be said to have guided in a great measure the councils of the Free Church, and directed its line of policy throughout. In 1841, Dr. Candlish was all but appointed to the chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, when his election was objected to in the House of Lords by Lord Aberdeen, on the ground that he had preached in one of the parishes of Strathbogie, in defiance of an interdict of the Court of Session, although with the authority of the General Assembly. A correspondence passed between Dr. Candlish and the Home Secretary, Lord Normanby, on the subject, but the appointment was ultimately cancelled. Dr. Candlish was chosen Principal of the Free Church or New College, Edinburgh, on the death of Principal Cunningham in 1862. Up to within a recent period he preached every Sunday to a crowded congregation. By the action which he took in regard to the question of Union as brought before the last General Assembly, he may be said, by the conciliatory course he followed, to have prevented a second disruption. He was a powerful debater and eloquent preacher, while the works of which he was the author, and which were chiefly theological, exhibit great intellectual power. He was moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1861. Dr. Candlish's mother was the Miss Smith immortalized by Burns as one of the "six proper young belles" of Mauchline.

#### MAJOR-GENERAL FYLER.

Major-General Lawrence Fyler, C.B., who died recently at Tunbridge Wells, had served with distinction in the 16th Lancers, the 3rd Light Dragoons, and 12th Lancers—in India with the 16th during the campaign in Afghanistan; at the battle of Maharajpore (Dec 29, 1843); during the campaign on the Sutlej in 1846; and at the battles of Buddiwal and Aliwal, at which last he was severely wounded. He went through the Punjaub campaign, in 1848-9, with the 3rd Light Dragoons, and was in the Crimea with the 12th Lancers from May 17, 1855. In recognition of his military services he received, in 1869, the decoration of C.B., and was one of the officers receiving the rewards for "distinguished and meritorious services."

#### MRS. A. GATTY.

The death is announced of Mrs. A. Gatty, wife of the Rev. Dr. Gatty, vicar of Ecclesfield, a lady best known to the public as the editor of *Aunt Judy's Magazine* and author of several popular books of juvenile fiction. Mrs. Gatty, who was in her 64th year, was the younger daughter of the Rev. Dr. Scott, who was chaplain to the "Victory" at Trafalgar, and in whose arms Lord Nelson died.

#### SIR HENRY HOLLAND.

Sir Henry Holland died at his house in Brook-street on October 27, in consequence of a cold which he caught in returning from Paris. "The death of this most able and distinguished physician" (remarks the *London Medical Record*) "has occurred under circumstances highly characteristic of his remarkable career. Sir Henry had taken his usual holiday far afield in the autumn; he had been journeying in Russia. Last Friday, October 24, he was a prominent figure for a day at the trial of Marshal Bazaine in Paris, and dined with some of the judges in the evening. He returned to London by way of Folkestone on Saturday, did not go out on Sunday (not feeling very well), and died quietly in his bed on Monday afternoon, on the day, we believe, on which he had completed his 85th year. Thus, to the last, this remarkable man preserved his intellectual and physical activity, and fitly closed a career which he has himself well described, and which was full of interest and of excellent and high example."

Sir Henry was born at Knutsford, in Cheshire, October 27, 1788, the eldest son of Peter Holland, Esq., of that place. He was educated for the medical profession at the University of Edinburgh, where he obtained the degree of M.D. in 1811, but in 1828 was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London. Dr. Holland soon rose to great eminence in his profession, while he at the same time became known for his valuable literary contributions to other branches of knowledge. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1816, and has three times held the office of Vice-President; he was also, to the time of his death, President of the Royal Institution. In 1840 he was appointed physician in ordinary to the late Prince Consort, and in 1852 physician in ordinary to the Queen. He was created a baronet in April, 1853. The first wife of Sir Henry Holland, married in 1822, was

a Margaret, a daughter of James vell, Esq., of Linley Wood, Stafford-

By this lady he had two sons and a daughter. The eldest son, who now succeeds to the baronetcy, is Sir Henry Stan Holland, born in August, 1825, presently holding the office of Assistant Secretary of State for the Colonies. The second son is the Rev. Francis James Holland, Incumbent of Quebec Chapel; his daughter, Emily Mary, is widow of late Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P. for Surrey. The second Lady Holland, widow of the deceased baronet, was Sabina, daughter of the Rev. Sydney Smith, the great wit and Canon of St. Paul's. She married Sir Henry—then Dr.—Holland in 1834, but died in November, 1866, leaving two daughters, Emily and Gertrude. This lady wrote the biography of her father, and gained a reputation for literary talent. Sir Henry Holland's own works are tolerably numerous, but those most popular are his "Medical Notes and Lectures," his "Chapters on Mental Physiology," "Travels in Albania and Italy," a volume of "Scientific Essays" chiefly collected from the *Edinburgh Review*, and the agreeable "Recollections of Past Life," which were published two years ago. Sir Henry Holland received from the University of Oxford an honorary degree of D.C.L.; and several of the academies and learned societies of Europe conferred marks of distinction upon him.

#### LORD HOWDEN.

The Right Hon. Sir John Hobart Campbell, Baron Howden, in the Peerage of Scotland, and also Baron Howden, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Lieutenant-General in the army, G.C.B., K.H., Commander of the Legion of Honour, Knight of St. Anne of Prussia, of Leopold of Belgium, of the Redeemer of Greece, of Charles III. of Spain, died, at Rome, on the 8th inst. His lordship was born October 16, 1799, the only son of the well-known General Sir John Cradock (son of Dr. Cradock, Bishop of Dublin), by Theodosia Sarah Cradock, his wife, daughter of John, first Earl of Clanwilliam. Sir John Cradock, G.C.B. for his distinguished services in Egypt, was made a peer of Ireland in 1819, and of the United Kingdom in 1829.

The nobleman whose death we have succeeded to those honours at the death of his father, July, 1839. He entered the army in 1815, and acted as Adjutant-General, first, to the Duke of Wellington in the army of occupation in France,

and afterwards to Viscount Beresford in Portugal. In 1827 he was present, as Military Commissioner, and was wounded, at the battle of Navarino; and in 1832 he served, also as Military Commissioner, at the head-quarters of the French army at the siege of Antwerp. His diplomatic services extended over several years; after having been employed at Berlin and Paris, he was sent, in 1847, as Envoy to the Emperor of Brazil; and, in 1850, as British Minister to Spain, where he remained till 1858. For twenty years his lordship was equerry to the late Duchess of Kent. Lord Howden married, January 11, 1830, Catherine, Princess Bagration, daughter of Paul, Count Skavronsky and great-niece of Prince Potemkin, but was left a widower, without issue, June 2, 1857. By his lordship's decease his peerage honours become extinct.

#### SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, R.A.

Sir Edwin Landseer, who died on the 1st inst., was born at 83, Queen Anne-street, in 1802, and came of a family of artists. His father, John Landseer, was an Associate Engraver of the Royal Academy for nearly fifty years; he was largely employed by the publishers of his day, and also won distinction as a writer on engraving, and by the lectures he delivered at the Royal Institution. Sir Edwin's eldest brother, Thomas Landseer, the well-known engraver, who has executed many plates from his brother's works, is also, as his father was, an Associate of the Academy; and the second brother, Charles, has long been a full member of the Academy, and held, from 1851 till his recent resignation, the post of Keeper to that body. These sons, with three daughters, were the offspring of a marriage between John Landseer and a Miss Pott. She is introduced in Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture "The Gleaners," painted for the publisher, Macklin, for whom John Landseer was then working, and, in all probability, the engraver met his future bride at his employer's house. The father set young Edwin, from his very earliest age, to study direct from nature, sending him to Hampstead-heath and other picturesque suburbs to make studies of donkeys, sheep, and goats. There are few instances of precocity so remarkable, the promise of which has been so fully kept. Little Edwin drew animals well even before he was five years old. Among the series of his early drawings and etchings in the South Kensington Museum there are some executed by him from six to



eight years of age, and one done "when Master Edwin was breeched." When twelve years old he won the silver Isis medal of the Society of Arts for a drawing of a hunting horse, and at thirteen he was an exhibitor at the Academy of two paintings which are entered in the catalogue of 1815 as Nos. 443 and 584—"Portrait of a Mule," and "Portrait of a Pointer Bitch and Puppies," by Master E. Landseer, 33, Foley-street (Portland-place). In the immediate neighbourhood of this house then dwelt many eminent artists and literary celebrities, from some of whom the young artist doubtless derived much benefit and encouragement. Before this, though we have seen no notice of the fact, the family resided for some years at Maldon, in Essex. In Haydon's "Autobiography" it is mentioned that the elder Landseer brought his "boys" to Haydon to receive instruction. Authorities differ as to whether Edwin was included among the "boys;" but probably Haydon, and certainly Flaxman, advised him to draw from the Elgin marbles, then deposited at Burlington House. Haydon, we know, not less than Flaxman, appreciated the inestimable artistic value of the Phidian antiques better than most of their contemporaries; and it is to the study, whomsoever recommended it, of those remains that we should no doubt trace the origin of that masterly breadth of style so fully developed later in Sir Edwin's career, which was one of his best characteristics as an artist. We have also reason to believe that about the time of his connexion with Flaxman he made some essays with the modelling tools; it is, at all events, a mistake to suppose that he had made no attempts at modelling before executing the lions of the Nelson Column.

In the summer of 1818, when only twenty years of age, Edwin Landseer established himself as a fashionable and popular artist with his "Fighting Dogs Getting Wind," which was exhibited in the rooms of the Society of Painters in Oil and Water Colours, and purchased by Sir George Beaumont, the acknowledged leader of the "connoisseurs" and "patrons" of that day. In the following year appeared two pictures of lions, in delineating the anatomy of which the young student is said to have been aided by witnessing the dissection of an old lion that had died in Exeter 'Change. "Ratcatchers," "Pointers—Soho," "The Larder Invaded," which won a premium of 150*l.* at the British Institution; "The Cat's Paw," and the "Hunting of Chevy Chase," followed, and the year the last picture was exhibited (1826) Edwin

Landseer was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy. He was now 24 years old—the earliest age at which an artist is eligible for the honour of the Associateship. The only other artists who have obtained this distinction at the same age are Sir Thomas Lawrence and Mr. Millais. It was near this time that he removed into the cottage in St. John's-wood-road, where he resided till his death. This house he gradually converted into a handsome and artistic residence, always maintaining a certain seclusion there, though mixing freely in the courtly and fashionable society in which he was always a great favourite. Six years later, in 1831, he was elected R. A.

From the date of his Associateship a large proportion of his subjects were drawn from the Highlands, a district which he visited for study and sport almost annually, till a few years before his death. It would be impossible within our limits to give a list of Sir Edwin's works. But the mention of the following among his principal pictures will suffice to recall his progress and the varied and extensive range of his power—familiar as they all are either directly or through the medium of the engravings which have diffused his works more widely probably than those of any other artist. The very titles of many of the works are like household words:—"The Chief's Return from Deer-stalking," "Monkey who had seen the World" (1827), "Illicit Whisky Still in the Highlands," "A Fireside Party," now at South Kensington, the terriers in which are said to have been the original "Peppers and Mustards" described in Scott's "Guy Mannering" (1829), "High Life" and "Low Life," also at South Kensington (1831), "Poachers Deer-stalking," "A Lassie herding Sheep," "Spaniels of King Charles's Breed," "A Jack in Office" (1833), "Suspense," "A Highland Dog rescuing Sheep," "Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time," now at Chatsworth, "The Drover's Departure," a scene in the Grampians, "The Tethered Rams," "Comical Dogs," all three at South Kensington, "Odin," a portrait of a Scotch deer-hound, "The Highland Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (1837), "There's Life in the Old Dog yet," "Dignity and Impudence" (South Kensington), in which the noble bloodhound that forms such a striking contrast to the pert little terrier is supremely grand. "A Distinguished Member of the Humane Society" (1838), "Her Majesty's Favourite Dogs and Parrot," "The Return from Hawking," "A Highland Breakfast," and "Deer and Deerhounds in a Mountain Torrent" (1839).



Several of the works produced during the next ten years are not less popular, though generally less complete in execution than the preceding. "Laying Down the Law," "The Highland Shepherd's Home," "The Otter Speared," "The Sanctuary," "Coming Events cast their Shadows Before Them," "The Challenge," "Shoeing," "Time of Peace," "Time of War," "The Stag at Bay," "Alexander and Diogenes," "A Random Shot," and "A Dialogue at Waterloo," South Kensington. Among the pictures painted in 1851-60 are some subjects of a more ideal, elevated character, but usually flatter in effect technically, and less thoroughly wrought out. The scene from "The Midsummer Night's Dream,"—"Titanus, Bottom, and Fairies Attending" (though the composition is almost an exact counterpart of a picture painted, we believe, previously by poor Fusane Dadd) is, however, one of Sir Edwin's happiest efforts. After this work, which appeared in 1861, and has been reproduced so exquisitely in mezzotint by Mr. Samuel Cousins, came "Night" and "Morning," "The Last Run of the Season," "Children of the Mist," "Saved" (dedicated to the Humane Society), "Uncle Tom and his Wife for Sale," "Deerstalking," "The Maid and the Magpie," "Doubtful Crumbs," and the large important picture, "A Flood in the Highlands." The works executed since 1860 include "The Shrew Tamed," "The Fatal Duel," "Windsor Great Park," "Pensioners," "Man Proposes—God Disposes," "Prosperity" and "Adversity," "The Connoisseurs" (with the painter's own portrait), "Wild Cattle at Chillingham," "Her Majesty at Osborne in 1866," "Eagles attacking the Swanery," "A Doctor's Visit to Poor Relations," and other more recently exhibited pictures, which but inadequately sustain the artist's reputation. The lions in Trafalgar-square bear noble testimony to Sir Edwin's capacity as a sculptor, by their grand yet naturalistic style, if not otherwise Sir Edwin executed innumerable private commissions for portraits of favourite animals; he also painted several portraits of human subjects. Apropos of the last, we may recall Sydney Smith's witty answer when Lord and Lady Holland desired him to sit to Landseer: "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" The value of Sir Edwin's works and of the copyright of them has increased enormously. Pictures which were originally sold for one, two, or three hundred pounds, have fetched, or would now fetch, one, two, three, or more thousand; and copyrights have ranged from 100*l.*

for early works to 8000*l.* for later works. It remains to add that to the nervous or mental disease under which Sir Edwin succumbed he had been a prey at intervals for many years. The honour of knighthood was conferred in 1850; he was awarded a large gold medal at the Paris Exhibition of 1855; and he (as well as Mr. Macleay) declined the Presidency of the Royal Academy, offered to him first on the death of Sir Charles Eastlake.

#### MR. J. G. MARSHALL.

The death is announced of Mr. James Garth Marshall, formerly M.P. for Leeds, a gentleman well known in Parliamentary circles, and as a leader of the world of Yorkshire commerce. He was the third son of the late Mr. John Marshall of Headingley, some time M.P. for Yorkshire, who acquired great wealth towards the close of the last century by the successful introduction of a variety of mechanical improvements into a branch of the linen manufactures—namely, the spinning of flax: and no name stands higher in the commercial world to the present day than that of the Messrs. Marshall, of Leeds. The gentleman, now deceased, was born in February, 1802, and was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, of which latter county he served as high-sheriff in the year 1860. He represented Leeds in the Liberal interest in the Parliament of 1847-52, and was a director of at least one important line of Yorkshire railways. His eldest brother, Mr. William Marshall, of Patterdale, was for many years M.P. for the Eastern Division of Cumberland, and his second brother, Mr. John Marshall, was one of the first representatives of the newly-created borough of Leeds in 1833-34. Mr. J. G. Marshall himself married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Spring Rice, the first Lord Montagu, whose second wife, as it so happened afterwards, was a sister of Mr. Marshall.

#### SIR ROBERT M'CLURE.

Rear-Admiral Sir Robert John le Manriar M'Clure, Kt., C.B., by some called the discoverer of the North-west passage, died, at Portsmouth, on the 18th inst. He was son of Captain M'Clure, of the 89th Foot, by Jane, his wife, daughter of the Ven. Archdeacon Elgar; was born at Wexford, in Ireland, Jan. 28, 1807; and received his education at Winchester, and at the Royal Military College, Sand-

hurst. He afterwards elected to enter the Royal Navy, obtained post rank in 1850, and was placed on the retired list as a Rear-Admiral in 1867. From 1837 to 1846 he served on the Canadian, American, and West Indian coasts, and from 1846 to 1848 was in the Coastguard. His eminent services in the Arctic regions are well remembered. In 1848 he accompanied Sir John Ross in search of Franklin; and in 1850, nominated to the command of the "Investigator" in an exploring expedition, he discovered the north-west passage. For this he was knighted, and received the reward of 5000*l.* offered for the discovery. In 1859 he was created a C.B. Sir Robert married, 1869, Constance Ada, daughter of Richard Henry Tudor, Esq., of Birkenhead.

#### DR. J. MURRAY.

We have to record the death, at the early age of 29, of Dr. John Murray, after a brief illness of a few hours, from "hospital sore-throat." Deceased was physician to the Middlesex Hospital, and also to the Children's Hospital, Great Ormond-street, having the chronic and convalescent branch at Highgate under his charge. He was visiting the latter on October 11, and, complaining to the lady nurse of his throat, only laughed when he was told to take care of himself. In three days he was dead. Dr. Murray was one of the most promising men in his profession, and paid much attention to sanitary laws. It was he, we believe, who traced the source of the fever from which the Prince of Wales suffered. He had worked on the field during the late war without pecuniary reward. He was dean of the Middlesex School of Medicine, assistant editor of the *British Medical Journal*, assistant-surgeon of the London Scottish Volunteers, and hon. secretary of the Volunteer Surgeons' Association.

#### MR. GEORGE ORMEROD.

George Ormerod, Esq., of Sedbury Park, in the county of Gloucester, and Tyldesley, in the county of Lancaster, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., died on the 9th inst., at his seat, Sedbury Park, near Chepstow. This gentleman, the author of "The History of Cheshire," was known for more than fifty years as one of the most accomplished and learned of county archaeologists. His celebrated work on Cheshire was published in 1819, and is considered one of the most important of our great county histories. Mr. Ormerod,

who represented a junior branch of the ancient family of Ormerod of Ormerod, was born Oct. 20, 1785, the only child of George Ormerod, Esq., of Bury, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Thomas Johnson, Esq., of Tyldesley. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and at an early period showed his tastes for heraldry and topography. He married, Aug. 2, 1808, Sarah, eldest daughter of John Latham, M.D., F.R.S., of Bradwall, Cheshire, by whom (who died April 11, 1860) he had seven sons and three daughters.

#### ARCHDEACON POLLOCK.

The death is announced of the Venerable William Pollock, D.D., vicar of Bowdon, hon. canon and late archdeacon of Chester, at the age of 61. The deceased clergyman, who died on October 11, had been suffering from paralysis for the last three years. Dr. Pollock was a man of great ability, a powerful preacher and speaker, and throughout a long career in the diocese of Chester had been prominently engaged in all measures for religious and educational advancement. In each parish where he laboured will be found many substantial monuments to his energy in the form of new churches and schools, the most conspicuous being the restoration of Bowdon parish church at a very large cost, resulting in one of the most beautiful churches in the county. The deceased was the author of several works. Since his illness he has contributed a little volume of remarkable merit, entitled "The Temptation of Our Lord, and other Minor Poems."

#### COUNT DE STRZELECKI.

Sir Paul Edmund de Strzelecki (better known as Count de Strzelecki) died at his residence in Savile-row on the morning of October 6, at the age of 77. The count belonged to an old Polish family. Early in life he was a great traveller, and on his way from China he happened to land at Sydney. There he met Sir George Gipps, the then governor, and at his suggestion explored a great portion of Australia—districts which were then unknown to travellers; and it is well known to many of his friends that in his explorations he discovered specimens of gold. On his arrival in England after his travels in New South Wales he received a welcome from the Colonial Secretary, and many who had heard of his eminent scientific knowledge and of his extensive

travel became his warmest friends. He was selected as one of the commissioners for the distribution of the Irish Famine Fund in 1847-8, and assisted to promote the emigration of many impoverished families to Australia. The Government, in consideration of his valuable services during the famine in Ireland, nominated him in 1848 a Companion of the Bath, and further rewarded him in 1869 by creating him a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in June 1853, was a D.C.L., and a member of several of our learned societies.

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. A. VETCH.

Lieut.-Col. George Anderson Vetch, of the old Bengal Infantry, who died on October 10, at Haddington, N.B., belonged to the 54th N.I. After serving for three years in the Haddington Local Militia, G. A. Vetch sailed for Bengal in the year 1807, and for three years played a not unimportant part in the stormy scenes through which the great Company's power consolidated into the Indian empire. Lieut. Vetch was present at the siege of Kumaon, at the storming of which he was severely wounded; he was subsequently present with his regiment on the heights of Jeytuck, and in other engagements during the Nepaul war, and distinguished himself at the capture of a mosque in a manner which in these days would have earned for him the Victoria Cross. Lieut.-Col. Vetch retired from the service in 1836, and has since resided on his patrimonial estate, Caponflat, in the immediate proximity of Haddington. On his return to his native land, Lieut.-Col. Vetch embodied his Eastern reminiscences in a tale called "Gregory's Gong," and about twenty years ago published a dramatic poem, "Dara; or, the Minstrel Prince," both of which works possess considerable literary merit. He died at the ripe age of 87.

#### VICE-CHANCELLOR SIR J. WICKENS.

The death of Vice-Chancellor Wickens is announced, at the age of 58. Sir John Wickens was the second son of the late Mr. James Stephen Wickens, solicitor, of Chandos-street, Cavendish-square; his mother was Miss Anne Goodenough Hayter, sister of the Right Hon. Sir William G. Hayter. Sir John was educated under Dr. Keate at Eton, where he obtained

the Newcastle Scholarship in 1833, and soon afterwards was elected to an open scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford. At the University he obtained, among other distinctions, the Newdigate Prize for English verse, and took his Bachelor's degree in Michaelmas Term, 1836, as a "double first class," his name standing in the same class list with the present Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Church), the late Rev. William Adams, the late Rev. F. W. Faber, and Mr. Arthur Kensington. He was called to the bar in 1840; was appointed in 1868, in succession to Sir William M. James, Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster; and in 1871 he succeeded Sir John Stuart as one of the Vice-Chancellors of England.

### November.

#### MR. T. BARING, M.P.

Mr. Thomas Baring, the leading partner in the great mercantile firm of Baring Brothers and Co., and M.P. for Huntingdon, died on Nov. 18, at Fontnell Lodge, Bournemouth, whither he had gone with the view of recruiting his shattered health. The late Mr. Baring was the second son of Sir Thomas Baring, second baronet, of Stratton Park, Hants, by Mary Ursula, eldest daughter of Mr. Charles Seely, of Calcutta; and was born Sept. 7, 1800, so that he had recently entered upon his 74th year. The hon. gentleman, who was a bachelor, was brother of Francis Thornhill, third baronet, created Lord Northbrook, and of the Right Rev. Charles Baring, Bishop of Durham, and nephew of Alexander, first Lord Ashburton. He was educated at Winchester, and entered Parliament in 1835 as member for Great Yarmouth, which borough he sat for till 1838, but was unsuccessful at the ensuing election. In 1843 he unsuccessfully contested London, his opponent being Mr. James Pattison. The result was that, after a severe struggle, Mr. Pattison polled 6532, and Mr. Baring 6367. In April 1844 he was first elected for Huntingdon, in the place of Sir Frederick Pollock, on his appointment as Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, which borough he had sat for ever since. He was a Conservative in politics, and a supporter of the late Lord Derby's Government, but declined to take office under him in March, 1852, and was a general supporter of Mr. Disraeli's policy. He was opposed to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and paired against the disestablishment

and disendowment of the Irish Church in 1869. The late Mr. Baring had filled some important posts of honour in the commercial centre of London, having been a director of the Bank of England, and for nearly forty years chairman of Lloyd's; he was also a director of the East and West India Dock Company. He was one of the Neutrality Laws commissioners; was a trustee of the National Gallery; a fellow of the Royal Society (elected in 1860); a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; a vice-president of the Society of Arts; a vice-president of the Merchant Seamen's Orphan Asylum; a member of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851; a trustee of Morden College; and a governor of Wellington College, besides a liberal supporter of many of the charitable institutions of the metropolis.

#### LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BOVILL.

The Right Hon. Sir William Bovill, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, died at Coombe House, near Kingston-on-Thames, at noon on Nov. 1. For some weeks past he had been suffering from impaired health, but it was thought he was steadily recovering from his illness. The learned Chief Justice was one of the younger sons of the late Mr. Benjamin Bovill, of Wimbledon, Surrey, whose death took place in 1864. He was born in the year 1814, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1841, and chose the Home Circuit, on which he became one of the acknowledged leaders. He obtained a silk gown in 1855. At the general election of 1857 he was returned in the Conservative interest as M.P. for Guildford. In 1865 he was appointed Solicitor-General, his party being then in office; and in the following year he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, succeeding to the seat up to that time occupied by Sir William Erle, who has now lived to witness the death of his successor. Sir William was a Bencher of his Inn and a Fellow of the Royal Society; he was also for many years a magistrate for Surrey. He was created an honorary D.C.L. at Oxford in 1870. Sir William married, in 1844, Maria, eldest daughter of Mr. John Henry Bolton, of Lee Park, Blackheath, Kent, by whom he has left a large family.

#### THE HON. F. R. FORBES.

Intelligence has been received at the Foreign Office of the death at Geneva, on Nov. 5, of the Hon. Francis Reginald

Forbes, second son of George, sixth Earl of Granard (grandfather of the present peer), by his wife, Lady Selina Rawdon Hastings, fourth daughter of John, first Earl of Moira. He was born Sept. 17, 1791, consequently he had entered his 83rd year. The hon. gentleman was a bachelor. He was an old diplomatic servant of the Crown, having been appointed by Lord Castlereagh an *attaché* to the Embassy at St. Petersburg in July, 1812, whence he was transferred to Vienna in 1814, where he became Secretary of Legation in July, 1817. Afterwards—namely, in December, 1822—he was Secretary at Copenhagen, and in November the following year was appointed to a similar post at Lisbon, and became secretary of the Embassy there in September, 1824. In March, 1828, he again served as secretary of the Embassy, and was Minister, *ad interim*, from July, 1831, to February, 1832. In November that year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Dresden, where, in 1857, he was raised to the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. In 1858 he went as Minister to Rio Janeiro, but was there only a short period, as he retired in November, 1859, upon a pension of 900*l.* a year.

#### MRS. JANET HAMILTON.

The *Scotsman* announces the death of "the Coatbridge poetess," whom it describes as one of the most remarkable Scotch women of the present century. Janet Hamilton was the daughter of a working shoemaker, and although without education, the mother of a large family—she married at thirteen—and for many years towards the close of her life totally blind, yet contrived amid circumstances seemingly so adverse from first to last not only to store her mind by self-culture, but to produce poems and various other writings of no ordinary merit. About two months ago a number of Mrs. Hamilton's admirers, among whom were Lord Dalhousie, Lord Home, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, and Sheriff Bell, proposed to raise 100*l.* to present to Mrs. Hamilton, but her death has rendered fruitless the kind design, except in so far as it has shown how many and warm friends she possessed. Mrs. Hamilton was in her 78th year.

#### LORD LYVEDEN.

The death is announced of Lord Lyveden, which occurred on Nov. 10 at



Farning Woods, his seat in Northamptonshire. The deceased peer, Robert Vernon-Vernon, Baron Lyveden of Lyveden, county Northampton, was son of Mr. Robert Percy Smith, of Cheam, Surrey (formerly Judge-Advocate-General in India), by his wife Caroline, second daughter and co-heir of Mr. Richard Vernon (descended from the Vernons of Hilton Hall, county Stafford), and grand-daughter of Evelyn, Countess of Upper Ossory. He was born in February, 1800, and married, July 15, 1823, Lady Emma Mary FitzPatrick, daughter of John, the second and last Earl of Upper Ossory. His lordship received his early education at Eton, and afterwards proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was second class in classics in 1822. He commenced his parliamentary career in 1829, when he was returned for Tralee, and was re-elected at the ensuing election. In 1831 he was first returned for Northampton, which borough he represented uninterruptedly up to 1859. On the formation of Earl Grey's Administration the deceased peer, then Mr. Robert Vernon-Smith, was appointed one of the Junior Lords of the Treasury, and held the same post during Lord Melbourne's short Administration from July to Dec. 1834. On Lord Melbourne again resuming office in 1835, he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Control, and remained in that post to 1839, when he was made Under-Secretary for the Colonies, the functions of which office he discharged till the break-up of Lord Melbourne's Government in 1841, when he was created a Privy Councillor. He was Secretary at War for a few weeks in Feb. 1852, and in March, 1855, succeeded the present Lord Halifax (then Sir Charles Wood) as President of the Board of Control, which office he held till Feb. 1858. In 1846 he obtained a royal licence for his children to bear the name of Vernon only, in lieu of Vernon-Smith, and a similar licence for himself on being raised to the peerage in June, 1859. His lordship is succeeded in the family honours by his eldest son, the Hon. FitzPatrick Henry Vernon, born in 1824, and married on April 27, 1853, to Lady Albreda Elizabeth Wentworth Fitzwilliam, sister of the present Earl Fitzwilliam. He leaves two other sons—the Hon. and Rev. Courtenay John Vernon, and the Hon. Greville Richard Vernon. The present peer was educated at Eton and Durham, and was formerly in the diplomatic service, having been appointed *attaché* at Madrid from 1846 to 1848, when he was transferred to Hanover, and to Berlin in 1849. He was private secretary to Lord Seymour (now Duke of Somerset) when First Commis-

sioner of Woods and Forests, in 1850; and subsequently, in 1852, to his father when Secretary for War; and again from March, 1855, till Feb. 1858, when the late lord was President of the Board of Control. He unsuccessfully contested Northamptonshire in Dec. 1857, and again in 1859. He was appointed a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Northampton in 1854.

#### MR. J. G. NICHOLS.

The death is announced of Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., the well-known antiquary, which occurred in his 67th year, at Holmwood, near Dorking, on Nov. 13. Besides editing the "Gentleman's Magazine" for many years, he edited the "Collectanea Topographica," and the "Topographer and Genealogist," and in 1862 commenced the "Herald and Genealogist," which is still in course of publication. In addition to numerous papers in the various antiquarian journals, he was the author of many separate works. He was one of the founders of the Camden Society, and of the hundred and odd volumes illustrative of our national history, issued by that Society, several were edited by him. Mr. Nichols was the grandson of the author of "Literary Anecdotes" and the "History of Leicestershire."

#### December.

#### PROFESSOR AGASSIZ.

From New York we learn of the death of Professor Agassiz on Dec. 14. He was born in the parish of Mottier, between the Lake of Neufchatel and the Lake of Morat, in 1807, and received his early education at the gymnasium of Bienne and the Academy of Lausanne. He afterwards studied medicine and the experimental sciences at Zurich, Heidelberg, and Munich. He afterwards published several works on natural history, and a work entitled "Studies of Glaciers," which gave him a European reputation. M. Agassiz left Europe for America in 1846, and in 1847 was appointed Professor of Zoology and Geology in the Scientific School at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which post he retained till his death. He has since explored every portion of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, the valley of the Mississippi, and the great plains at the base of the Rocky Mountains. He also accompanied an exploring expedition to Brazil, and superintended an investigation



of the deep-sea bottom of the Gulf Stream. The French Academy of Sciences awarded him their prize, and offered him a scientific chair, which he declined, and he also received the cross of the Legion of Honour.

#### SIR J. COWEN, M.P.

Sir Joseph Cowen, the Radical member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, died at his seat, Stella Hall, Blaydon-on-Tyne, on Dec. 10, in the 73rd year of his age. Sir Joseph Cowen belonged to the old Radical party, but he was held in high esteem by men of all parties for the singular consistency and purity of his political life. Sir Joseph Cowen served his time in his youth as a chainmaker in the factory of the firm of Sir Ambrose Crowley and Co., a great London house which had factories at Winculston and Swalwell, on the Tyne, other great north-country coalowners and manufacturers as well as Sir Joseph having in their youth commenced life in Crowley's factory, which had a great reputation for turning out able men. He subsequently, however, joined his brother-in-law as a firebrick maker, and at the time of his death Sir Joseph was at the head of one of the largest firebrick and gas retort works in the kingdom, besides being concerned in coal mining and other extensive industrial enterprises. Sir Joseph Cowen will be best known as chairman of the River Tyne Improvement Commissioners. Under his presidency the Commissioners have completed a series of the most extensive river works in the kingdom. Without any assistance from the Government, except in the way of loans, Mr. Ure, their engineer, also made the Tyne a harbour of refuge, the only one between the Humber and North Ronalds. Hundreds of vessels seek its shelter every winter in gales of wind, which otherwise would be cast ashore and their crews drowned. The Government, in acknowledgment of Sir Joseph Cowen's twenty years' gratuitous services to the trade of the country as chairman of the River Tyne Commissioners, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him about three years ago.

#### GENERAL SIR P. E. CRAIGIE, K.C.B.

General Sir Patrick Edmonstone Craigie, K.C.B., who died on Dec. 13, at his residence, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, was the son of Mr. Laurence Craigie, by Margaret, daughter of Mr. John Hall Max-

well, of Dargavel, Renfrewshire. He was educated at Glasgow School and College, and entered the army in 1813, being then in his 18th year. He had seen much active service during his career in the army. Sir Patrick served with the 2nd batt. 62nd Light Infantry in the campaign of 1813-14 in Holland, under Lord Lynedoch, including both attacks on the fortified village of Morsem, in the latter of which he led the advance party of Major-General Sir Herbert Taylor's brigade; also in the subsequent bombardment of Antwerp. In May, 1841, he embarked at Calcutta, in command of the 55th Regt., for China, and served with the expeditionary force under Lord Gough till the end of the war, being senior field officer serving with the force in the field, and was consequently second in command from the period of its sailing from Hong Kong in August, and during the whole of the active operations which took place during the following five months. He commanded a brigade or column of attack at the assault and capture of the fortified cities of Amoy, Chusan (second capture), on which occasion it happened that the whole engagement of the land force devolved upon his brigade and Chinkee. Subsequently when the head-quarters of the force proceeded to Yang-tse-Kiang, he was appointed by Lord Gough to the responsible command of the Island of Chusan, which he held for eight months until the return of the force, after the treaty of peace had been signed at Nankin. For his conduct on the above occasions (as stated in Lord Gough's despatches) he was promoted to the rank of colonel, appointed an aide-de-camp to the Queen, and a Companion of the Order of the Bath. He was afterwards, in 1854, appointed to command a division of the Madras army, and during the Indian mutiny, in 1857, he commanded the Mysore division, which he retained till the fall of Delhi. On relinquishing his command at Madras, in 1860, he received the thanks of the Governor in Council, and also of the Commander-in-Chief, for his conduct at the above command. Sir Patrick was appointed colonel of the 31st Foot in 1859, and transferred to the 55th (Westmoreland) Regt. of Foot in June, 1863. In 1867 he was created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, in further recognition of his distinguished military services. The venerable general obtained his first commission as ensign June 3, 1813, and became general in Jan. 21, 1868. Sir Patrick was twice married, first, in 1827, to Bell, daughter of Mr. Henry Williams, of Falmouth (she died in 1833), and secondly, in 1838, to Mary

Jane, eldest daughter of General Trewman, of the Madras army, who died in 1870.

#### M. J. A. GALIGNANI.

The well-known Paris journal, *Galignani's Messenger*, announces the death of M. John Anthony Galignani, aged 77, the elder of the two brothers who many years back, by their talent, energy, and perseverance, raised the newspaper which bears their name to so high a point of prosperity. But it was not merely as an able journalist (says the *Messenger*) that the deceased gentleman was distinguished, for, possessing a warm heart and genial nature, he had soon collected around him an extensive circle of distinguished friends, and, extending the kindly feeling which animated him to suffering humanity, he founded near Paris that most useful establishment known as the "Galignani Hospital," intended specially for indigent English subjects; and, in addition, conjointly with his brother, defrayed the whole expense of building, in the vicinity of their country residence, the present large hospital of Corbeil, in a most healthy situation, and with extensive grounds attached. The deceased had, after the late war, retired into private life.

#### SIR R. A. GLASS.

Sir Richard Atwood Glass, Chairman of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, died on the 22nd inst., at Moorlands, Bitterne, Southampton. He was born at Bradford, Wilts, in 1820, the son of Mr. Francis Glass, of that town, by his wife, Mary Canning, of Marlborough, and received his education at King's College, London. Largely engaged in wire-rope making, he supplied half the first Atlantic cable, and the whole of that employed in the cable of 1866, and was knighted for his services in connexion with that great international undertaking. From 1868 to 1869 he sat in Parliament for Bewdley. Sir Richard married, in 1854, Anne, daughter of Thomas Tanner, Esq.

#### VICE-ADMIRAL W. GORDON.

In the person of Vice-Admiral William Gordon we have lost one of the oldest naval officers, his services reaching back nearly seventy years. He entered the Royal Navy in 1804, and saw much active service. While still a boy, he shared as a midshipman on board the "Kingfisher" (Captain N. D. Cochrane)

in the attack on San Domingo in 1806, and subsequently served under the flag of Lord Cochrane (the late Earl of Dundonald) in most of his brilliant operations on the Spanish coast while in command of the "Impérieuse" in 1808-9. Having taken part in the unfortunate expedition to Walcheren, he attained the rank of lieutenant in 1812, and was actively employed on the Baltic, Home, and Mediterranean stations. He subsequently was engaged in the operations connected with the attack on New Orleans. Having obtained his second promotion in 1815, and having commanded the "Pandora" for about two years on the Newfoundland station, he was presented with a post commission in 1841, and soon afterwards went on half-pay. At his death he was a Vice-Admiral on the Retired List.

#### THE O'GRADY.

The head and chief of one of those ancient "septs" or clans of Ireland which claim a Milesian descent far more venerable and illustrious than that of any of the members of the Irish peerage, except, perhaps, the O'Briens, died this month at the age of 57. The late William de Courcy O'Grady, known in Ireland as "The O'Grady," J.P. and D.L., and formerly High Sheriff of the county of Limerick, who died in 1862. He was born in the year 1816, and was educated at Winchester and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took the usual degrees, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1840. He married, in 1841, Anne Grogan, daughter of Mr. Thomas De Rinzi, of Clobemon Hall, county Wexford, by whom he had, with other children, a son, Thomas De Courcy, born in 1844, who now becomes "The O'Grady." According to Sir Bernard Burke, the Milesian family of O'Grady is one of the most ancient in the far west of Ireland.

#### MR. MARK PHILIPS.

Mark Philips, Esq., of Snitterfield and Welcombe, in the county of Warwick, J.P. and D.L., High Sheriff in 1851, died, on the 23rd, at his seat, near Stratford-on-Avon. He was born, Nov. 4, 1800, the eldest son of the late Robert Philips, Esq., of the Park, near Manchester, by Anne, his wife, daughter of Matthew Needham, Esq., of Nottingham, and was grandson of Nathaniel Philips, Esq., of Stand, Prestwich, Lancashire, whose elder brother, John Philips, Esq., of the Heath House, in the county of Stafford, repre-

sented an old Staffordshire family. Following the pursuit of a merchant and manufacturer in Manchester, he gained a foremost place in that important town, and was its first M.P. He continued in the House of Commons until 1847, advocating advanced Liberal opinions. He was never married. His only brother, Robert Needham Philips, Esq., sits as M.P. for Bury.

#### LORD CHIEF BARON PIGOT.

The Right Hon. David Richard Pigot died at Dublin, on Dec. 22. For some few days past his friends despaired of his recovery, as his malady had assumed so serious an aspect. The venerable judge was son of Dr. Pigot, of Kilworth, county Cork, and was born in 1805, so that he was aged 68. He was called to the bar in Ireland in 1826, and for several years—from 1839 to 1846—represented Clonmel in Parliament. He was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1839, and served as Attorney-General from 1840 to Sept. 1841, when he was sworn in a Privy Councillor. He had held the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland since 1846. He was admitted a Bencher of the King's Inns, Dublin, in 1839; and was appointed one of the visitors of Maynooth College in Sept. 1845.

#### GENERAL R. S. PIPER, R.E.

We have to announce the death of General Robert Sloper Piper, an old Peninsular officer, who died at Brighton, on Dec. 26, in his 84th year. The deceased general had seen considerable active service in his early military career, having served six campaigns in the Peninsula, France, and Flanders, from March 1810 to Jan. 1816. From 1810 to 1812 he was employed in the Lines of Lisbon and Almeida, and from Jan. 1812, to the conclusion of hostilities in 1815, held the command of a division of a pontoon train (having been entrusted during that period with the organization and equipment of four several bridges); threw the bridges of the Guadiana, Tagus, Bidassoa, Gave d'Oléron, Garonne, and Seine; served in the trenches at the last siege of Badajoz from the morning of March 18 to March 23, when the bridges of communication below the town being destroyed and sunk, he was despatched (by order of the commander of the forces) to re-establish and remain with them, passing shot, shell, and ammunition during the night and provisions during the daytime, for the remain-

der of the operations. He received the thanks of Sir Rowland Hill at the passage of the Tagus in August in the same year on the advance of his column to Madrid; and, subsequently, when *en route* to Salamanca (in consequence of the enemy's cavalry intercepting the communication through the Sierra do Gato), was commanded by written instructions from the commander of the forces to retire with the bridges on Alcantara de la Reina and Badajoz to Elvas, and finally to Abrantes, where, equipping a fresh train of boats for the operations of the ensuing year, he advanced with the army from Sabugal and Freynada to the Ebro and Vittoria. He was present at the passage of the Bidasoa in October, and the latter part of the blockade of Pampeluna. In June, 1816, he proceeded to Ceylon, and subsequently served as commanding engineer in the Kandian Provinces during the insurrection of 1817 and 1818. He had received the war medal with three clasps. He obtained his first commission as second lieutenant, Jan. 10, 1809; became lieutenant, Dec. 21, 1809; captain, March 16, 1814; major, Jan. 10, 1837; lieutenant-colonel, Nov. 23, 1841; colonel, June 20, 1854; major-general, May 30, 1856; lieutenant-general, April 20, 1861; and general, Jan. 1, 1868.

#### GENERAL SIR A. ROBERTS.

General Sir Abraham Roberts, K.C.B., died Dec. 28, after a short illness, at his residence at Clifton. The deceased, who was the third son of the Rev. John Roberts, by Anne, daughter of the Rev. A. Sandys, of Dublin, was born in 1784; joined the Waterford Militia in 1801, was appointed to the 48th Regt. in 1803, and in 1804 entered the Indian army. He became lieutenant in 1805, captain 1818, major 1826, lieutenant-colonel 1831, colonel 1843, major-general 1854, lieutenant-general 1857, and general 1864. He has been colonel of the 101st Royal Fusiliers since 1862; served under Lord Lake in the Sutlej, 1805; in Bundelcund against the Pindarees, and at the sieges of Komona and Gunowrie, 1806-7; in the Nepaul war, 1814-15; and at the storming of the fort of Kahorga (for which he had a medal). At Birla Ke Tebee, in Dec. 1814, he commanded his regiment and was actively engaged the whole day close to the Fort of Istuk, where he captured the chief and routed the enemy; commanded a brigade in Afghanistan, 1838-39; and was at the storming and capturing of Ghuznee. Sir Abraham was made a C.B. in 1840, G.C.B. in May, 1873, and on Dec. 8 of the

same year he was invested by her Majesty at Windsor with the Riband and Badge of the Military Division of the First-class of Knights Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, in recognition of his long and valuable services. The deceased had a medal for Ghuznee and the 2nd class Dooranee Order. He was twice married, and leaves issue.

#### SIR G. ROSE.

Sir George Rose, probably the only survivor of the "Old Westminsters" of the last century, died at Brighton on Dec. 3, in his 92nd year, having been born on May 1, 1782. He was educated at Westminster School, where he was the senior of Lord Russell and the late Archbishop Longley by ten years or more. He was called to the bar in 1809, at the Inner Temple, of which he was for many years the senior bencher. The only degree which he appears to have taken was that of M.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1835—nine years after he had been made a King's Counsel, and four years after he had taken his seat upon the bench as a judge of the Bankruptcy Court, or, as it was then called, the "Court of Review." In 1840 he was made a Master of the Court of Chancery, during the Chancellorship of Lord Cottenham. Sir George Rose was well known as an able and accomplished classical scholar, and he frequently aided

in the preparation of the Prologue and Epilogue of the "Westminster Play," at which from year to year he was a constant attendant.

#### MR. WINTERBOTHAM, M.P.

The death is announced of Mr. Winterbotham, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. He had gone to Italy with the view of benefiting his health, which had been impaired by application to his official duties. Change of scene and rest were thought to have had their effect, but after a drive on Dec. 12, in the neighbourhood of Rome, he was seized with a sudden illness on Saturday morning, and died in a few hours. Mr. Henry Selfe Page Winterbotham was the son of Mr. Lindsey Winterbotham, a banker of Stroud. He was born in 1837, was educated at Amersham School, Bucks, and afterwards went to University College, London, where he graduated with honours, B.A. in 1856, and LL.B. in 1859. He was Hume Scholar in Jurisprudence in 1858, Hume Scholar in Political Economy in 1859, and in the same year University Law Scholar. Mr. Winterbotham was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in Nov. 1860, and was appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department in March, 1871. He had represented Stroud in the House of Commons since August, 1867.

# REMARKABLE TRIALS.

## I.

### THE BANK OF ENGLAND FORGERIES.

ON August 18, Austin Biron Bidwell, *alias* Frederick Albert Warren, *alias* Charles Johnson Horton, twenty-seven, described as of no trade; George Macdonnell, twenty-eight, clerk; George Bidwell, thirty-four, merchant; and Edwin Noyes, *alias* Edwin Noyes Hills, twenty-nine, clerk, all well educated, were placed at the bar of the Central Criminal Court for trial, before Mr. Justice Archibald, on a charge of forging and uttering sixteen several bills of exchange, and the acceptances, endorsements, and assignments thereof respectively, with intent thereby to defraud the Governors and Company of the Bank of England.

When the prisoners had been placed at the bar, Mr. Powell, Q.C., made an application on behalf of George Bidwell that the trial should be postponed to the next session. The ground for the application was, that since the committal of the prisoners the solicitors for the prosecution had intimated their intention of calling no fewer than ninety additional witnesses besides those who were bound over. The legal advisers of the prisoners had not had an opportunity of considering the effect of this additional evidence, and they desired to have an opportunity of doing so. Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Metcalfe, and Mr. Ribton concurred in the application for a postponement on behalf of the other prisoners. Mr. Giffard strongly opposed the application on behalf of the prosecution, and said that, if the trial was postponed, there was a danger that some of the witnesses for the prosecution would be got out of the way, and that there would be a failure of justice if the application was acceded to. After some consideration Mr. Justice Archibald decided against a postponement, and the prisoners were formally put upon their trial for forging a bill of exchange for 1000*l.*, with intent to defraud the Bank of England. They were allowed to be seated.

Mr. Giffard opened the case for the prosecution. He said that although the prisoners were only charged with forging one bill for 1000*l.*, the fact was that this was only part of a most gigantic system of fraud, the result of which was that ninety-four forged bills of exchange were handed over to the Bank of England, and the prisoners succeeded in obtaining from them more than 100,000*l.* The scheme was concocted with so much skill that but for an accident the prisoners would have been entirely successful, and all the guilty parties would have escaped with their plunder. The learned counsel then



proceeded to state that three of the prisoners (the Bidwells and Macdonnell) appeared to have come to this country in the spring of last year, and at this time they assumed false names, their real names being those by which they were at present known. They obtained an introduction to the Western Branch of the Bank of England, and they appeared to have proceeded with the utmost caution, and every endeavour was made to secure the confidence of the manager of the bank, and in the result, he said, they were entirely successful in carrying out the object they had in view. He then went on to narrate all the various proceedings that were resorted to by the prisoners, and said that the first bill for which they obtained discount was a genuine bill accepted by Messrs. Rothschild for 4600*l*. Several other genuine foreign bills for large amounts were subsequently discounted for the prisoner Austin Bidwell, and all suspicion was allayed owing to the high character of the instruments that were brought to the bank.

At the conclusion of Mr. Giffard's speech the Court adjourned, the jury being accommodated for the night at the Cannon-street Hotel.

The trial was continued on the second day by hearing the evidence of witnesses for the prosecution. The first witness called—Mr. Green, a tailor in Savile-row—deposed that he had been employed by Austin Bidwell, and that Bidwell and Macdonnell ordered some clothes, and they gave the names of F. A. Warren and E. R. Smith. The witness then proved that Austin Bidwell asked him to take charge of 2000*l*., and he declined to do so, but introduced him to his bankers, the Western Branch of the Bank of England; and he handed a sum of money to Mr. Fenwick, the sub-manager, and a cheque-book was given to him. He said before he left that he expected more money to be paid into his account in the course of a week or two.

Cross-examined: It was witness who first suggested to the prisoner that it would be better to place the money at a banker's.

Mr. Fenwick, the sub-manager of the bank, proved that Austin Bidwell was introduced to him on May 4, 1872, as a gentleman who had a considerable sum of money he wished to have taken care of. The prisoner signed his name Frederick Albert Warren, and he described himself as an agent, and said he was over here on business. He paid in 1200*l*., and witness gave him a cheque-book. On January 17 last the prisoner came to the bank, and he saw him throw down a bill of Rothschild's for 4500*l*., and he said to Colonel Francis, "There, I suppose that is good enough paper for you." This bill was discounted. It was a genuine bill, and was paid when it arrived at maturity. In January, 1873, another cheque-book, containing a hundred cheques, was given to the prisoner. He gave his address at the "Golden Cross" Hotel.

Cross-examined: Witness made no inquiries at the "Golden Cross." Witness had no recollection of the prisoner telling him at any time that he intended to close his account.

Colonel Francis, the manager of the branch bank, was then examined, and he detailed the circumstances under which he became acquainted with the prisoner. He first saw him in September, and he then told him that he was going to introduce some American novelties into this country, the principal of which were sleeping railway cars, and he said he hoped they would be ready for the Vienna Exhibition. The prisoner subsequently handed him Portuguese bonds of the nominal value of 8000*l*., and asked him to take care

of them for him, and he afterwards gave him similar bonds of the value of 4000*l.*, and told witness to sell them, and he fixed the limit of price at 41*½*. These bonds were sold, and the amount realized was placed to the credit of the prisoner. Before the bonds were sold the prisoner wanted an advance of 2000*l.* on the bonds, and he was credited with that sum before the bonds were sold. The prisoner first brought two foreign bills for 500*l.* each, and they were discounted. They were genuine bills, and were paid at maturity. The prisoner said he should have some more bills of the same description from Birmingham, and in January a batch of foreign bills, amounting to 4700*l.*, was sent up from Birmingham by the prisoner. They were genuine. The prisoner made a sort of flourish when he handed him the Rothschild bill for 4700*l.*, and said he supposed that would be good enough paper for him. This witness then proceeded to state the circumstances under which the different batches of forged bills were sent to him from Birmingham by the prisoner. The amount of these bills was over 102,000*l.*, and the whole of them were discounted, and placed to the credit of the prisoner. The witness stated his opinion that all the forged bills had been copied from the genuine bills which had been previously discounted for the prisoner. One of the bills was a genuine bill for 25*l.*, and the amount had been altered to 2500*l.*

In answer to a question put by Mr. Poland, Colonel Francis stated that the sum actually drawn out of the bank as the produce of the forgeries was over 100,000*l.*

The trial was adjourned rather earlier than usual in consequence of the foreman of the jury having stated that two of the jury were not very well, and were desirous to have an opportunity of getting a little fresh air.

Mr. Tould, a banker at Amsterdam, proved that he knew the prisoner George Bidwell by the name of Geldbert. There was a firm of Citroen and Co., "gold manufacturers," at Amsterdam, and they informed him in November last year that a stranger would call upon him, and he afterwards saw the prisoner George Bidwell. The prisoner at first asked him to discount some bills for him in Frankfort, but he declined, and he then asked him if he could obtain for him some long bills on Germany. He told him it was difficult to do this in Amsterdam, but he said there were some bills on Hamburg in the market, and he might obtain them. The prisoner told him upon this to purchase these bills to the amount of twenty thousand guilders, and he at the same time said he had some business connected with railway work. Witness purchased some Hamburg bills, and the prisoner paid him for them, and gave him an order to purchase more bills for him, and he did so, and the prisoner paid him in Dutch bank-notes. The prisoner subsequently told him to sell all the bills, but owing to a change in the currency this involved a loss of 50*l.*, but the prisoner said he did not mind that, as he had made large profits in bills on Frankfort. After this, by the direction of the prisoner, he purchased other bills for him on London. These bills were made payable to the order of F. A. Warren. He gave the prisoner four bills, two of which were drawn upon the Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of Belgium and Holland.

Mr. Giffard said that these bills were subsequently discounted by the Bank of England, and forged bills of the same character were subsequently discounted by the Bank of England.

Examination continued: Witness had a number of other transactions

relating to the purchase and sale of bills for the prisoner, and some of the bills he purchased were drawn upon the Bank of Amsterdam.

The witness was examined at very considerable length upon these matters, the object being to show that the prisoner was procuring bills upon first-rate houses, in order that these genuine bills might be made the medium of copying forged ones afterwards, the whole of the forged instruments that were eventually discounted by the Bank of England being exact counterfeits of genuine foreign bills that had been previously discounted for the prisoner Austin Bidwell.

Mr. Barrett, the purser on board the "Atlantic," one of the White Star Line New York packets, deposed that in December last the prisoner came to London in the "Atlantic." He went by the name of E. N. Hills, and took a ticket in that name. The prisoner had no luggage except a small valise. The prisoner paid ninety dollars in gold for his passage.

M. Johannes Dewall, a banker of Rotterdam, proved that in November last the prisoner Macdonnell gave him 622*l.* for the purpose of purchasing bills upon the London and Westminster Bank, and the prisoner directed him to send the bills he purchased to an hotel in London. The witness said that he subsequently purchased one bill on the London and Westminster Bank for 300*l.* The prisoner passed by the name of F. A. Warren, and the bills were specially endorsed and made payable to that name. He sent the bills to London in a registered letter, to the address the prisoner had given him in London. He afterwards received a letter from the prisoner Macdonnell, acknowledging the receipt of the bills that witness had sent him.

M. Meyer Schwertzchild, an exchange broker at Frankfort, said he believed he recognized two prisoners in the dock (George and Austin Bidwell) as persons who came to his office in October last, and they gave him an order to buy some American bonds. George Bidwell passed as G. A. Gilbert. The bonds were to be purchased for Mr. W. Hall. He purchased two lots of bonds for the prisoner. The first lot was purchased in January and the second in February.

Mr. Bucheim, clerk in the Liverpool Bank, deposed that in February Austin Bidwell came to the bank and represented himself as H. C. Clark, and said he wanted to buy a bill on London for 24*l.* 10*s.* A bill was given to him, and at the request of the prisoner it was endorsed Payne and Company, and it was handed to him and he took it away with him.

Isidore Woolff, clerk to a merchant's firm at Frankfort, proved that in October he saw the prisoner Austin Bidwell at their office, and he gave the name of H. E. Trafford.

Two clerks from the Western Branch of the Bank of England were then examined, and they identified certain bank-notes as having been paid for cheques drawn by F. A. Warren.

Mr. J. Stanton, manager of the Continental Bank, proved that he knew Austin Bidwell as Charles Johnson Horton, and the prisoner Noyes. Austin Bidwell came to the bank in December and wished to open an account. He said he had previously banked with Bowles and Co., and he wished to know what interest they would allow him. An account was subsequently opened by 1300*l.* being paid in by the prisoner in Bank of England notes. (These were the same notes referred to as having been obtained at the West-end

Branch of the Bank of England.) The prisoner Austin Bidwell afterwards paid in various other sums by cheques drawn by F. A. Warren on the Western Branch of the Bank of England. On December 5, 1000*l.* was drawn out by a cheque drawn by the prisoner in the name of C. J. Horton. The witness proceeded to prove that large sums were paid in by cheques drawn by the prisoner as F. A. Warren upon the West-end Branch of the Bank of England, to his account at the Continental Bank in the name of C. J. Horton. At this time the forgeries had proved successful, and as soon as a large sum was placed to the credit of F. A. Warren at the Bank of England it was drawn out by cheques and placed to Horton's account at the Continental Bank. The witness went on at very considerable length to state the particulars of the paying in and drawing out of large sums of money by the prisoner Austin Bidwell, under the name of C. J. Horton, mostly by cheques drawn in the assumed name of F. A. Warren, upon the Branch Bank of England. The witness also proved that the prisoner Noyes was subsequently introduced to the Continental Bank by Austin Bidwell as his confidential clerk, and he continued to pay in and draw out large sums of money, which were ultimately used for the purpose of purchasing American bonds from Messrs. Jay, Cooke, M'Culloch, and Co. Noyes, who was the first person apprehended, was taken into custody at the Continental Bank on March 1, and he then asserted that he was merely the clerk of Horton, and that he had no knowledge of any fraud going on.

After the counsel for the prosecution had summed up the case, two of the prisoners, Macdonnell and George Bidwell, obtained permission to address the jury. Macdonnell said that, so far as he was concerned, he felt that the evidence was so conclusive that it was useless for him to attempt to escape; but he was anxious to shield others who were innocent. He desired, therefore, to address them on behalf of those who were innocent. He then went on to deny that the project of fraud was initiated by himself and his three companions, and that they had come to this country for the special purpose of carrying it out. The truth was, he said, that he had purchased some bills on London at Amsterdam for a perfectly legitimate purpose, and when he found the mode in which business of this nature was carried on in London, he at once telegraphed to George Bidwell at Vienna, and "the result of that discovery," added Macdonnell, with an adroit touch of pathos, "is that I am standing here." He said that in America, where bills were offered for discount, the acceptors were always applied to, and they were required to initial their acceptances, but here nothing of the kind was required, and this led them to contemplate the fraud, which was eventually carried out with the assistance of George Bidwell. He then proceeded to a statement which, as he observed, cut the ground of defence from under his own feet, but which, at the same time, if believed, had the effect of partially exculpating Austin Bidwell. This man had been severely shaken in an accident on a French railway; and Macdonnell's story was that his friend had been morally regenerated by the near escape from death, and had withdrawn from participation in the frauds. Macdonnell, having ended his address, rose afterwards to add a few words on behalf of Noyes; but was told that such a course could not be permitted, as this prisoner was defended by counsel. George Bidwell then briefly addressed the jury, admitting his own guilt, and asserting that all Macdonnell had said was true.

Mr. McIntyre then addressed the jury on behalf of Austin Bidwell, and Mr. Ribton followed on behalf of Noyes.

Mr. Justice Archibald briefly summed up, and the jury retired to consider their verdict. On returning into Court, after the lapse of about a quarter of an hour, they gave in a verdict of "Guilty" against all four prisoners.

On being asked, in the usual form, if they had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon them, the prisoner Austin Bidwell inquired whether it would be any use for him to apply for a short postponement of the sentence. "None whatever," was the answer. Echoing the words, "None whatever," with calm despair, and folding his arms, he then spoke mournfully of a misspent youth, lost opportunities, neglected or perverted talents, and, in conclusion, said, "There is a gentleman in this Court whom I have deeply injured, and whose forgiveness I crave. It is Colonel Francis. I hope that, in the course of years, when his resentment wears away, that he will give me credit for being sincerely sorry for the wrong I have done him. This is the only reparation I can make."

Macdonnell observed that he had nothing to say to the verdict so far as he himself was concerned, but he wished to impress upon the judge the fact that Noyes knew nothing whatever of the forgery.

George Bidwell said, as he had now not a shilling in the world, except what was in the hands of the authorities, he had to request that some portion of the property taken from him, and which he brought with him from America—it being no part of the proceeds of the forgery—might be placed at the disposal of a person in whom he was interested, and whose name he would give. Mr. Justice Archibald said that was a matter with which the Court could not deal.

George Bidwell said he did not ask any consideration for himself, but he begged that his brother, who was a young man, and but recently married, might be dealt with mercifully. Referring to the prisoner Noyes, he said he had been kept in ignorance of the real state of affairs.

Noyes did not deny that he had been acquainted with all the other prisoners, but when he arrived in London he knew nothing that was going to take place. It was not until the latter part of the time that he became aware anything was wrong. He was kept in ignorance as to who the man Warren was, and what he thought wrong appeared to him to have reference to depreciated stock. He concluded by making an earnest appeal to the judge to temper justice with mercy.

Mr. Justice Archibald, addressing the prisoners, said that, although they were only charged in the indictment upon which they had been convicted with forging one bill of exchange, the evidence that it was necessary for the prosecution to bring forward in support of this charge made it quite clear that they had all been engaged in a scheme of fraud which, perhaps, for its audacity of conception, its magnitude, and the skill with which it was carried out, was completely unparalleled. He could not see any mitigating circumstances in the case of any one of them. They were not pressed by want, but had the command of a considerable sum of money, and they were not persons who might perhaps have been ignorant of the terrible consequences in a commercial community like this that were likely to be occasioned by such acts as those of which they had been guilty. Their crime was aggravated by the fact that they were men possessed of education, who could



speaking several languages, and who must have been well aware of the nature and effect of what they were doing, and the serious shock that was likely to be given to commercial credit by the course they were pursuing. Those who acted in such a manner must expect, when they were reached by the arm of the law, to receive a terrible retribution at its hands. So far as they were concerned he could not see any distinction in their cases, and if he could have conceived any case of forgery worse than theirs, he would have considered whether he might have been justified in refraining from going to the full extent of the law in the present instance. He was unable to conceive a worse case, and he therefore "felt it to be his duty to order each of them to be kept in penal servitude for life, and he also made an order that each of them should pay one-fourth of the expenses of the prosecution." As the words came solemnly from the judge's lips a low, indescribable murmur ran through the court. It was not astonishment, not protest, not approval; but it was an expression, or so it seemed, of pervading awe. The four men literally shrank as they heard it.

They were then taken, strongly guarded, through the door at the back of the dock.

During the detention of the prisoners at Newgate an attempt was made to procure their escape. Certain relatives of the prisoners Bidwell and Macdonnell have been for some time in London, and three of the warders who were found to have been in communication with them were watched by detectives. On August 21, matters having come to a crisis, the senior sheriff went into the gaol, and in the presence of Mr. Jonas, the governor, a rigid inquiry was instituted. The result was to leave no doubt that a sum of 100*l.* had been given to each of these three warders to assist in freeing the prisoners; and they would have been on duty on the following night, and have had charge of the four prisoners, and then the affair was to have come off. These men were searched, and a large sum of money was found upon them, and one had in his possession letters that he was to have delivered for another prisoner, contrary to the gaol regulations. They were all three at once suspended, and the man who had the letters was given into custody, and was taken to Guildhall and remanded. It was understood that a part of the plan proposed to be carried out was to attempt to rescue the prisoners from the dock while the trial was proceeding, and in order to prevent this the ordinary entrances of the court have been kept locked, and an extra number of police placed on duty in the court and the passages leading to it. Several police-constables were also placed on duty inside the gaol. One of the warders is said to have confidentially told a friend he was to receive 1000*l.* and go to Tasmania.

The fraud has been more than once characterized during the trial as the most extensive which had ever been attempted by similar means; and as it is also probably the most elaborate, the following connected account of the proceedings will be read with interest:—

According to Macdonnell, a precaution which is customary in America in cashing accepted bills is omitted in England. It is usual there to send round the acceptances to the persons accepting to be "initialled," and it was when it was discovered that this formality was dispensed with in London he saw his way to this attempt. However, Austin Bidwell, George Bidwell, and Macdonnell came to this country in the spring of last year, and there is no

doubt that they proceeded without delay to set on foot a scheme of fraud. By the unsuspecting good-nature of a tailor in Savile-row, Austin Bidwell procured in May an introduction to the Western Branch of the Bank of England, and for some months patiently left in deposit there, under the name of Warren, a sum of about 2000*l*. It was not until September that he commenced any larger transactions; he then asked the manager to sell for him 8000*l*. of Portuguese stock, and he drew 2000*l*. on account. He represented himself as an American contractor for introducing Pullman's cars into Europe, and said he was building them at Birmingham. Having thus established some credit with the Bank, the conspirators proceeded to acquaint themselves with the names and position of the great commercial houses of this country and of Europe, and for this purpose during September and October they were actively engaged in various cities of the Continent. An illness of Macdonnell seems to have delayed their "operations;" but between November and January George Bidwell procured a large number of genuine bills, which served two purposes. These were paid into Warren's account, and thus maintained his credit; but they also served as models for the intended forgeries. As soon as this was accomplished the scheme was ready to be put in practice; but the prisoners foresaw a further difficulty. When the forged bills had been discounted, how were they to distribute the plunder without affording a clue by which they might all be traced? Austin Bidwell, whose guilt would, of course, be at once known, was to be out of England before the bills were presented; but how were the others to escape? For this purpose an account was opened in another name at the Continental Bank, so that the money obtained on the account of Warren at Burlington Gardens might be paid to the credit of Horton in Lombard-street, and there drawn out in another form. Moreover, George Bidwell and Macdonnell, as the direct agents in the forgery, thought it prudent to shield themselves by employing a fourth agent to deal with the money. For this purpose Noyes was summoned from America, and as he too would obviously be implicated in the crime as soon as it became known, he took the precaution of advertising for a place as clerk, and making a formal engagement with Horton, or Austin Bidwell. The design was evidently that, when the forged bills matured, Macdonnell and George Bidwell should have followed Austin Bidwell abroad, that Noyes should be the only agent upon whom the authorities could lay their hands, and that he should be able to represent himself as an innocent dupe. But who was to present the bills at the Bank of England? Austin Bidwell, as we have said, was away, Macdonnell and George Bidwell were to be kept in the background, and Noyes was to be confined to his apparent clerk's work in the City. At this point Austin Bidwell's imaginary factories at Birmingham came into play. Having one day refreshed his credit by presenting for sale a genuine bill of the Messrs. Rothschild, he informed the manager that his business at Birmingham was becoming very active, and that in the course of the next month he expected his transactions to be very large. His next communications, accordingly, or rather the next communications in his name, were addressed to the manager from Birmingham. Macdonnell and George Bidwell proceeded to transmit in quick succession from Birmingham, under cover of letters, purporting to be written by Austin Bidwell, the forged bills they had prepared, and by the end of February forgeries to the amount of 102,217*l*. were actually discounted at

the Bank; the money was duly transferred to Horton's account, and then a further device was resorted to for the purpose of obliterating traces of the transaction. Notes were obtained from the Continental Bank; these were then taken by one of the conspirators to the Bank of England and exchanged for gold, and then, in the course of the same day, another of the conspirators took the gold back to the Bank and obtained other notes for it. The proceeds were then invested in various American securities, and large sums were actually sent to New York. Success seemed complete, when one day two bills were handed to the Bank on which the date of acceptance had, by an oversight of the forger, been omitted. The Bank, still suspecting nothing wrong, sent to the acceptor that the omission might be supplied; the forgery was discovered, and the whole scheme collapsed.

The *Times* understands that the prosecution are in possession of the following facts:—Macdonnell, who has Irish connexions, in company with Austin Bidwell, visited Ireland in the autumn of 1871. On that occasion they altered a cheque on the Bank of Ireland from 3*l.* to 3000*l.*, and obtained money on it from a bank at Belfast. They subsequently went to Manchester, where by similarly altered cheques, and a forged letter of introduction from one of the leading mercantile houses in London, they obtained a large sum from Messrs. Heywood. They then left England. In April, 1872, Macdonnell, with the two Bidwells, arrived in England from America, and went to lodgings at Enfield-road, Kingsland. After being fitted out by the tailors, they left at the end of the month, Austin Bidwell and Macdonnell proceeding to Berlin and Dresden, George Bidwell to Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons, taking with them forged letters of introduction of the manager of the Union Bank of London, and forged letters of credit of the Bank of North and South Wales, Liverpool. By means of these letters, and bills drawn under the forged letter of credit, they obtained 8000*l.* in cash, and with this they returned to London, but not to their old lodgings. In the following month the three sailed by the "*Lusitania*" from Liverpool for Buenos Ayres. There they obtained from one firm—whose name it is unnecessary to mention—10,000*l.* under forged letters of credit and of introduction of the London and Westminster Bank. The three then separated, but again met in London in August of last year, and it is probable, as stated by Macdonnell, that the scheme was at that time settled of forging bills for discount at the Bank of England. Communication was then entered into with Noyes, *alias* Hills. With regard to him it appears that he had been recently released from the State prison of New Jersey, having been sentenced, in January, 1869, to seven years' imprisonment for uttering a forged cheque on a bank. On the urgent appeals of his friends and relations a pardon was granted to him in March, 1872. He arrived in England in December, and the forgeries were then in preparation. It is further stated that the forgers were all well known to each other in America.

## II.

## THE TICHBORNE CASE.

IN the month of April this portentous case was once more brought before the long-suffering public, in the form of the "trial at bar" of the "claimant" for perjury, before the Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and Justices Mellor and Lush. Mr. Hawkins, Q.C., Mr. Serjeant Parry, and Mr. Bowen, were for the prosecution; Dr. Kenealy, Q.C., and Mr. McMahon for the accused. As it is absolutely impossible in the compass of a work like this to give anything like a detailed, if even an intelligible, account of this extraordinary trial, we can only throw ourselves on the indulgence of our readers, and refer those desirous of fuller information to the voluminous reports which fill every newspaper of the period. In the year 1874, the fourth, and it is devoutly to be hoped the last, year over which the history of these proceedings will extend, we trust to be able to give some *résumé* of the whole story, which may be of reasonable length and perspicuity. The narrowness of the issues involved is, as is well known, ludicrously out of proportion to the fabulous expense and more fabulous waste of time involved. The claimant was charged with perjury in stating himself to be Sir Roger Tichborne—perjury in denying himself to be Arthur Orton—and perjury in stating that he had seduced his cousin, Lady Radcliffe. Mr. Hawkins, in his opening speech, told the oft-told tale of Roger's early life, his life at Stonyhurst and at home, his love for his cousin, his departure from England, and followed it from his arrival at Valparaiso, on June 19, 1853, until April 20, 1854, when the "Bella," with Roger on board, sailed from Rio for New York, and from that day no more was seen of her, nor of any soul on board of her. The learned counsel then presented the jury with an elaborate sketch of the career of Arthur Orton, with whom he endeavoured to identify the defendant. He gave a graphic narrative of the defendant's second visit to Wapping, on the day after his arrival in England, to see the sisters of Arthur Orton, when he represented himself to be Mr. W. H. Stevens, a reporter for an Australian paper, who knew Orton well. The correspondence which passed between the parties resulted in the two sisters recognizing the defendant, from his letters, as their long-absent brother. A detailed account was next given of the claimant's first visits to Alresford, of his interviews with Mr. Gosford and Mr. Hopkins, with Lady Tichborne in Paris, and with Mr. and Mrs. Radcliffe and Mrs. Towneley at Croydon. Step by step the history of the case was revealed to the jury; how the claimant acquired his information regarding the Tichborne family, and by what means it was sought to prove him to be the real Sir Roger. After referring to the examination which took place at the Law Institution, the learned counsel again referred to the defendant's proceedings with the Orton family, and stated that Charles Orton was allowed by the claimant 5*l.* per month up to August, 1868; and that the two sisters, Mrs. Tredgett and Mrs. Jewry, people he had refused to see, were also in the habit of receiving money from him under various names.

In the fourth daily instalment of his opening speech Mr. Hawkins passed under review the claimant's proceedings in preparing his case. Great care was bestowed on elucidating the motives of the correspondence opened, in

1867, with Don Castro, of Melapilla ; on exposing the inconsistency of dates therein mentioned with those of the real Roger Tichborne's visit to Chili ; and on examining the claimant's various excuses for not continuing his journey to Melapilla. The twenty-five days' cross-examination which he underwent last year at the hands of the Attorney-General suggested to Mr. Hawkins instances innumerable of incredible lapses of memory on the claimant's part. He had been hopelessly wrong as to where he spent his childhood in Paris, as to all his early friends and associates, in all his recollections of Stonyhurst, and also as to every incident in his military life.

Mr. Hawkins then went fully into the history of the sealed packet left by Roger Tichborne with Mr. Gosford before he took his departure from England in 1853, and a copy of which had been given by Roger to Miss Doughty, now Lady Radcliffe. This document was in the following terms:—"Tichborne Park.--I make on this day a promise that if I marry my cousin, Kate Doughty, this year, or before three years are over, at the latest, to build a church or chapel at Tichborne to the Holy Virgin, in thanksgiving for the protection which she will have shown us in praying God that our wishes might be fulfilled.—R. C. TICHBORNE." It was in connexion with this packet that the defendant had made a deliberate accusation against the honour of Lady Radcliffe—one which the learned counsel characterized in the strongest terms, adding that Lady Radcliffe would state on her oath that the assertion was absolutely without foundation. In commenting at length upon what he termed the improbability of the defendant's account of the wreck of the "Bella," Mr. Hawkins drew especial attention to the fact that two of the names mentioned by the defendant as those of men on board the ship which picked him up at sea actually belonged to men on board the "Middleton," in which Arthur Orton had made the voyage from London to Hobart Town. The learned counsel afterwards referred to various incidents in the defendant's Australian life.

In concluding his opening speech Mr. Hawkins informed the jury that they would have ample data supplied to them for testing the handwriting of Sir Roger and of the claimant. In the latter he pointed out marked peculiarities of spelling, which occur frequently. He wound up by charging the defendant with perjury "the most daring and detestable."—Dr. Kenealy raised a number of technical objections to the form of the indictment and the venue of the trial, which were overruled.—Abbé Salis then took his place in the witness-box, and deposed to his long acquaintance with Sir Roger and his parents while they were in Paris. In contradiction of the claimant's evidence at Westminster, he positively denied that the Louvre was visible from Sir James Tichborne's house in the Rue St. Honoré. In the last interview, before the South American expedition, Roger had shown to the Abbé the tattoo marks on his forearm. His reverence, when questioned about the claimant's identity, replied with emphasis, "He is not Roger Charles Tichborne. There is no resemblance to him."

The Abbé Salis was cross-examined with reference to his knowledge of Sir Roger and Lady Tichborne ; and Père Lefèvre, a Jesuit priest, who had been Sir Roger's confessor in France before he went to Stonyhurst, gave evidence regarding his education and character at that period. In his opinion the defendant was not the Roger Tichborne whom he knew in Paris.—M. Adrian Chatillon, the first tutor of Roger, also declared that



defendant was not Roger Tichborne, saying with emphasis, "No, no; he never was a Tichborne, never."

During his re-examination the Lord Chief Justice and the foreman of the jury asked several questions about the claimant's alleged lake at Pornick; the connubial relations of Sir James and Lady Tichborne; and the moral habits of Roger Tichborne when a lad.—Madame Chatillon was closely interrogated by Dr. Kenealy about the occasion on which Roger showed his tattoo mark. She again repudiated the sketch of it drawn by her husband, in which the heart and the anchor are attached to the cross, declaring positively for another sketch, in which all three are separate.—M. d'Aranza, a Spaniard, who was a friend of the Tichborne family in Paris, and had known Roger from his birth, answered the usual questions about the defendant's identity with a "Non, non, non!" He made a few important allegations—one, that Roger's English had been very bad, though not vulgar, to the last; another, that his colloquial tongue was always French.—M. Gossin, the maitre d'hôtel of Mr. James Tichborne, deposed, on the strength of a fourteen years' intimate knowledge of Roger, that he had no marks on his body, and nothing remarkable about his feet. It was positively denied by M. Gossin that the Louvre could be seen from the Tichbornes' house in the Rue St. Honoré.—The evidence of the French witnesses having been exhausted, the Court and jury were regaled with Tichborne readings on a large scale. Some of the voluminous depositions made in Chancery and at Nisi Prius were read, and this interesting process continued for several days.

When this was concluded, a series of witnesses swore to the identity of the claimant with Arthur Orton. Mr. Gibbes, the Australian attorney, gave the history of his communications with the defendant at Wagga-Wagga and elsewhere, and, on retiring from the witness-box, was complimented by the Lord Chief Justice on his scrupulous impartiality and anxious desire to speak the strict truth between the two sides. The witnesses who followed were Captain Thomas Oates, of the merchant service, who saw Roger Tichborne go on board the "Bella" in 1854, and declared that the defendant was not the same person; Mr. Hawkes, who swore to the defendant as a butcher in Hobart Town, and to his having stated, in reference to a remark on the great improvement in the cutting up of the meat, that he had cut up meat for Newgate Market; Mr. Edward Petit Smith, who identified him as a man he had known at Wagga-Wagga under the name of Tom Castro; and Mr. Frederick Cubitt, who had acted as clerk to his brother, the advertising agent at Sydney, and who testified that the defendant, when questioned as to his military career, stated that he had been in that remarkable corps the 66th Dragoons (Blue). When it was shown to the defendant that no such regiment existed, he replied, "How should I know? I was only ten days in the regiment." On his arrival in England, Mr. Cubitt had called on Lady Tichborne and asked her if she recognized her son. She answered evasively, and implied by her manner that she did not recognize him.

At this stage of the trial the Lord Chief Justice stated, in answer to inquiries which had been made to the judges by letter, that so long as nothing was done to prejudice the verdict of the jury, there could be no objection to any assistance being rendered to the claimant for the purposes of his defence. The claimant then asked their lordships whether it would be considered a contempt of Court if he appeared during the ensuing Whitsun holidays at

several theatres, the managers of which had agreed to give him large sums of money merely to read the answer to his petition to the Lords of the Treasury for granting the expenses of his witnesses. The Bench, however, declined to express any opinion upon this application.—The principal witness now called was Miss Mary Ann Loder, with whom Arthur Orton had kept company twenty years ago. She stated that the defendant was the same man who was accustomed to walk with her. She denied that he had worn earrings or that he was pock-marked, but she had not noticed the size of his hand and foot. Several of the letters she had received from him while he was on his voyage to Hobart Town she identified—even to the peculiar hieroglyphic at the end. When asked by Dr. Kenealy if she had any doubt about defendant being the man, she answered that if she had she would have given him the full benefit of it.—Ann Cockburn, who had been a playmate of the Ortons, and lived directly opposite to them, corroborated Miss Loder's account of Arthur's physical peculiarities. Other witnesses from Wapping swore to the defendant being Arthur Orton.

The witnesses next examined were chiefly residents of Wapping, some of whom swore positively, and others less decidedly, that the defendant was Arthur Orton.

Henry Allen, who had been cook on board the "Middleton" during her voyage to Hobart Town, swore positively to the defendant having been his shipmate. He stood a severe cross-examination as to his remembrance of the defendant's physical peculiarities.—William Wallace, who before 1852 had frequently called upon George Orton as a saddler's agent, gave it as his conscientious conviction that the defendant was the same person whom he had known as George's youngest son Arthur.—John Collins, after premising that he had prayed for grace to tell the truth, affirmed that the man before him was Arthur Orton.—George Winn, baker, had known Arthur from his being a baby in long clothes, and was familiar with the twitching of his face as a family movement.—Walter Lever had been apprenticed to a smith, next door to Orton's shop, in Lower East Smithfield. Arthur was his daily playmate for four years, and he remembered weighing him in the scales, when he turned 13½ st. He had recognized the defendant at Croydon.—Charles Lawrence, a gentleman who was waited upon by a committee of the claimant's friends at Southampton, detailed that dramatic interview, at the close of which he had politely to remind one of his visitors that the "door was down-stairs."—William Syrett, horse-healer, described certain funny games which young Wapping had been accustomed to play upon Arthur. One of them was to tie him up in a hamper and roll him over and over.—Mrs. Syrett, the wife of last witness, addressed an *ad hominem* appeal to the defendant, asking him, "Could you stand alone here before me and my husband and say you are not Arthur Orton?"—Thomas Ward, a master lighterman, discovered a new mark of identification; "Arther Orton laughed all over his face, just as the claimant does."—William Willoughby, oilman, of 26, High-street, told the claimant the first time he met him, "You are the image of your sister Margaret." He added in Court, that his voice was not to be distinguished from his father's.

Several of the witnesses examined at this stage hailed from Wapping or Poplar. Mr. Thomas Halstead, an old resident of Wapping, said he was certain the defendant was Arthur Orton.—Mrs. Fairhead deposed to the

defendant calling at the "Globe" public-house, Wapping, on Christmas night, 1866, and inquiring after members of the Orton family. He had on a rough pilot coat, and a muffler round his throat. She said to him, "You are the Orton who left some twelve or fourteen years ago;" and he said, "No; I am a friend of his, and have come home to assist the Ortons. What makes you think I am like the Ortons?" She replied, "You are so like both father and mother." She was positive the defendant was the gentleman who called.—Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Fairhead's daughter, who was at the "Globe" on the Christmas night, confirmed the evidence of her mother. She recognized him as Arthur Orton.—Mrs. Pardon spoke to the delivery of a letter from the defendant, on Boxing-day, 1866, to Mrs. Tredgett, and relating to her the conversation she had with the defendant, whereupon Mrs. Tredgett said, "Oh, Mrs. Pardon, it must have been my brother."—Mr. Alfred Shottler, who was apprenticed to a butcher in Wapping, and who, in the year 1856, went to Australia, identified the defendant as Arthur Orton.—John Coyne, groom to the late Lady Tichborne, described the first interview between the Dowager and the defendant, who was lying on the bed, dressed, with his face towards the wall. Her ladyship kissed him, and said he looked like his father, and his ears were like his uncle's.—Mrs. Emily Richardson stated that when she first heard defendant speak she at once remarked that if Old George Orton had been alive she would have thought it was he who was speaking. She had known Arthur Orton from his infancy; and, in her opinion, defendant was Arthur Orton.

The claimant having appealed to the Treasury for assistance to procure witnesses for his defence, Mr. Bruce, while declining to recommend a grant for that purpose, promised, when the trial should be concluded, to consider, in conjunction with the Treasury, whether and to what extent witnesses for the defence, under the special circumstances of the case, might be treated on the same footing as those who were bound over by the magistrates to give evidence for the prosecution.

Succeeding to the long array of witnesses from Wapping, who swore that the defendant in the Tichborne perjury trial is Arthur Orton, persons of a different class next came forward with equally positive evidence that he is not Roger Tichborne.—Lady Catherine Weble, daughter of Lord Howth, deposed to her acquaintance with Sir Roger Tichborne at Dublin. The defendant, she said, was not the least like him. She described the French-taught young Englishman as shy, but with the manners of a perfect gentleman. He was not very brilliant in conversation, she said, with ready candour, when cross-examined; he danced awkwardly, though whether from any defect of limb she could not pretend to say; and with respect to his voice, all she remembered was the very noticeable French accent.—Richard Telfer, who had been second mate of the "Osprey" on her voyage from Glasgow to Melbourne in 1854, denied that she had picked up any crew in the Atlantic.—Sir John Lawson and Mr. Walter Mannoeh, two Stonyhurst students, were examined at great length on the condition of the school in Roger Tichborne's time. Sir John illustrated, by means of a plan, the position and arrangement of the buildings and the general topography of the place. He described the routine of school life, the discipline, and the recreation of the boys—all in terms materially different from the claimant's account. Mr. Mannoeh's cross-examination recalled certain curious features of the claimant's own. Many

of the Attorney-General's questions were put to him by Dr. Kenealy, and his answers indicated that he, too, had considerably outgrown his Stonyhurst studies. When asked if the defendant was Roger Tichborne, witness replied, "Most certainly not."

The Stonyhurst portion of the evidence for the prosecution was resumed after a Whitsuntide adjournment; and the witnesses included Robert Humphreys, gardener at the college; Mr. Edward Waterton, a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire; Mr. M. H. Williams, of Cheltenham; and Mrs. Standish, matron of the infirmary at Stonyhurst. Their testimony was to the effect that the defendant bore no resemblance to Roger Tichborne.

William Hopwood, the Australian farmer, was recalled and examined by Dr. Kenealy on certain matters, with a view to test his credibility.—The evidence of the Rev. Christopher Fitzsimon, chaplain to the boys at Stonyhurst, was not of much moment. In answer to the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Mellor, he said it would have been utterly inconsistent with the discipline of the college for a "philosopher" or other student to live in a cottage outside the walls.—The Rev. Edward Bird, who was residing at the seminary, Stonyhurst, before July, 1845, remembered Roger Charles Tichborne, who attended his lectures on chemistry, perfectly well. Being asked whether the defendant was the Roger Tichborne he knew at Stonyhurst, he replied, "Most certainly not." He saw no resemblance at all.—Mrs. Catherine Kellett, wife of Major Kellett, said her brother and Roger Tichborne were great friends, and she saw him for some time nearly every day, and she did not think that the defendant was the least like him.—Major Kellett, who knew Roger Tichborne both at Cahir and Clonmel, said there was no likeness between him and the defendant.—The Rev. John Rigby, Roger Tichborne's immediate superior at Stonyhurst, and the Rev. John Etheridge, professor of logic and ethics at the seminary, were afterwards examined, and both declared that the defendant was not Roger Tichborne.

Documentary evidence was next tendered, the bulk of which was provocative of forensic humour. From the "minister journal," a kind of diary kept at Stonyhurst, extracts were read relating to Roger Tichborne's movements, and his final departure from the college. The book containing his account for fees and expenses was also put in, as well as a collection of playbills, including the cast of the "Castle of Andalusia."—The Rev. Maurice Mann deposed to having taught Roger a little Latin and mathematics, and to having been very intimate with him. His answer to the question if he thought the defendant like Roger Tichborne was an emphatic "Certainly not."—Lord Bellew repeated the statement which he had made, as to his having tattooed Roger Tichborne, who, he said, tattooed him in return. His lordship exhibited the marks to the jury. He denied that the defendant bore any resemblance to Roger Tichborne. His lordship was subjected to an embarrassing cross-examination from Dr. Kenealy on the subject of his private life, and matters which in the previous trial Serjeant Ballantine had refused to introduce.

Two cases of contempt of Court were the next feature in the case. One related to a private letter of Mr. Guildford Onslow, M.P., which had been published in several papers, and the other to a cartoon of the defendant sold in the Strand.—Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, of Binfield,



deposed to having visited at the Doughtys with Roger Tichborne, and to having seen the tattoo mark. He could not recollect particularly about the shape of it. He was positive that the defendant was not the Roger Tichborne whom he had known as a lad. "The very idea," said he, "seems to me ridiculous."—Mr. Alfred Seymour, a relation to the late Dowager Lady Tichborne, underwent a long examination as to the relations subsisting between Lady Tichborne and her family, Roger's visits to Knoyle, his intercourse with the Seymours, and the tattoo mark. He was stringently cross-examined as to what had passed between him and Lady Tichborne respecting the claimant, and he stated his firm belief that before her death she had begun to doubt the claimant's identity.—There was a sharp encounter between the counsel and the witness in getting at what had passed between Mr. Seymour and the claimant when they met after Lady Tichborne's death. The points of his examination in chief were mainly that the witness had seen the memorable tattoo marks and recollected them perfectly, and that he was quite certain the defendant was not Roger Tichborne, nor in any way like Roger. —It was announced by the prosecution that they wished to send back Don Tomas Castro, there being no prospect of his recovering sufficiently to be put in the witness-box. Medical witnesses deposed that examination would tend to aggravate his malady.

A fresh case of contempt of Court was then referred to by the Lord Chief Justice. Not only had a private letter of Mr. Guildford Onslow, setting forth one-sided views, been published, but one of the country papers guilty of this indiscretion had added a leading article on the subject, strongly condemning the person on his trial.—The Attorney-General promised that the facts should be regularly brought before the Bench.—The military witnesses next appeared. Colonel Greenwood repeated the well-known account of his journey from Guildford to London in the claimant's company, when the latter submitted himself to cross-examination. He admitted that some of the answers were more or less correct, but that the incidents alluded to would be matters of notoriety where they occurred.—The salient points in the evidence of Captain Manders were a distinct recollection of the tattoo marks, and a denial that there was any peculiarity in Roger's thumb. —Mrs. Manders, who had been married to Captain Manders while the regiment lay at Cahir, gave a very particular account of Tichborne's appearance at that time. In cross examination she declared that there was a perfect contrast between him and the defendant. They had not, she said, a feature alike. Roger's "nice expression" she missed entirely in Dr. Kenealy's client.—Captain Fraser laid most stress on the small snuff-box which Roger had given him as a souvenir, and which the claimant had wrongly described as being of silver. After ample opportunities of observing the defendant, he could swear that he was not Roger Tichborne.—Captain Morton, in his comparatively brief evidence, denied that there was any malformation of the thumb in Roger.

Several officers of the Carabiniers were called, who had known Roger Tichborne as an officer in that regiment, and who denied that the defendant was the man whom he had represented himself to be.—Colonel Bickerstaffe, who had been adjutant of the regiment when Roger joined it, explained the peculiar difficulty he had in learning his drill, owing to inability to manage his horse. He always spoke like a Frenchman, not only with the accent, but in French idioms. During the serious illness he had at Canterbury



barracks Colonel Bickerstaffe was present when the doctor bled him, first in both arms, then in the ankles, and afterwards by opening the temporal artery. The witness had then seen a tattoo mark of a cross on his left arm. He distinctly recollected the doctor calling his attention to it, though it was true that he had not remembered the incident till he read about the tattoo mark during the trial of 1871.—General Jones had seen Roger in another illness at Canterbury, when he was believed to be dying. He had gone twice into the room where the defendant was at the Law Institution, and could not find any one like Tichborne; neither did the defendant manifest any recognition of him.—The evidence of Colonel Betty and Major Bott had special reference to their joint visit to Croydon, when the defendant sent Mr. Holmes to them with a message that he was ill and could not see them. Both denied the imputation of the defence that they had exchanged names and had intended to play a trick upon the defendant.—Captain Polhill Turner, who had been captain of the troop in which Tichborne was a subaltern, put in a pencil sketch of him made by the captain himself. The witness characterized as a pure invention the statement of the defendant that on one occasion he had forgotten the word of command, and could not draw out his troop until Roger remembered it for him.

Captain Polhill Turner gave some of his recollections of Roger Tichborne. He said:—"I asked the defendant, as he was leaving the court at the last trial, if he knew me, and he said he did not; but some one whispered over his shoulder, and then he said, 'Yes, Polhill.' I have come to the conclusion that the defendant is not Roger Tichborne."—Mr. Walford, who had been a mathematical master at Winchester School, said the defendant was as unlike his pupil Roger Tichborne as one man could be from another.—Benjamin J. Orden, formerly a servant in 6th Dragoon Guards, and who knew Roger all the time he was in the regiment, on being asked if the defendant was Roger Tichborne, replied, "No; on my oath he is not."—Colonel Lumley Graham, who in 1851 was quartered in the same barracks as Roger Tichborne at Clonmel, thought that the defendant was not Roger.—Mr. John Store Smith had been on intimate terms with Roger, and had a vivid recollection of him; and he declared positively that the defendant was not Roger.—Other witnesses deposed that the defendant was not Roger Tichborne; indeed, John Nelson Parker said it was an insult to common-sense to think so. He was no more Roger than he (witness) was Shah of Persia.

Stephen Shepherd narrated how, at his first interview with the claimant, he put crucial questions to him, only one of which he answered correctly.—John Irwin, saddler sergeant, saw no likeness to Tichborne in defendant's hair, none in his eyes, and none in his nose.—Mr. Charles Burke, a Master in the Common Pleas, Dublin, was connected with the Tichborne family and with that of the Marquis of Clanricarde. He had known Roger familiarly when he was quartered in Dublin, having seen him at his own house and met him at Lady Clanricarde's. He had "unhesitatingly formed the opinion that defendant was not the man."—Captain Vane Hall, who commanded the steamer in which the claimant came to Panama, testified to his conduct on board, which gave witness the impression that he was low-bred and ignorant. He had been at Melbourne in 1854, and could not credit that a picked-up crew arriving there should not be regularly reported. In course of examination as to the claimant's account of the "Bella," Captain Hall stated that

such a vessel with twelve feet of water in the hold would have her upper deck under water.—Richard Redman, a new witness, who only introduced himself to the prosecution a fortnight before, identified the defendant as a man whom he had met in 1858 at a sheep station called “Nowhere else,” about fifty miles from Horsham, Victoria. He was then known as Arthur, and his office was cook and hutkeeper. In general conversation he spoke of his father as a butcher, and said he knew Wapping. Redman could not tell the name of the owner of the station, and he admitted that Arthur and he were not specially friendly.

Major Foster accounted for his positive recollection of Roger Tichborne by affirming that he was the officer who received him into the regiment. He had told the claimant, when the latter called upon him, that he was not Tichborne, and he now repeated in court that he was “most certainly not.”—Captain M’Evoy based his claim to special knowledge of Tichborne on the circumstance that they were the only two Roman Catholic officers in the regiment. The claimant, on inviting him to dinner at Croydon, had addressed him as “Dear Ned,” a name he was never known by in the regiment. The answers given by him to Captain M’Evoy’s questions were so unsatisfactory that the Captain did not stay to dinner. He confessed in the witness-box that from the first he had formed a strong opinion that the claimant was not Roger.—Lord St. Lawrence, eldest son of Lord Howth, who knew Roger Tichborne in Dublin, was of opinion that the defendant was not Roger.—John Etheridge commenced a new series of witnesses—the Tichborne and Alresford men. John’s peculiar reminiscence referred to an occasion when he had hit Sir Roger Tichborne’s dog for hunting his cat. He had met claimant on the road to Tichborne in 1866, and was asked by him if he would be surprised to hear that the speaker was Sir Roger come to life again. John replied with an expletive which expressed much more than scepticism.—George Page, formerly groom to Colonel William Greenwood, had shown equally little faith, if more courtesy, when posed with a similar question at Alresford. “This person,” he told Mr. Hawkins, “is no more Roger Tichborne than I am.”

Nearly a whole day was devoted to Mr. Henry Danby Seymour, half-brother of the late Lady Tichborne. He described to the Court the family affairs of Roger’s father from his marriage settlement onward, how the money was obtained for Roger’s commission, what had been his connexion with the borough of Poole, the terms on which he lived with the Seymours, and the manner in which he parted from them on his departure for South America. The first interview between witness and the claimant, at Alresford, in the house of Mr. Hopkins, was made a crucial point by both sides. Mr. Seymour laid stress on the claimant having taken Burdon, a former attendant and companion of Roger Tichborne, for “his uncle Nangle.” The witness was also struck by his having forgotten his French, and his not remembering anything about Roger’s old friend Mandreville. Mr. Seymour acknowledged having remonstrated with Lady Tichborne about what he considered her delusions respecting the claimant, and advised her not to send him any money. He never saw the tattoo marks, but had heard of them. He had never heard of a brown mark on Roger’s side, nor of a peculiarity in his thumb.—Mr. Burdon, a Customs officer, had been in the service of the Doughtys since he was four years old, and had subsequently become servant

to Sir James Tichborne. As a boy he and Roger had bathed together, and he had a perfect recollection of the marks upon him. One was a round spot on the chest like the depression of a boil. He remembered Roger having been tattooed. Witness was certain that the defendant was not Roger Charles Tichborne.—Mr. John F. Talbot, of Lyme Regis, had lived at various times with Roger Tichborne during his boyhood. His recollection was perfectly clear up to 1849. He had never seen any brown mark on his side, but recollected the seton mark on his shoulder and the tattooing on his left arm. His answer to the question of identity was an emphatic “Certainly not.”

The two rules for contempt of Court in the Tichborne case were returnable on Wednesday morning, the 11th of June, at which date the trial had now arrived. The first was against the publishers of the *Leeds Evening Express*, for having printed a letter of Mr. Guildford Onslow, M.P., imputing perjury to the witnesses for the prosecution; and for this, as well as for a leader commenting upon some of the evidence, apologies had been made. A similar course was pursued by Mr. Appleyard, who had issued a placard containing a caricature of the defendant. The apologies were accepted by the Court, with an intimation that any future offences of the kind would be dealt with severely. Mr. Talbot’s examination was then concluded, and Viscount de Brimont stepped into the box. He had been for six months at Stonyhurst with Roger Tichborne, and had continued on friendly terms with him till he sailed from England. Before the claimant had arrived in Paris Lady Tichborne lived close to the Viscount, and he could see into her room. When talking with her about the expected Roger, she asked him “to see him in the door without speaking to him, and to testify that it was him.”—Mr. R. B. Mansfield, a connexion of the Tichbornes by marriage, stated his first impression of Roger Tichborne as a boy, that he “looked like a wild animal just caught.” He was remarkably narrow-shouldered. Witness believed that there was only one person in the world more convinced than himself that this is not Sir Roger—namely, the defendant.—Mr. Heysham had been educated in the village of Tichborne, where he met Roger frequently. His conversation was full of French idioms, and he could never sound the “th.” Witness had particularly observed, when the claimant was being examined at the Law Institution, that he pronounced the “th” plainly and distinctly.—Mrs. Greenwood, widow of Colonel William Greenwood, of Brookwood, was very positive as to the tattoo mark, and circumstantial as to his personal appearance. She entered into a narrative of the incidents attending the claimant’s arrival at Alresford, and of fruitless efforts she and her husband made to have an interview with him. Her cross-examination related to alleged conversations with Mr. Guildford Onslow, Captain Spicer, and a few Alresford cronies respecting the claimant. Dr. Kenealy’s versions of these were in almost every case strenuously denied.

The evidence of Mr. Vincent Gosford was listened to with great interest. He was land-agent to Sir Edward Doughty, and on his death held the same appointment from Sir James Tichborne until his death. Of the Doughty estates he continued agent until the year 1868. He first became acquainted with Roger Tichborne in 1847, and continued on intimate terms with him until he left England, and was the last who saw him before his departure. The last letter he received from Roger was dated April 1, 1854, and subsequently he received a letter from Mr. George Glyn stating that the “Bella”

had gone down. From that hour to the present he had never seen Roger Tichborne. Mr. Gosford noticed in the early days of 1849 that Roger admired his cousin Miss Doughty, and became greatly attached to her. Of the making the much-talked-of sealed memorandum Mr. Gosford gave the following account.—"We were sitting before the fire, talking about his cousin, when he jumped up and said, 'I'll tell you what I will do.' He went to the double desk, took a sheet of paper, and wrote on it. He threw it across the desk to me, saying, 'There, that's what I'll do for my cousin; read it.' I did so, and the contents have remained distinctly on my memory ever since. I tried to dissuade him from what he proposed, saying that such vows ought not to be lightly made, and that he had better put it off. He folded the paper up, put it into an envelope, and sealed it with red sealing-wax and his own seal. He also wrote outside, 'Memorandum, private and confidential.' He told me to keep it, and I put it in my desk, where it remained until it was destroyed. That was the only sealed document he ever gave me, and it never passed out of my possession. Roger never saw it afterwards. The substance of the memorandum, although it differs from Lady Radcliffe's document, was:— 'Memorandum (private and confidential). If I marry my cousin within two or three years (I cannot say positively which) of this date, I promise to build a church at Tichborne to the Blessed Virgin;' and a little lower down, 'I also intend to rebuild a house at Tichborne.' He signed it, 'R. C. Tichborne,' and dated it."

The points in which Mr. Gosford's evidence contradicted that given by the defendant were numerous and important. It was agreed, said he, between Roger and himself, before the latter started for South America, that a letter from him, the witness, would at any time bring Roger back; and he was quite certain that Roger had no notion whatever of staying abroad ten years. As for the card case at Brighton, he was never more astonished in his life than when he heard of it. Roger hardly ever played at cards, and certainly never gambled. He was, indeed, for a young man, remarkably prudent and careful, and very methodical in his habits. Mr. Gosford further deposed to the fact that Lady Tichborne could never be got to believe in her son's death; and they went on to speak of the tattoo marks, of the existence of which he was absolutely certain, although he could not call to mind any special occasion on which he had seen them. As for the fact that the defendant was not Roger Tichborne, he said, "I am as positive of it as I am of my own existence. Looking at that man sitting there, I have in my memory the exact features and looks of Roger, and I say he is a total contrast every way." Mr. Gosford was as clear that Roger Tichborne had never confided to him any disgraceful secret with reference to his cousin as he was that the Lord Chief Justice had never done as much. Some part of Mr. Gosford's evidence had reference to his early interviews with the claimant. Mr. Gosford is a dignified person, who knows what is due to himself far too well to condescend to any humour of the Wapping type. None the less, his account of his first visit to the "Clarendon" Hotel, at Gravesend, in the company of Messrs Plowden and Cullington, and of the way in which the defendant covered his face with his hands, and charged by them on the stairs, had about it an element of comic humour. After this there was an actual interview at the "Clarendon" obtained by a ruse, and yet a second interview at the "Grosvenor" Hotel arranged by Mr. Bullpit.



According to the witness's own account, he was convinced from the first that the defendant could not possibly be Roger Tichborne. He had forgotten all about the island at Upton—all about his dogs and horses—all about the relations which used to exist between himself and the various members of his family. He had, in short, forgotten—or did not know—all that the genuine Roger would most certainly have known. He did not even know that it was Mr. Slaughter who had made his will, and was under the impression that it had been prepared by Mr. Hopkins.

In closing his examination in chief, Mr. Gosford portrayed Roger Tichborne as the very antithesis of the defendant; from head to foot, he said, everything about them was dissimilar. His cross-examination bore severely on his personal antecedents, especially on the financial difficulties which had resulted from his management of the Tichborne and Doughty estates. The Court protested against Dr. Kenealy's statement that there had been a colourable transaction between the trustees of the estates and the witness. Mr. Gosford was next interrogated about the circumstances of his appointment as an executor of Roger's will and the subsequent substitution of another executor. He was also questioned about the meaning of numerous allusions in Roger's letters, but he would rarely admit the construction that was apparently sought to be placed upon them. His denial of any reference on Roger's part to the alleged condition of Miss Doughty was emphatic and decisive. Repeated implications that he had wavered in his opinion about the defendant were all repudiated. While Mr. Gosford was in the witness-box a letter was delivered to him, which, on discovering that it contained threats, he handed to the Bench. The Lord Chief Justice strongly reprobated the epistle. It was ultimately thrown aside.

During the cross-examination of Mr. Gosford the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mellor, as well as some of the jury, objected to some of the questions put by the learned counsel as irrelevant, and not material to the issue. The evidence of Mrs. Gosford was next taken. This was followed by the testimony of Lady Radcliffe, whose name, as Miss Kate Doughty, has been so often mentioned during the hearing of this case. Lady Radcliffe gave an emphatic denial to the allegations of the defendant upon one of the points on which perjury is assigned, and contradicted many other statements made by him in the course of the civil proceedings two years ago. She recounted, with every particular of date and place, all that had passed between Roger and her from the year 1849. She remembered distinctly seeing the tattoo marks on his arm. She put in Roger's own memorandums, written at her request, on his interviews with Sir Edward Doughty respecting their attachment to each other. The presents which had passed between them she described one by one, giving the history of each.

In the course of her evidence Lady Radcliffe described in detail what took place at the interview she had with the claimant at Croydon. The claimant, she stated, addressed her as Mrs. Towneley and Lucy, mistaking her for a cousin considerably older; and spoke in "a sort of French accent," which, she said, was quite different from what he used in court. She bore testimony to having seen the tattoo marks on Roger's arm on three different occasions, and gave a very affecting account of her last meetings with him. She solemnly repudiated the suggestion of impropriety with Roger Tichborne.—Her version of the interview with the prisoner at Croydon was confirmed and



amplified by her husband, who is the principal witness as to that episode. In describing it and the subsequent interview at Mr. Holmes's house, Sir Percival flatly contradicted various statements made by the claimant in his affidavits and in the witness-box.—The depositions of Lady Doughty, taken on her death-bed, were read by Master Cockburn. They affirmed that Lady Doughty had never seen Roger Tichborne after June 22, 1852; neither, to her certain knowledge, had her daughter. The prisoner had never recognized her at the Law Institution, and from the first she had no doubt he was not Sir Roger.—Mrs. Nangle characterized as “a most dreadful falsehood” the defendant's statement that she had never forgiven Roger for not making his will in favour of her son. She gave an account of her interview with the defendant, in March, 1867, when he failed to recognize her, as well as Mrs. Towneley, Mrs. Radcliffe and Miss Nangle. The defendant first spoke with a kind of French accent; but as soon as he got angry he dropped it and spoke plain English—pure Saxon. In reply to Mr. Justice Mellor, Mrs. Nangle described some of the differences between the defendant's appearance and that of Roger, remarking that Roger's head was not planted on his shoulders like a turtle's. She was quite certain she saw the tattoo marks on Roger's arm.—Miss Caroline Nangle, daughter of the last witness, who knew Roger at Paris, Bath, and Tichborne, and who was constantly with Miss Doughty, as they were like sisters, was certain the defendant was not Roger. There was not a single point of resemblance between them.—Mrs. Towneley, Mrs. Washington Hibbert, Mrs. Higgins (daughters of the late Sir H. J. Tichborne), Mr. and Mrs. Bouverie, Lady Rawlinson, and Major Henry Nangle—all of whom knew Roger Tichborne intimately—were positive that the defendant and he were different persons.

Among the next witnesses were officials who produced the records bearing on the now-famous card case at Brighton, which the defendant made such a prominent feature in his evidence on a previous trial. It was stated that in the prosecution of the Brooms the name of Tichborne was never mentioned.—Mr. Weatherby proved from the *Racing Calendar* the dates of the Brighton Races from 1849 to 1852, while the Deputy-Clerk of Assize for the Home Circuit and the chief superintendent of police at Brighton deposed as to the trial.—Miss Weld came up from the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Bristol to tell what she had observed of Roger Tichborne, which was comparatively little. During two visits to Tichborne, in 1851 and 1852, she had conversed with him occasionally. Her recollection was quite clear against the defendant being at all like him.—Captain Nangle, who as a boy had been a playmate of Roger, and had last seen him in 1849, gave a racy description of his personal appearance. “His shoulders,” said the Captain, “were like a champagne-bottle.” Defendant did not in the least degree resemble him.—An Irish witness with a rich brogue—Jeremiah Healey, of Clonmel—had, while billiard-marker at the Tipperary County Club, often seen Roger change his clothes. He swore to having seen a bluish mark on one of his arms.—Mr. Scott, who had been infirmarian at Stonyhurst from 1841 to 1858, deposed that he was shown a tattoo mark on Roger's arm, and, as far as he could remember, it consisted of a cross, an anchor, and a heart.—Mr. Alfred Burrows and Mr. Whitaker Bush detailed the circumstances under which Roger's will had been drawn. Roger himself had given long written instructions to, and been on one occasion

more than two hours in consultation with, Mr. Burrows. It was stated that for a layman he showed more than usual knowledge of the details of the settlement.—Mrs. Whitgrave, a school companion of Lady Radcliffe and a visitor at Upton, deposed to having seen the tattoo mark on Roger. She remembered that it was in the drawing-room, and that three young ladies were present—to the best of her belief, Miss Doughty was one of them.—Several officers from Lloyd's testified to the claimant's having called there with two friends, who searched the records for entries of the "Bella."—Mr. Stephenson, the superintendent at Lloyd's, produced the entry respecting the loss of the "Bella," and showed on the map where the long-boat was picked up. He disposed of the theory that the "Osprey," of Glasgow, had picked up the claimant by stating that it arrived in Table Bay—twenty days' sail farther south—on the very day that the wreckage of the "Bella" was discovered. Witness also produced all other entries as to vessels of the name of "Osprey," showing that none of them would tally with the claimant's account of his rescue.—Mr. Vining, of Liverpool, one of the managing owners of the "Bella," and Mr. Killey, a part owner, who had also superintended the building of the vessel, supplied all the information that had reached them respecting her loss. They scouted the idea of her having twelve feet of water in her hold before it was discovered. Against the claimant's assertion that he and the survivors cruised about for several days before being picked up, they set their own opinion that no boat had ever been launched at all. Mr. Vining stated that from the time the ship went down, in April, 1854, the proprietors had received no tidings of the vessel, captain, or crew. The insurance had been paid as upon a total loss, and no claim had been made by any one professing to have been on board.—Mr. Cooper, who had been shipping reporter to the *Melbourne Argus* when the claimant alleges that he landed in Australia, stated that the "Osprey" arrived at Geelong, and not at Hobson's Bay, the two places being eighty miles apart. He was of opinion that if a vessel such as the "Osprey" had arrived with a shipwrecked crew on board her, he should most certainly have heard of the fact, and he was quite clear that he had heard nothing of the sort.—Mr. Gibbes, of Wagga-Wagga, was recalled, and was questioned at some length by both Bench and counsel.—Lady Radcliffe was also recalled to speak to the hopeless state of Lady Doughty's health when she made her deposition expressing her belief that the defendant was not Roger Tichborne.—During the examination of Alfred Brand, who had been a gamekeeper at Tichborne, and who deposed to having seen the tattoo marks on Roger's arm, words of a very warm character passed between the defendant's counsel and the Lord Chief Justice.—A copy of the *Illustrated London News*, dated March 12, 1853, was then put in, containing a paragraph announcing the death of Sir Edward Doughty and an account of the family. Dr. Kenealy objected that this could not affect the defendant, as it was not proved that he saw it; but the jury observed that it had been proved that the *Illustrated London News* was taken at the reading-room at Wagga-Wagga; and the Lord Chief Justice observed that it was admissible, as showing the source whence the defendant may have derived such particulars as he may have stated respecting the family. The copy of the *Illustrated London News* of June, 1862, containing the obituary of Sir James Tichborne, was then put in, which was headed by the arms of Tichborne. This was put in and read to

show the source from which it was suggested the defendant might have derived the knowledge that his mother was the daughter of Mr. Seymour, and also the fact of the births and deaths of the two daughters, and other particulars he had mentioned. Then the *Illustrated London News* of March 3, 1866, containing the obituary of Sir Alfred Tichborne, was put in. The defendant did not leave Australia until September, 1866.

Mr. James Bowker, of London, solicitor to the late Lady Tichborne, described at length her ladyship's communications to him respecting her supposed son, and the action he had taken on her behalf. With regard to the first letter from the claimant, enclosed in one of Gibbes's, he had written to her that "he was afraid the whole business was an impudent attempt at extortion." The end of his inquiries and attempts to dissuade her from committing herself was that her door was closed against him.—Miss Hales, the lady whom defendant professed to have paid his addresses to at Canterbury, appeared in the witness-box to deny all knowledge both of him and of Roger Tichborne.—Lady Dormer, a cousin of Roger, who had been in frequent communication with him at Upton, London, and elsewhere, affirmed that she had seen the tattoo marks frequently, and had always spoken about them as a matter of notoriety in the family. According to her account, Roger used to be fond of showing them to his relatives.—A number of witnesses were examined respecting the "Themis," the vessel which defendant at first said had saved him.—The Liverpool broker and the Melbourne agent of that vessel deposed to the inquiries the defendant had made about her, and to the description he had given of her, as well as of her arrival at Melbourne. In many points his account tallied accurately with the facts in question, but eventually the Lord Chief Justice discounted this part of the evidence by pointing out that in the original trial the "Themis" seemed to have been entirely abandoned. The register of the ship's articles were, however, put in. Evidence was given to show that the "Themis" had no entry in her log of having picked up a shipwrecked crew of nine persons, and that if she had done so information of the fact would certainly have been given to the firm, and none had been given.

Mr. Henry Francis Purcell, a member of the Bar, of the Norfolk Circuit, gave evidence of his going to Chili in 1868 for the purpose of examining witnesses before the Commission; and of his going, after the adjournment of the last trial, in 1871, to Australia. He landed at Melbourne, and visited several places in the colony, but could find no trace of any such person as Arthur Orton or Alfred Smith.—Robert Jury, a lighterman, who formerly resided at Wapping, and knew the Orton family well, believed that the defendant was Arthur Orton.—Dr. Brown attended Arthur Orton, when a boy, for St. Vitus's dance. He was "a large, awkward, unwieldy, coarse, fat boy, and tall for his age. His hair was light, and he was weak in the knees—in-kneed." He at once recognized the defendant as an exaggerated likeness of Arthur Orton. Arthur Peter Sbotler, son of the landlord of the "Ship and Punchbowl," Wapping, knew Arthur Orton well, and the defendant and he were the same man. He was like his sister, Mrs. Tredgett. He was a chip of the old block; he was every inch an Orton.—The Rev Robert Mount, Catholic priest at Southampton, saw Roger Tichborne in 1853, when he was leaving for South America, and had, he believed, a perfect recollection of him. He would never take the defendant for him. In answer

to the Lord Chief Justice, he said that no true Catholic would be married by a Wesleyan minister.

Two surgical witnesses, Mr. Bernard Holt and Mr. Seymour Hayden, now reported upon the examination of the claimant made in presence of Sir W. Fergusson, Mr. Canton, and Dr. Sutherland. During a detailed description of all the marks found, Mr. Holt made various statements contradictory of the claimant's own evidence, as well as incompatible with what has been proved respecting Roger Tichborne. The latter had an issue on his arm, and the claimant professed to have had a seton, but no traces of either could be found on his arms. On the ankles there was no mark of a puncture or a vein opening, though Roger had been bled on both ankles at Canterbury. Witness examined the defendant in court as to the statement that Roger had been bled on the temporal artery, but he could find no marks on either temple. The thumb-nail which has been so prominently put forward as peculiar to Roger and the defendant Mr. Holt declared to be perfectly normal. Since seeing it he had produced the same appearance on one of his own nails.—Mr. Hayden, who indorsed most of Mr. Holt's evidence, stated that it would be possible, in the course of three or four weeks, to produce a thumb like the defendant's.—Captain Angell, of the Australian liner "Collingrove," deposed to having known Arthur Orton intimately as a boy, also to having seen him at Wapping on his return from South America, and again at Hobart Town. In 1868 Mr. Dobinson told him that he had been named an executor in Roger Tichborne's will. He was proud of it, though neither he nor his family had ever known the Tichbornes. He afterwards met the defendant at Mr. Holmes's office along with Colonel Lushington and Charles Orton. He acknowledged not recognizing him at first, but as the interview proceeded "he began to see signs of Arthur Orton." The captain's final conclusion, as stated to the Court, was that the defendant had lost his identity, and was Arthur Orton without knowing it. There was certainly, he said, a strong resemblance between him and the late Mr. George Orton.—Similar testimony was given by Mr. Pound, formerly a resident at Wapping.—William Scowen, porter at Croydon station, on the London and Brighton Railway, gave an amusing account of having carried a parcel for the defendant from his house to a Mrs. Brand, at 110, Keating-road, Bermondsey. The parcel was taken in by Charles Orton, who said he was "Mrs. Brand's husband."

The progress of the trial was here interrupted by an application from Dr. Kenealy to grant the defendant a few days' leave of absence, as he was suffering from erysipelas. This, after some discussion, was agreed to. The defendant having left the court, Mr. Thomas King, photographer on the staff of the Stereoscopic Company, was examined as to the peculiarity of the thumb shown in several of the photographs produced. He attributed it to the fading away of the focus of the lens.

Mr. Charles Chabot, the expert in handwriting, stated the result of his examination of three sets of letters submitted to him—the defendant's, Arthur Orton's, and Roger Tichborne's. His general conclusion was that Orton's and the defendant's were in the same handwriting, but that Roger Tichborne's was different from either. He based his opinion chiefly on a series of nine peculiarities found in Roger's letters. The original and photographed letters put in were minutely examined by the Court and the jury.



Mr. Chabot resigned the witness-box for a short time to the Right Hon. Hugh Childers, M.P., who was in Melbourne at the head of the Commissioners of Customs from December, 1853, to February, 1857, and was called to speak to the state of the labour market in Melbourne in the summer of 1854, when the claimant, as he states, arrived in that port. Mr. Childers was positive that at that time the difficulties respecting sailors, in consequence of the gold diggings, had nearly come to an end; in fact, there were more ships leaving Melbourne than arriving.—Mrs. MacAlister, who arrived in this country from Victoria, was next under examination. She said that before she married Mr. MacAlister she was the wife of Mr. William Foster, by whom Arthur Orton was employed. She was quite certain that the defendant (who was again in court) was Arthur Orton.

Mr. Matthew MacAlister, her husband, was then put in the witness-box. He remembered a stockman named Arthur Orton in Mr. Foster's employment. According to the books, Orton left in October, 1858. After that time witness frequently saw him in Sale. Orton was generally known as "the butcher." He had a rough voice and a cockney accent; there was nothing French in it. Witness had a distinct recollection of Orton, and he and the defendant were the same man; of that he had not the slightest doubt. Some documentary evidence having been produced, the case for the prosecution was closed, and the trial was adjourned to Monday, the 21st of July, to enable Dr. Kenealy to prepare his speech for the defence.

Judges, jury, and counsel in the Tichborne case re-assembled in the Court of Queen's Bench on that date. The Court had not, however, long been sitting before a juryman was taken unwell, and the consequence was an adjournment.

The trial was resumed on the Tuesday, the juryman who was taken ill on the previous day having recovered. After putting two objections, which were overruled by the Court, Dr. Kenealy began his speech for the defence by an attack on the plaintiffs' counsel, characterizing Mr. Hawkins as a Queen's jester in the guise of a Queen's counsel. Dr. Kenealy recalled the fact that the Attorney-General had called the claimant a conspirator, a perjurer, a liar, and a felon; and suggested that such language could only have been used with the view of prejudicing the minds of the jury. The real Roger Tichborne, as depicted by Dr. Kenealy, was a miserable, weak-headed boy, badly brought up at home, and thoroughly demoralized at Stonyhurst. "One of the specimens of the system whom this institution sent out," said the learned counsel, "was Lord Bellew; another specimen was Roger Tichborne." In the course of his address Dr. Kenealy intimated that there were hundreds of witnesses to call for the defence. The learned counsel then expatiated on the maternal instinct which had enabled Lady Tichborne to recognize her son, and to confide in him with perfect assurance to the last. He was emphatic on the subject of the tattoo marks, and denounced this part of the case for the prosecution as an afterthought. Reference was made to the marks admitted to have been on the person of Roger Tichborne, Dr. Kenealy contending that the marks on the defendant went strongly to prove his identity. Alluding to the South American and Australian commissions, the learned counsel said that nothing could be more absurd or foolish, considering the diseases under which the defendant laboured and his sickness, than that he should appear before them, although he was perfectly sincere in his intention to go. He next com-



mented on the letters of the defendant, to show there was a great similarity in the style and expression between them and Roger's. Dr. Kenealy had the misfortune, at this period, to be more than once interrupted, both by the Bench and the jury, on some matter of fact on which he appeared to have been slightly in error. He then called attention to the evidence of the Abbé Toursel, who had an interview with Lady Tichborne shortly before her death. She told the Abbé she was not satisfied with the defendant's conduct, and, on his expressing surprise at her supporting him, replied, "I think he is Roger." A remarkable fact might be said to stamp the identity of Roger with the defendant. One of the masters of Winchester College, to whom Roger went to arrange for lessons previous to entering the army, said Roger worked out his sums in a peculiar way, which he attributed to his French education. Dr. Kenealy then produced a French arithmetic book, in which the divisor was placed where we place the quotient, and pointed out that in some way this coincided with some habits of the claimant. After dwelling long on this and similar points, Dr. Kenealy entered upon a new phase, and ladies and young persons were excluded from the Court. Dr. Kenealy sought to prove, by reading extracts from French novels, that Roger Tichborne was utterly depraved, and that the defendant is Roger Tichborne. At the conclusion of the reading of the choice extracts which the learned counsel had selected, the court was again thrown open to the general public. Dr. Kenealy then proceeded to assail the character of the late Sir James Tichborne—a line of defence which provoked some comment from the Bench as to the pain the defendant must necessarily feel at hearing his "father" traduced. From observations which were incidentally made by judges and a jurymen, it would seem that threatening letters had been freely employed by unknown partisans on both sides. Dr. Kenealy now complained of some strong language which had just been applied to his client in a newspaper, in connexion with an appeal which the editor had been requested by Mr. Guildford Onslow, M.P., to publish. The Lord Chief Justice said the language referred to was wrong, but that of the "appeal" itself was quite as improper, being a direct attack on the prosecution and the trial. In the course of his subsequent remarks, the learned counsel quoted passages from Roger Tichborne's letters to show that he had serious thoughts of relinquishing his proper station in favour of his brother Alfred, from a conviction that he himself could not perform its duties. The subject of Roger's habits was re-investigated, and some of Lady Doughty's remonstrances with him were made to imply that he had other vices than excessive drinking and smoking. Some piquant speculation as to the "Rose Hill" entry in Roger's note-book was nipped in the bud by a prosaic statement that Rose Hill was the name of a place, and not of a woman. The observation that, "in the days of Lady Twiss, they should be cautious about believing French witnesses," elicited from the Lord Chief Justice the remark that the Court had nothing to do with Lady Twiss's case, and from Mr. Justice Mellor that the allusion was irrelevant. And upon another occasion Dr. Kenealy occasioned a warm rebuke from the Lord Chief Justice by speaking of an observation of his lordship respecting a letter as "a most ingenious way of accounting for it." His lordship said, "I beg you will not apply such language to me," and the learned counsel apologized. The prosecution was taunted with the expense that had been lavished in the employment of private detectives and in collecting evidence from all quarters of the

globe. The speaker then proceeded to trace an internal similarity between the contents of the sealed packet as stated by the defendant and allusions to Miss Doughty occurring in Roger's letters to Gosford. He contended that some of the evidence for the prosecution showed that Roger Tichborne had the same hereditary diseases as had been manifested by the defendant, both being subject to erysipelas and apoplectic attacks. He contended, not for the first time, that there was no love between Roger Tichborne and Miss Doughty, but at the same time sought to prove that they were frequently found in each other's company.—As on previous occasions, the Bench several times checked the learned counsel for making assertions and assumptions that were unsupported by evidence.—Mr. Guildford Ouslow made an explanation of, and an apology for, the letter he wrote in connexion with the appeal for funds to carry on the defence of the claimant; and the Attorney-General agreed to withdraw the charge of contempt of Court against him and the proprietors and printers of the newspapers which had published the appeal.—Dr. Kenealy then continued what he called his "weary task" of developing the abstruse meaning of the various links and allusions in the letters which passed between Roger and his aunt and Mr. Gosford. His object was apparently to show what he called "the true character of Roger Tichborne," in opposition to "the false light of a young man of high moral principles and religious feeling, and therefore a man exactly the reverse of the defendant." For this purpose he again referred to letters of Lady Doughty to Roger, and letters of Roger to Mr. Gosford and others, commenting on many of the passages cited as he proceeded. In speaking of the defendant's story of the loss of the "*Bella*," the learned counsel drew from its improbability the inference that the defendant could never have been, as Arthur Orton was, a sailor, the narrative being too "absurd and ridiculous" for a seaman ever to have repeated it. Referring to the assertions of Mr. Henry Seymour, the Viscount de Brimond, and other members of the family, that Lady Tichborne was ready to recognize the defendant as her son before she had seen him, Dr. Kenealy directed attention to some of her letters to Cubitt and Gibbes containing repeated statements that she could not positively recognize him until she had seen him, and only wanted to know the truth; and contended that she exercised great caution, shrewdness, and circumspection about the matter, and that eventually she satisfied herself beyond all doubt when she did see him that in reality he was her son Roger, a belief she retained until her death, in spite of all the pressure brought to bear upon her to lead her to a contrary conclusion. Yet she had the most tender affection for the infant son of Alfred, and it was highly improbable she could have done anything to disinherit him if she had the slightest doubt upon the point. With regard to the defendant's statement about having enlisted and other matters, Lady Tichborne said, "He has had so much to put up with, and perhaps suffer, that he has confused his ideas;" and Dr. Kenealy, remarking that this was in reality his defence in the present prosecution, submitted that the jury ought not to act upon the idle, silly, incoherent talk of the defendant, unless they saw a motive or object in it. If there was, then it might be criminal. Dr. Kenealy, next dealing with the Wagga-Wagga will, admitted it contained much that was untrue and perfect nonsense, but accounted for its being used as a pretext for raising money by asserting that such things were of common occurrence among young members of the higher classes in their transactions with

money-lenders. Dr. Kenealy passed on to other parts of the will, and remarked that, although the Crown said the Tichbornes had no property in the Isle of Wight, yet he was informed they once had some there called the Wymmering estate. That fact would not appear in any Peerage or Baronetage, yet it was known to the defendant. As for the statutory declaration made by the defendant in Australia, in which he spoke of having been in the 66th Blues, Dr. Kenealy said it must be looked on in the same light as the will. It showed an aberration of common sense, and "folly could no further go." It was the powerful influence of Arthur Orton on his mind which made him do all these silly things.

The speaker then proceeded to what he termed a dissection of the mental character of Roger Tichborne corresponding with the previous elucidation of his moral character. Dr. Kenealy again commented on the failure of counsel for the prosecution to put any of the Orton family in the witness-box. He denied that there was any evidence of a copy of the *Illustrated London News* containing an account of the Tichborne family having reached the defendant. Proof of identity was deduced from the similarity of handwriting in the defendant's later letters and those of Roger Tichborne. Being asked by a jurymen why he selected the later letters, Dr. Kenealy propounded a theory that, having lost his style during his "desert life," the defendant would have to begin again afresh, as in his early youth. Both the fact and the theory were, however, dissented from, the foreman affirming that there was no proof that the defendant had ever left off writing. His statements to Mr. Hodgson during the voyage home were sifted to show what was credible and what was incredible. The confession of having had St. Vitus's dance was thrown aside as absurd, but the statement that Jules Berrault had been left behind at Rio was cited as a fact utterly beyond the knowledge of Arthur Orton. The learned counsel contrasted the evidence of Captain Hall with that of Mr. Childers as to the difficulty of finding sailors at Melbourne in 1854; dealt with the defendant's visit to Wapping; the "virulent opposition" he met with at the hands of the Tichborne family; his first interview with Lady Tichborne; the Abbé Salis's statement that Lady Tichborne attempted to bribe him to recognize the defendant as her son; and Sir Joseph and Lady Radcliffe's interview with the defendant at Croydon. Photographs taken in Paris, January, 1867, of Lady Tichborne and the defendant were shown—that of the latter showing, as was contended, the same peculiarity of thumb which the defendant now possessed.

Dr. Kenealy was proceeding with his depreciation of the defendant's intellect, when the Lord Chief Justice alluded to his cross-examination as a proof of striking intellectual capacity, and intimated a belief that he had beaten Sir John Coleridge. After speculating for some time on the possibility of one forgetting his native tongue, Dr. Kenealy suddenly reverted to the tattoo marks, alleging that it was evident Sir John Coleridge had not been originally instructed with respect to them. Mr. Hawkins interposed with a sharp denial of this assertion, adding that he knew Sir John had been instructed. Dr. Kenealy retorted by telling the jury not to pay any attention to that disgraceful statement of Mr. Hawkins. The Court required him to let the matter drop, but he reiterated his assertion in the modified form of a "logical inference." On the mention of the Pittendreigh letters, the Lord Chief Justice observed that two letters of the series were undoubtedly the

defendant's, and two were doubtful.—In the course of his speech Dr. Kenealy intimated that he was to produce one of the crew of the "Osprey" to corroborate the claimant's story that he was picked up, along with other survivors, from the wreck of the "Bella."—The ground next traversed by Dr. Kenealy comprised instances of men forgetting languages they had learned in youth; the reluctance of the defendant to disclose the contents of the sealed packet; the possibility of Roger Tichborne having visited Melapilla; and the existence of a Wymering and a Hermitage property in the family. A slight repetition of Mr. Hawkins's protest as to the instruction given to counsel on the first trial was provoked by Dr. Kenealy's attempt to prove that the prosecution had no knowledge of the tattoo marks until June 5, 1871. This was soon obliterated by a sharp rencontre which ensued between Dr. Kenealy and two of the Judges. He spoke of M. Chatillon as a valet, whereupon the Lord Chief Justice called it an improper observation. The learned counsel defended it, and Mr. Justice Mellor threw in a remark which elicited from Dr. Kenealy the retort that he knew a gentleman's conduct as well as his lordship. The scene did not terminate till the Lord Chief Justice had reiterated his censure of the term applied to Chatillon.—Here a jurymen asked Dr. Kenealy when he was likely to finish, and the doctor said he could not tell; whereupon another jurymen stated that he was very ill, and was sitting there at a great inconvenience and at a loss of 20*l.* a week.—Dr. Kenealy next reviewed the defendant's cross-examination as to the accident at Pornic, his mistaking Mr. Burdon for old Mr. Nangle, his "Catholic" refusal to mention the name of his confessors, and his account of his education at Stonyhurst. Reverting to the Attorney-General's instructions (which the Lord Chief Justice suggested should be spoken of as "incorrect" rather than as "untrue"), Dr. Kenealy contended that some allowance should be made for his client in being examined on such instructions. In criticizing the Stonyhurst curriculum he questioned if Roger had ever got further than the Greek alphabet or the first problem in Euclid. As a proof of his meagre knowledge of Latin, it was affirmed that a Latin word did not occur in the whole of Roger's correspondence from beginning to end. Dr. Kenealy devoted the whole of a day to an analysis of the evidence respecting the tattoo marks. He alleged that there were many discrepancies in the accounts of the various witnesses, that none of them would bind themselves to dates, and that other witnesses had not been called who ought to have known about the marks had they really existed. To save the *bona fides* of persons whom he would not accuse of giving false evidence, he suggested a theory that the marks had not been tattooed at all, but only pencilled or done with chalk. Roger's doing this and showing the sham tattoos to his friends was, Dr. Kenealy held, quite consistent with his taste for practical joking. The Lord Chief Justice and one or two of the jurors interposed difficulties in the way of such an explanation, but the learned counsel argued it out elaborately. He would not undertake, however, to account for Jeremiah Healey's statement that he had seen Roger wash his hands without washing out his marks. Commenting on the cross-examination, he described some part of it as a storm in a teapot, others as miserable, contemptible stuff, which he should have been ashamed to puzzle the "poor wretch" about, or to submit to the jury. Dr. Kenealy urged that the defendant should not be treated as an ordinary class of man who can remember incidents and dates, and that great allowances



ought to be made for him. Referring to the defendant's correspondence with Don Pedro Castro and others in Chili, on the question of identity and the lock of hair, he said it seemed to him to be downright insanity; and, being unable to offer any explanation, he left the matter entirely to the jury. It was one of those riddles which would probably never be solved, and the reason he said so was that he would demonstrate to them by evidence as clear almost as a problem in Euclid, that this man was not Arthur Orton. After some remarks respecting a cheque which the defendant said he gave to the captain of the "Osprey," on landing at Melbourne, Dr. Kenealy, in finishing his analysis of the defendant's cross-examination, expressed to the jury a hope that he had not been tedious and prolix. He could not, he said, close his eyes to the fact that a very strong case had been made out against his client, but he was equally convinced that the evidence he should bring forward would dispel every doubt as to the identity of the man. He then proceeded to comment on the Orton theory, which he believed had arisen chiefly from the maniacal act of the defendant in visiting Wapping. As an illustration how unsatisfactory Miss Loder's evidence had been, he averred that she had only said he was like Arthur Orton.—Mr. Justice Lush interposed that she had sworn positively to him.—The other Wapping witnesses were passed in review by the learned counsel, who thought it very remarkable that none of them had been in Arthur Orton's company more than half an hour. He then "plodded his weary way" through the long calendar of Wapping witnesses, bestowing on each a passing compliment. Regarding most of them, he assumed that it was hardly necessary to say much in disparagement of their evidence; its flimsy nature, if not its positive bias, was so palpable. He then dealt in a similar manner with the South American witnesses.—At this phase the claimant's attorney retired from the case, and one morning the claimant appeared in court without any attorney. However, another was retained.—In summing up his observations on the Wapping witnesses, Dr. Kenealy detected what he thought a striking coincidence in the evidence as to Arthur Orton's twitch of the eyes and Roger Tichborne's. He affirmed that this twitching had been a peculiarity of the Tichborne family, and also of the Doughtys. He himself had seen it half a dozen times in Lady Radcliffe while she was in the witness-box. On proceeding to M. Chabot's evidence, Dr. Kenealy was lamenting that his client had not money enough to employ a counter-expert, when the Lord Chief Justice said he understood that the Treasury were to pay the expenses of witnesses for the defence whom the Judges thought had been properly called.—Mr. Gray, the Solicitor to the Treasury, intimated his belief that there was such an intention.

Dr. Kenealy next endeavoured to prove that defendant's handwriting was a "revivification of the old French hand of Roger's boyhood." He produced a photograph, contending that it contained a "genuine Tichborne T," made with two strokes of the pen, while the "Orton T" was always made with one stroke. Mrs. MacAllister's book, "The Rivals," was put in to call the attention of the jury to a word in the inscription, which Dr. Kenealy said had been forged. This led to a close examination of the inscription by the Lord Chief Justice, who discovered distinct traces of "Arthur Orton" above the address. He inferred that Mrs. MacAllister, finding Orton's name there, had scratched it out.



On Thursday, the 21st of August, Dr. Kenealy concluded his speech, having talked just a month, and called his first witness. The subject of handwriting was resumed; and, having dealt with the resemblances in the defendant's two written versions of the sealed packet to Roger's writing, Dr. Kenealy commented on the internal contradictions which the Lord Chief Justice had incidentally alluded to on a former occasion. With respect to the Castro pocket-book, he contended that the famous quotation from Miss Braddon's "Aurora Floyd," about a man with no money and plenty of brains, was a forgery. The address, "Tichborne Hall," was undoubtedly written by the defendant, but "Surrey" was clearly another forgery. If the defendant were an impostor who studied the *Illustrated London News* at Wagga-Wagga about the family history, it was not likely he would have made such a mistake. Having exhausted the question of handwriting, the learned counsel went to the internal evidence, and strove to show that there was a remarkable identity of thought, sentiment, grammar, phrase, and expression between the writings of Roger and the defendant. Dr. Kenealy, in concluding his speech, said that against all that had been proved and said he relied upon the maternal instinct, which was as eternal and all-subduing as the human heart and soul—the instinct which demonstrated to Lady Tichborne that this man was her son—a true and perfect instinct which they ought to respect, venerate, and act upon; and he called upon the jury, in the name of that divine instinct, to find, as he hoped they would, and by so doing delight the whole of England, and to say by their verdict that the defendant was Roger Charles Tichborne.

The first witness called was William Warrington, a sergeant in the Rifle Brigade, employed at Westminster in recruiting, who spoke as to the height (5 ft. 9 in.) of the defendant, whom he measured on July 15. Then came Snelson, one of the two recruiting-sergeants who lately measured the defendant's figure, Mr. Page, a wharfinger and lighterman of Wapping, who knew Arthur Orton as a boy, and who declared that the man now on trial was not Arthur Orton: Mr. George Charles Salloway, of old Gravel-lane, a sailmaker, who was a playfellow of Arthur Orton in their boyhood, and did not recognize him in the defendant; Mr. Finnis, a lighterman and barge-owner of Wapping, who gave similar testimony; Mr. Peter Goddard, a plumber and glazier, Mr. Winer, a retired fish-dealer; and Mr. Weston, a shoemaker, all of that neighbourhood, who remembered what Arthur Orton was twenty or five-and-twenty years ago, and did not think the person now before them was at all like him. The sameness of this kind of evidence, continued day after day, was rather tedious; but the audience found a resource in noticing the personal behaviour of the witnesses, and the incidents of their private life revealed in cross-examination by hostile counsel. Two or three of the first witnesses called—Mr. Page, Mr. Salloway, and Mr. Weston—admitted that they had taken part in the local efforts to support the defendant's claim as Sir Roger Tichborne. Mr. Page, indeed, had lent the defendant 250*l.*, and his brother-in-law, a bill-discounter named Schult, had previously advanced 500*l.* to the defendant, whom Mr. Page at first thought an impostor, but was afterwards convinced by seeing him. As for Mr. Salloway, he had been at a meeting of some hundred persons in a public-house at Wapping, where the defendant was present, and a Captain Brown made a speech, inviting every one who knew Arthur Orton to come forward and say whether the defendant

was he. Mr. Weston was at the same meeting. After these came Mr. John Yates, shoemaker, Whitechapel, who had made Arthur Orton's boots when a boy, and, at the Lord Chief Justice's request, produced the lasts he had used; Joseph Williams, working engineer, a former playmate of Arthur, who had bathed with him and never seen any marks on his person; Mr. Joseph Billings, Customs' officer, a former acquaintance of Arthur's when he was in his father's shop, and a strong believer in his dissimilarity to the defendant; Henry Steer, describing himself as a fire-clay merchant, who swore to Arthur's earrings, his twitching of the eye, and his total unlikeness to the defendant, but whose evidence was rather discredited by investigations of his antecedents; and G. Case, a stevedore, who had only a casual knowledge of Arthur, but was perfectly convinced that the defendant was no Orton.—The Court sat again on Tuesday, when nine more witnesses were called to prove that the defendant is not Arthur Orton. Mr. E. J. Wakeling, surgeon's assistant, was called to prove that Orton had a scar on his arm caused by the bite of a pony; but this witness's demeanour was such that the Lord Chief Justice declared that his expenses would be disallowed.—Mr. W. Webb, wharfinger, was called to show that Orton had not the "brown mark" which the defendant has; but his evidence varied in more than one material respect from the preceding, and, though staying in the house of the Ortons at the time, he had heard of nothing which would necessarily leave an indelible scar or mark. And, after all, as to the brown mark, all he would swear was that he had not seen it. On this day, indeed, the witnesses varied considerably in their statements as to the marks relied upon as distinguishing Orton from the defendant. Some said he was pock-marked and some that he was not; some that he had a scar on his face, some that he had not; some that he wore earrings, and others that he did not; some that he was like his father, others that he was not. One witness stated that he had never noticed any mark upon the face of Arthur Orton, neither scar nor pock-mark; nor did he remember anything particular as to his ears. The cross-examination of the witnesses suggested that they were mistaken and confused in their recollection. Those examined on Wednesday were Thomas Grady, a smith; Mr. Chamberlain, a retired butcher; Mrs. Scott, wife of a shipwright; Joseph Manning, a ship-rigger; John Searle, formerly a butcher's assistant; and John James Lever, a mast-maker. Their evidence was to the purport that the defendant was not Arthur Orton.

Several witnesses swore that they had known the claimant and Arthur Orton in Australia, and that they were different persons, who did not at all resemble each other. Three witnesses deposed that they had seen Orton and Castro together, and one of them, Charles Jones, a greengrocer, in Hornsey, London, said he knew Orton and Castro in various parts of Australia, when they were bushrangers or highwaymen, and that the claimant was the man he knew as Castro. The cross-examination of these witnesses was postponed with the permission of the Court, and two of them were bound over in 50*l.* each to appear for that purpose. More Wapping witnesses were put into the box and swore that the claimant was not Arthur Orton.—The Lord Chief Justice remarked upon the absence, throughout Dr. Kenealy's speech, of any indication concerning the character of the evidence which he intended to call for the defence.—Dr. Kenealy complained that pressure had been brought to bear upon him to bring his address to a close.—Mr. Justice Mellor

observed that pressure was exercised only in this sense—that the learned counsel should approach the subject of his evidence; and the jury reminded Dr. Kenealy that they had complained only of his repetitions.

From the Australian witnesses, who swore that they had known Arthur Orton and Castro, the claimant, and seen them together, when under cross-examination, nothing was elicited that materially affected the substance of their evidence. William Bailey, inn-keeper, Solly, near Alresford, stated that he had known Roger Tichborne from the age of five till the time when he left England in 1853, and swore to the identity of Roger Tichborne and the claimant.

Several Hampshire witnesses were now called to prove the identity of the defendant with Roger Tichborne. One was Thomas Parker, who had sold him a horse. He recognized him by his voice, which was different from that of most Hampshire people, but the defendant now spoke better English than Roger did in 1848. Two witnesses stated that, although they had frequently seen Roger with bare arms, they never perceived any tattoo marks on them. Charles Guy, a labourer on the Tichborne estate; Caroline Skates, whose husband kept a public-house at Petersfield; and Henry Welsh, a bricklayer, all identified the defendant as Roger. Guy stated, during his re-examination, without being asked a question, that he recollected Roger's departure. On the morning of that day, while the fly was waiting in front of the house, he saw Roger and Miss Doughty together in the garden; "they were kissing, and crying, and wiping each other's tears with a white handkerchief." He could not recollect the time of the year when this occurred, but said it was a few weeks before Sir Edward Doughty's death, which occurred in March, 1853. One of the Australian witnesses produced papers that enabled him to fix May, 1858, as the date when he met Arthur Orton at Friar's Creek. Another, Albert Pavis, who, in cross-examination, said he was a tout at Newmarket, and who was called to prove a distinction between Arthur Orton and Castro, stated that in 1859 he met the defendant at Wagga-Wagga, where the defendant himself had said he never went until 1861.

Ann Welsh, wife of the house-carpenter at Tichborne, who had stated in an affidavit that Roger frequently came to her cottage for nails and screws, now spoke to two visits only.—Charlotte Holder, a widow, who was charwoman at Sir E. Doughty's house when Roger left, gave further particulars as to his going away in a fly from the back door. He came, she added, from an apartment in the house. Being pressed about the reason for her identification of the defendant, she replied, "I have proved him in my mind to be Sir Roger." In her opinion Roger had a gruff voice and spoke like a Hampshire man.—The next witness, Ann Noble, wife of the farm bailiff, said Roger had the same quiet, soft voice as the defendant. She recognized the defendant by his walk also.—Henry Noble, who has been farm bailiff at Tichborne since 1847, denied that Roger had any tattoo marks on his arm, but stated, on cross-examination, that before the defendant returned to England he had heard it said that Roger was tattooed.

James Morley, a farmer, malster, and brewer in Hants, nearly seventy years of age, who had been a butler in the Tichborne family for many years, leaving in 1838, said he knew Roger from his childhood, and had a perfect recollection of him, as a young man, hunting and riding about with Miss Doughty and other members of the family. He now saw him in court—the

defendant was Roger Tichborne.—Elizabeth Stubbs, an elderly person, the wife of James Stubbs, farmer, at West Tistead, said that Roger Tichborne, when he was shooting or hunting, sometimes rested his horse in their stables, and she knew him very well. The defendant was Roger Tichborne.—So also said Henry Mills Powell, who gave Roger Tichborne lessons on the French horn; William Mansbridge, who sometimes accompanied Roger when he went shooting; Thomas Lillywhite, a carter; and John Fisher, a labourer at Tichborne—all of whom identified the defendant as Roger Tichborne. Much amusement was caused by the evidence of Mr. Attwell, a Piccadilly hairdresser, who has cut and dressed the defendant's hair for five years and a half, during which time he said it had not altered in colour. He produced a bottle of the wash which he used on the defendant's hair, and when Mr. Hawkins suggested that it should be tried on Mr. Bowker (who has white hair) witness asked the learned counsel to try it on his own hair or on his wig. It was elicited that the defendant's hair was naturally straight, and the witness boasted that the curls were the result of his "accomplishments." Two specimens of the defendant's hair, which the witness produced, were retained by the Court.—Several Hampshire persons were called to prove the identity of the defendant as Roger Tichborne. One of these, a labourer named Pink, stated that the defendant recollected receiving from him a pipe of tobacco. That convinced him as to the defendant being Roger Tichborne; but, although they talked together for twenty minutes, he could recollect nothing else that the defendant said.

Andrew Bogle, the negro, an old servant of the family—a witness, as the Lord Chief Justice observed, of great importance—was next examined. He was the first person connected with the family who saw the defendant, unless he had seen Guilfoyle, the old gardener of the family, which is a point in controversy. The evidence already given as to Bogle is in the letters and the defendant's cross-examination. Bogle stated that he had gone out to Australia in 1854, and had received 50*l.* a year from the Doughty family until March, 1866, when it was stopped. At that time the defendant had just asserted his claim, and a correspondence was going on with the Dowager. Lady Tichborne, in her letters, had mentioned that Bogle was living there, and could tell all about the family. The defendant stated that in June he went to Sydney, and on July 24 he wrote to the Dowager, "You spoke of Bogle in your letters to Cubitt; I have made inquiries, but cannot find him." From this it is to be inferred, though Bogle gave no time for his interview with the defendant, that it was later than that date. In the course of cross-examination the defendant admitted that he had no doubt Cubitt had told him Bogle was in Sydney. Bogle stated that in March, 1866, his 50*l.* a year was stopped, or, at least, not paid as usual; and that some time afterwards—he did not say when, but by the letters of the defendant it must have been at the end of July—he met the defendant, and, as he said, recognized him, and that the defendant, at their first interview, offered to take him to England with him, as he did. Bogle's account of his first interview with the defendant was that when they met they "looked hard at each other," and that then the defendant said, "Is that you, Bogle?" and that he replied, "Yes, sir, it is; how stout you are grown!" and that he recognized him; and that then, a few minutes afterwards, he said to him, "I've come to see Roger Tichborne; you are not him, are you?" and the defendant said, "Oh, yes, I am, Bogle."



Bogle also stated that at this interview the defendant inquired after Gosford and others at Tichborne, though there is a telegram of the defendant in evidence, previously sent from Sydney, in which he stated that the agent of his father's estate was a man named Hallett, at Bridport. Bogle, however, swore positively that the defendant is Roger, but he also swore he recognized him by his likeness to the Tichborne family, although the family witnesses stated that "Roger was not like the Tichbornes, but was like his mother." Further, Bogle swore that on three occasions he had seen Roger smoking in his bedroom in his nightgown, and that he had on each occasion seen him rub his arm, and in doing so raise his sleeves, so as to enable Bogle to see that he had no marks upon his arms. But in cross-examination he swore that he had never mentioned this to any one until he was in the witness-box, and that he had never spoken to the defendant on the subject. Mr. Hawkins's cross-examination of Bogle was directed to show that his recollections of Tichborne were confused, erroneous, and obscure (especially, for instance, as to Roger and as to Lady Tichborne's visits), and that the defendant, when he first came over, knew nothing more about the family or Roger than what Bogle had told him, though Bogle swore positively he never gave him any information at all.

A brief but rather bitter discussion was raised by a complaint on the part of the defence that the Treasury Solicitor had intimated that the expenses of witnesses for the defence whose names had not been delivered within the time appointed for the purpose would not be paid. But as it turned out—though it was at first denied that this was in accordance with distinct notice given to the attorney for the defence, in pursuance of a condition in the arrangement which the Court had considered reasonable and just, the Court intimated that they saw no ground whatever for complaint. The cross-examination of Bogle was then resumed, and many remarkable things were elicited of which nothing had before been heard, as, for instance, that the defendant (who swore at the former trial that he had had a ring when saved from the wreck bearing, not the Tichborne crest, but his initials) had sold or pawned it at Melbourne, and that he had never seen it since, had at Sydney (many hundreds of miles from Melbourne) a gold ring which he had had made there, and which bore the Tichborne crest—a hand holding a star—though at the former trial he said it was a "bird's head with wings." Further, it was elicited that the defendant told Bogle he had been to Melbourne three or four years after the time he said he had first landed there from the wreck—a statement never before made, either by the defendant in his numerous examinations, or by Bogle himself when examined at the former trial, or when examined on Monday. He further stated that, when he was sent for by the defendant down to Alresford—a few days after his arrival in this country—and got into Tichborne House, the defendant told him to notice whether the pictures there were the same as when Bogle was there before, and that Bogle accordingly did his best to notice them; and though, as he said, he could tell the defendant very little about them, he admitted that he had told him something, and that he had mentioned some alterations he had observed in going over the house. It was also elicited that Bogle, when at Tichborne, saw Mrs. Greenwood, one of Roger's favourite cousins, who lives very near; and that though she asked whether the defendant was at Alresford (where he was staying), Bogle did not tell her; and he further



admitted that though she had said, assuming him to be Roger, that she should be very glad to see him, and sent a kind message to him to that effect, which Bogle delivered, the defendant did not go, but went off to town with Bogle. It further appeared that soon afterwards the defendant had Carter and M'Cann, two of Roger's servants, staying with him, as well as various other persons, well able to give him the fullest information as to Roger or the family, including Baigent and the Dowager herself. Lastly, it appeared that one of Orton's sisters had been to see the defendant while he was living at Croydon. These are only a few of the things elicited in the course of the cross-examination.

Dr. Kenealy very briefly re-examined Bogle, the principal facts he elicited being that Carter and M'Cann had both died since the last trial.—Mrs. Burt, the daughter of the miller at Cheriton, deposed to divers delicate reminiscences of Roger Tichborne and Miss Doughty. First she had seen them sitting together on a stile; then she remembered them going into a grotto in her father's garden—afterwards explained to the Lord Chief Justice to be no grotto at all, but only a walk by the river closed in with trees. Dr. Kenealy would not have this witness "pinned to dates."—James Howlestone, poor-rate collector, Poole, gave the names of the deputation which had waited on Roger and asked him to stand for the borough; but, unfortunately, all the gentlemen were dead, and Mr. Howlestone had no direct personal knowledge of the incident.—Eliza Roper, Charlotte Grant, and Martha Legg, former servants at Tichborne, recognized the defendant as Roger. Eliza Roper, who had been laundry-maid at Tichborne for eleven months, and last saw Roger in 1850, said the defendant was Roger. She had only seen him, however, for the first time the previous day, though her name had been included in a list of witnesses delivered on August 30th, who were to prove having seen and conversed with the defendant, and having a distinct recollection of him, and that the defendant was Roger Charles Tichborne.—Charlotte Grant affirmed that Roger used to come into the kitchen to wash his hands when he had been fishing in the moat, and she never noticed any tattoo marks. When the Lord Chief Justice tried to "pin her to dates" she drew in, and would only abide by her statement so far "that she could not swear to the year."

Thursday's evidence was not of much moment. Among the witnesses examined were Robert Bromby, a custom-house officer at Poole; Mary Jane Williams, who had been in the service of Sir Edward Doughty at Tichborne; and Mary Ann Neale, formerly a barmaid at the "King's Arms" Hotel, Melksham;—all of whom deposed to the defendant and Roger Tichborne being the same person.

The Lord Chief Justice (12th September) suggested that the reports of the case should be unaccompanied with any comments or observations conveying opinions on one side or the other as to the witnesses, though he added that there was nothing objectionable in giving or referring to the evidence on such or such a point, or in stating that such and such witnesses gave such evidence on such a head. The next witnesses were clerks from the office of Mr. Harcourt, the defendant's present attorney, called in consequence of what passed on the previous day, to show that the proofs or statements of some important witnesses had been taken regularly and properly, and not communicated to the defendant. In the course of their cross-examination it

was elicited that Mr. Onslow goes to the office a good deal and takes a great interest in the case, and that he also has a clerk a good deal there.—Miss Eliza Froud, of Shirley, described with great vivacity her romantic acquaintance with Roger in 1849, when he helped her to bathe her cats, “which she idolized for her dear mother’s sake,” talked with her about music, and annoyed a pretty girl by winking at her. She was positive the defendant was her old friend, but she begged to be excused looking at any photographs unless they were canine. The evidence of Miss Froude, and the quaint manner in which it was given, had put the Court into a merry mood. But the examination of Mr. Robert Adeane Barlow was one of the most comical episodes the trial has yet produced. Mr. Barlow is a grandson of Admiral Sir Robert Barlow, and a nephew of the Countess of Nelson and Duchess of Bronte. He is also an agent for the sale of some Nevada silver-mines, and has, in his lifetime, been “a great many things.” While the Carabiniers were quartered at Canterbury he was staying in the old city “off and on,” and met Roger Tichborne upon several occasions. He is also certain that the defendant is Roger Tichborne. And this was in effect the total of his evidence. But the cross-examination by Mr. Serjeant Parry was infinitely amusing. He was not a Mormon, the witness declared emphatically; he was a Broad Churchman, and he believed in the words painted up over the synagogue at Utah—“Practise no evil, advance virtue, seek wisdom, and speak the truth.” Mr. Barlow was almost beside himself with anger and excitement, and boldly avowed his belief that between the witness-box and “another place” there intervenes but a sheet of brown paper.—Henry Munday, Patrick Hogan, and James Beehan, ex-Carabiniers, deposed to Roger’s alleged flirtation with Miss Hales, of Canterbury. Munday also affirmed that he had repeatedly seen Roger’s bare arms without observing any tattoo marks on them.

Several men who had been in Roger’s regiment very positively identified the defendant. The cross-examination was directed to elicit variances in their recollection and description of him, one describing him as “broad-chested and broad-shouldered,” and another as “slight;” one that his voice was different, another the same. It was also endeavoured to elicit that when the witnesses went to see the defendant they knew they were going to see “Sir Roger,” and had heard that he was grown much stouter and was a good deal changed. These witnesses also spoke to conversations with him, in which he seemed to know the names of the officers of the regiment, and incidents which occurred in it when Roger was there; but in cross-examination it appeared that they did not know that M’Cann, who had been Roger’s servant, and knew of all these matters, had been living with the defendant. One witness, a bandmaster, described Roger as having shoulders “moderately broad,” and not at all sloping, as other witnesses had said, and as having a chest quite in proportion to his size, and not at all narrow, as had been represented, and said that the defendant, to the best of his belief, was the same man; he also said he found defendant knew that Roger had played the French horn, and who had taught him, and the witness thought that conclusive. It appeared that Carter, who had been Roger’s servant, was with the defendant. Another witness, who saw the defendant at Mr. Holmes’s office, said he recognized him as soon as he saw him, and he declared his voice was “the very same,” though he said that of Roger was

“soft.” This witness stated that he had seen Roger’s arms bare on several occasions, and he was sure there were no tattoo marks upon them. The witness, in course of cross-examination, told a curious story, of which nothing had previously been heard.

The defendant now committed another “interpellation.” Mr. Serjeant Parry, in cross-examining Henry Marks on his brother’s connexion with the defendant, asked if he did not get 5*l.* every time he took the chair at a public meeting. This provoked from the defendant an audible observation, “He knows it’s false,” of which Mr. Serjeant Parry complained to the Court. An apology was immediately tendered, and the Lord Chief Justice observed that they would know what to do were the offence repeated. The next witnesses were all old Carabiniers. They included William Davies, a witness who at the last trial had made much fun out of having assisted Roger to turn the devil out of his bed—the evil one being only a young donkey which had been deposited there by Roger’s fellow-officers. Davies and all the other Carabiniers flatly deny that there had been tattoo marks on Tichborne. Each of them described occasions on which they must have seen them had they been there.—William Try, who had been servant to Captain Bickerstaffe, deposed to having frequently answered Roger’s bell when he was in his bedroom dressing. He never saw any marks.—The occasion on which Henry Marks had seen Roger’s bare arms was when several officers ran a foot-race in flannels. He believed, but would not swear, that they had their sleeves tucked up to their elbows.

The Judges presiding at the trial now unanimously resolved to put a stop to the defendant’s speechifying at public meetings. The Lord Chief Justice, referring to certain proceedings which have recently taken place at Spennymoor, near Newcastle, said:—“It seems to us that the time has come when what I cannot designate otherwise than as a great public scandal should be put a stop to. That a man committed by a learned Judge, after a long trial, for perjury, the jury having disbelieved his evidence, and against whom the constitutional tribunal, the grand jury, has found a bill of indictment, should be paraded about the country preparatory to his trial, and while it is pending, as a victim and a martyr, is, in my opinion, an outrage on all public decency and propriety. . . . We give the defendant fair notice that, if he attend any other public meeting, we shall withdraw the liberty we have allowed him, no longer hold him to bail, and commit him to prison.”—Mr. Justice Lush said that, if he had been acting alone, he would at once have rescinded the bail; and Mr. Justice Mellor observed that the defendant, by announcing himself at public meetings as Sir Roger Tichborne, Bart., and arguing the question whether he was or was not an impostor, was prejudging questions which it was alone the province of the jury to decide.—In answer to a question by Dr. Kenealy, the Lord Chief Justice said that the defendant was not to attend any pigeon-shooting matches. The hearing of evidence was then proceeded with.—John Cheetham, a coachman at Macclesfield, who had formerly been in the Carabiniers, was then called, and identified the defendant as Roger Tichborne.—David Cairns, another Carabinier, whose name has been frequently mentioned, formerly gate-keeper at Sandhurst, and now a warder at Norwich Castle, gave similar testimony. In a long cross-examination by Mr. Serjeant Parry, the witness gave an account of the active part he had taken in assisting in procuring military

witnesses from different parts of the country for the defendant at the last trial. Mary Ann Cairns, the wife of the last witness, said she recognized the defendant as Roger Tichborne by the upper part of his face and walk. —Martin Burke, another Carabimier, said the defendant was Roger; he recognized him more by his answers than by anything else. John Lesmore, formerly trumpet-major of the Carabiniers, had no doubt in the world that the defendant was Roger Tichborne. Did not recognize him at first, but did after twenty minutes; he had seen Roger with both arms bare, and never noticed any tattoo marks on them.

One of the Carabiniers and the regimental tailor gave evidence as to their personal recognition of the defendant, and also of his knowledge of matters which had occurred in the regiment or which concerned Roger. The first witness, in cross-examination, stated that Roger's hair was darker than the defendant's now is, and both the witnesses recognized some resemblance in the Chih daguerreotype of Roger, both in figure and features, which so many of the defendant's witnesses have failed to perceive. The first witness stated that the voice of the defendant is rougher than that of Roger, and disavowed a passage in his affidavit drawn by Baigent which the Court said was to a different effect, and on which they made some observations. The witness spoke to the defendant's knowledge of men in the regiment and of incidents which had happened to Roger. In cross-examination it appeared that he did not know if the defendant had not already seen or heard of the men; and, as to the chief incident mentioned, it appeared that it had previously been mentioned in a correspondence with Baigent, who saw him before the interview. The military tailor spoke as to the defendant's knowledge of the clothes ordered by Roger within the two years before he left England. In cross-examination, it appeared that the defendant had Roger's old servant, Carter, and also had some of Roger's old clothes which had been left behind, and that his attorney had previously got the tailor to bring up his ledger containing the dates of Roger's orders, although he was positive Mr. Holmes did not look at it.

When Mr. Hawkins had finished his cross-examination of Roger's military tailor, Mr. Greenwood, the Court reverted for a time to Carabimier evidence. James Hobson deposed to having once ridden across Phoenix Park with Roger on a review day. The defendant, he swore, was the same person. —Ellen Ella, who had been servant to Adjutant Bickerstaffe at Portobello, remembered Roger coming into her kitchen for hot water when his servant was out; often with his arms bare and with not a trace of tattooing upon them. After her an Orton witness was produced, Thomas Trivett, who detailed a very diverse experience he had had at the Victorian gold-diggings between 1852 and 1858. One of his strange adventures happened at Avoca in 1856, where an anonymous person he called a "settler" employed him to kill a number of sheep. Arthur Orton was in the "settler's" service, and helped him with some of the sheep. They spent many nights by the camp fire together yarning, Arthur giving him an account of Wapping Old Stairs, which so interested him that immediately on his arrival in England he performed precisely the same pilgrimage as the defendant had done to the home of Arthur's childhood. Mr. Hawkins cited against this witness statements which he was alleged to have made to various persons in Leicester—that he could not swear one way or the other, that the hair was similar, &c.—Mr. Trivett was ready now to swear



that the defendant was not the Arthur Orton whom he had met in Avoca.—Robert Gardner, butcher, Richmond, spoke to a rather prolonged acquaintance with Arthur Orton. Their first meeting was at Forest Creek, where Arthur was loafing about, and “not thought to be after much good.” Saw him daily for three months, but had never anything to say to him, unless when they joined in general conversations. Next time they met at Brooking, about sixty miles from Wagga-Wagga, whither Orton was travelling. Witness had also known Castro while in the service of Higgins at Wagga-Wagga. Their appearance as described by him was a perfect contrast, Castro being a dreamy-looking man, and Orton a raw-boned man, with a “straggling foxy-coloured beard.”

Mr. Hawkins, in his cross-examination of Gardner, ascertained that the witness had not seen defendant till three weeks ago, and that the Orton seen near Wagga-Wagga had no scar on his face nor rings in his ears.—Daniel Cotton, general dealer at Wapping, formerly seaman on board an American cruiser in the Pacific, deposed to having met Arthur Orton and spent a night boozing with him at Santiago, in a small whaling bay three or four days’ sail south of San Francisco.—Thomas Newman, a watchman at the Metropolitan Meat Market, remembered Arthur from having once gone with him on board a ship to feed tigers with shins of beef.—Then came two witnesses who had known Roger Tichborne—one in Canterbury, the other at Cahir, in Ireland—who positively identified the defendant.

Ellen Peirce, who had known Roger Tichborne whilst in the Carabiniers, recognized the defendant as he.—William Hewitt, formerly in the service of Mrs. Hopkinson, mother-in-law of Mr. Henry Seymour, and who had been valet to Roger, identified the defendant chiefly by his eyes, eyebrows, and forehead.—Daniel Collins, now a member of the metropolitan police, remembered the Carabiniers being drawn up at Canterbury five or six times in the year 1852, waiting for their officer to march them off to barracks after mass.—John Palmer, who was called to speak to his knowledge of Arthur Orton when the witness was a boy, was not cross-examined.—Captain E. B. Cunliffe, formerly in the Carabiniers, expressed his opinion that the defendant was Roger Tichborne, although he would not pledge his oath to it.—Mary Fitzpatrick, who had lived with Sir James Tichborne as cook, recognized the defendant by the formation of his head, as well as by his voice.—Thomas Muston, a coachman at Brighton, who went into the service of Sir E. Doughty at Upton in 1841 or 1842, when he was twelve years of age, said he was Roger Tichborne’s groom and valet in Ireland, and assisted to dress and undress him. Had seen his arm bare several times and never observed any tattoo marks. He believed that the defendant and Roger were the same person.—Lieutenant-Colonel Norbury, who was examined at the former trial, believed the defendant to be the Roger Tichborne whom he knew in the Carabiniers. He, also, had seen Roger’s arms bare, but did not remember seeing any tattoo marks. In reply to Mr. Serjeant Parry, the witness said the examination, cross-examination, and re-examination of the defendant at the last trial raised a doubt in his mind whether he was not mistaken in his identity of the defendant. That doubt still existed, but it was not so strong as before. Asked to what extent he doubted, he replied that if some parts of the evidence were correct, he would have very grave doubts; but, assuming these to be the reverse, his doubt would be but slight. Before he left the box



the gallant colonel said that since he had been a witness he had received several post-cards, some asking him to withdraw his evidence, and saying if he did not do so and summarily stop the trial the case would never come to an end.—Mr. Justice Mellor stated that the Bench had received a great many.—The Lord Chief Justice expressed a hope that Colonel Norbury would treat them with the same supreme contempt with which the Judges treated similar communications they daily received.—Eliza English, whose first husband was in the Carabiniers; John Giddings, formerly in the Carabiniers; and Benjamin Dawson, for twenty-six years in the Grenadier Guards, and formerly a labourer at Tichborne, all identified the defendant as Roger Tichborne. None of them were cross-examined. The wife of the last witness, whose father was head-gardener at Tichborne for forty-three years, also identified the defendant as Roger.—Philip Baker, who was for seventeen years in the service of old Mr. Seymour at Knoyle, gave evidence to a like effect.—William Paul, a wheelwright of Leicester, was the next witness. He gave a long account of his intercourse with Arthur Orton in Australia.—The last witness was Agnes Michael, who knew Roger Tichborne at Cahir, and now declared that the defendant was the same person.

Edward Lock, boiler-cleaner, and George Jones, carpenter, both testified to the duality of Orton and Castro. Lock professed to have seen them both in Melbourne, in 1856, and to have drunk with them. Orton was about an inch taller than Castro. Jones had done carpentering at the Boisdale station while Castro was living there. Orton was employed at the same time slaughtering cattle, and witness had seen him again as late as 1857 at Reedy Creek.—Augustus Collingridge, master mariner, deposed to having known Arthur Orton when he used to visit the shipping. To the best of his belief the defendant was not Arthur.—Two Carabiniers next declared that they recognized in the defendant the Mr. Tichborne of 1850 to 1853, though one of them thought that “if his cheeks were off he would be more like him.”

Joseph Woodyeatt deposed to having met Orton twice in Australia—first at Flemington, near Melbourne, in 1856, and two years later at Carningham, up the country. The defendant, he alleged, was not a bit like him.—Ann Mines, formerly in Lady Doughty’s service, detailed instances in which she had seen Roger Tichborne and his cousin alone, either riding or walking. Once she had seen them at a brook outside the park playing at making bridges. Witness thought Miss Doughty was then about eighteen, but Mr. Justice Lush informed her she was only fourteen.—Colonel Sankey next presented himself for the ordeal of a second examination, the burden of his evidence being that at their first interview defendant remembered all about Roger’s friends at Clonmel and Captain Morton’s roach-backed horse. He was cross-examined as to the possibility of defendant having seen photographs of the persons he professed to remember, and got up Roger’s reminiscences from local information obtained indirectly.—George Bingley, who had long resided in the mining districts of Chili, described having lived with Roger Tichborne in a hotel at Santiago, in July, 1853. He believed in the defendant as he believed in his own existence. In cross-examination he acknowledged that he could not describe the features of Roger Tichborne as they appeared in Santiago.—Mr. Hawkins made extensive selections from his correspondence with Mr. Holmes and the defendant to demonstrate the friendly interest he took in the case at a very early

period.—William Cline, steward on board Captain Oates's vessel, the "John Bibby," deposed to having recognized defendant within the past fortnight as the young gentleman who, in 1854, visited the ship several times in Rio, and had "tiffin" with the captain.—William Robinson, an ex-Carabinier, gave evidence which was chiefly remarkable for his withdrawing a statement that he had recognized the defendant by the nickname which Roger bore in the regiment, "Frenchy pommels."—Benjamin Ward, a returned digger, now bootmaking in Camden Town, had met with Arthur Orton at Myrtle Creek. The vivacious witness drew a two-sided portrait of him, one making him so agile that he could pick a sixpence off the ground in galloping past it on horseback, and the other characterizing him as the laziest man Mr. Ward had ever seen.—Captain James Brown, Shadwell, knew Roger from meeting him at the Faure Hotel in Rio. On two occasions he shared the witness's room, and used his bath in the morning. While he was bathing witness saw two marks on him, one on the left arm and the other over the hip.—Mr. Hawkins taxed Brown about his antecedents, implying that he had deserted his wife and family, and spent a short period of his life in gaol at New Orleans.

In cross-examination Captain Brown was questioned at much length as to the circumstances under which he saw the brown mark on Roger Tichborne, and as to what passed on board the "Bella" on the morning of her departure from Rio. Having been cautioned by Mr. Hawkins to carefully consider his reply, the witness deliberately swore that he was on board the "Bella" when she left Rio on April 21, 1854, and that Captain Birkett, Oates, and Hoskins, and Roger Tichborne all came on board drunk, and said he defied the whole world to say he was not speaking the truth. He also said he was in the service of Hobbs, ship-chandler at Rio, as shipping or boarding clerk, from Jan. 1853, to Aug. 12, 1854.—Mr. Hawkins read the application of the witness, in August, 1861, to the Local Marine Board of London to be examined for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of competency to act as master ordinary for the foreign trade. In accordance with the regulations, he gave a list of the vessels he had served in, with the dates. The list, which was a very long one, contained this entry:—"The 'Equity,' of Boston, mate, from Dec. 15, 1853, to Jan. 15, 1858—five years and sixteen days."—In reply to the learned counsel, the witness said he still adhered to his statement that he was a ship's chandler clerk at Rio during 1853 and 1854. The first date ought to have been December 15, 1854. He also said that all the previous entries were fictitious, in order to make up the necessary time required by the Board of Trade. In re-examination he was asked to look at the defendant's thumb, and, the defendant holding out his left hand, the witness said that was the kind of thumb he saw at Rio. Having been reminded that he had said it was the thumb of the right hand, the witness said he thought it was. Captain Brown fell into another discrepancy then. He stated to Dr. Kenealy that all his papers, up to 1864, were lost in the shipwreck. Shortly afterwards Mr. Hawkins produced two documents bearing the witness's signature, with an indorsement that they had been deposited at the local marine office in August, 1864.—Peter Chick, of Hambledon, near Tichborne, deposed that between 1842 and 1853 he was accustomed to call with jewellery at Tichborne House, and that he frequently saw Roger, both there and at Gosford's. He recognized the defendant, and had tested him by his knowledge of events in the previous history of Roger.—Ann Markham professed to have known the

Tichborne family since 1838, to have frequently seen Roger in Paris when a boy, to have been introduced to him in Dublin, and to have met him several times afterwards in London. She reiterated that she saw him and his cousin in the Exhibition in June, 1851. When the Lord Chief Justice observed that Roger did not obtain his leave at Clonmel till July 4, Mrs. Markham owned that she might be mistaken.—Margaret Hornibrook and Ann Adams, wives of old Carabiniers, declared that the defendant was the Mr. Tichborne who had been an officer in that regiment.—George Nash, an ex-digger, just returned from Egypt, declared that when passing through Melbourne, in 1854, he boarded a ship in the harbour called the “Osprey.” Out of his own family he had not mentioned this remarkable occurrence till about a week ago. He could not give the address of the friend to whom he had made the communication. With regard to the “Osprey,” he said he saw her in Melbourne harbour in July, 1854. He saw no cargo, and could not give the slightest idea how low she was in the water. Was on board twenty minutes, but remained merely on the deck. Was not sure whether he saw her name on the quarter or stern, but he saw it on one or the other. The name was in the ordinary letters, but he could not describe them.—Richard Goodyear, landlord of the “Shipwrights’ Arms,” in West Cowes, was in Melbourne, as a corporal in the Royal Engineers, in 1854. On July 22 or 23 in that year he remembered seven or eight persons being put on board the steam-tender “Comet” from a three-masted schooner, whose name he did not know. One of them was a landsman, but he had no recollection of him.—Mr. Russell, a merchant, who was in Melbourne in June or July, 1854, recollected two “Ospreys” being then in Hobson’s Bay. He bought the smaller one, but went on board the larger from curiosity, and the latter, he believed, was afterwards lost on the eastern coast of Australia.—Mr. Liardet, a witness on the last trial, recollected only one “Osprey.”—Mr. Lockhart, a Scotch manufacturer, was a passenger on board the little “Comet” steamer when the sailors were taken on board; he thought some of them were Welshmen.—Thomas Dornay, the chief clerk to the Tipperary police, formerly a hair-cutter, pointed out a scar on the head of the defendant, whom he recognized by that as Lieutenant Tichborne, whose hair he cut.

Tuesday, the 14th of October, was a remarkable day in the history of this extraordinary case; for it was marked by the appearance of the professed “mate,” as he was called, or steward of the “Osprey,” to prove that the defendant was actually picked up by that vessel and carried to Melbourne. His account was in substance this:—That in April, 1854, the “Osprey,” a vessel from New York, about 400 or 500 miles from the coast of Brazil, came upon a boat containing six men (not nine as the defendant said—eight besides himself), including the defendant, who, with the others, was taken up into the vessel and carried to Melbourne. The witness, who called himself Jean Luie, swore further that, as the defendant was delirious and helpless, he had to wash him, and that he washed him repeatedly, and that there were no tattoo marks upon him; but that there was a mark upon his body where the “brown mark” has been described to be, but of an “olive” colour. He gave as his name, the witness said, “Mr. Rogers,” and he never mentioned the name of Tichborne. The witness stated that the defendant was landed by the captain himself in one of the boats of the vessel—not, as the witnesses stated on the previous day, by a steamer plying in the harbour; and as he

himself went away the same day to the diggings with two of the crew of the "Bella" and two of the "Osprey," he never saw him again until quite lately. In the course of his cross-examination, which lasted until the end of the day, and was not then concluded (the Crown counsel intimating that they had been led by Dr. Kenealy's opening to expect an "Osprey" from New Bedford), he stated that he had seen the captain of the "Osprey" he spoke of at New York in 1864 (though he was since dead), and several other persons connected with it—the part owner, the brokers, the stevedore, &c.; and that, being at Melbourne in 1865—the year the defendant first set up his "claim"—he found one of the crew, who had prospered at the diggings, living there in comfort, having been in the colony ever since. As to himself, he said, he came over here on July 5 last from Ostend, seeking a cheap passage to America, and that, happening to hear in a public-house about the defendant as having set up that he was lost in the "Bella" and had been picked up by the "Osprey," he thought he might have been the Mr. Rogers he had known, and at once found out the defendant's advisers, who took his statement on July 7 last, and that some hours afterwards he was introduced to the defendant, who at once addressed him by his name, and whom he swore he recognized by features and by voice. He admitted that he was living with a Mr. Pulleyn, who managed the getting up of meetings for the defendant. He was not paying anything to Mr. Pulleyn now, because he had arranged with him to pay him at the rate of 2*l.* a week for board and lodging after the trial was over. He further stated that he had given the addresses of the persons he had mentioned as connected with the ship to Mr. Whalley, who, in consequence of this, had gone over to New York; but he did not know what witnesses, if any, that gentleman had brought back, nor whether he had brought the log. The cross-examination was directed to elicit all the details of the story with a view to suggest its inherent improbabilities, and also to contrast it either with the account given by the defendant of his rescue, or the evidence given of it by his witnesses, especially as to the number of the men, the place and manner of landing, and his not mentioning his real name.

When the trial was resumed on the next morning Dr. Kenealy drew the attention of the Court to the summaries of the evidence in the *Times*, which he characterized as scandalous and one-sided, and issued apparently with the design of destroying the defendant's case. The Judges, however, did not see anything unfair or objectionable in the summary complained of; at the same time, their lordships thought it better not to refer to anything in the past history of the case by way of contradiction to the testimony reported.—The cross-examination of Jean Luie, the steward of the "Osprey," was then resumed by Mr. Hawkins. During its progress the witness mentioned that since July 7 last he had had some conversation with Mr. Whalley, M.P., and that gentleman took down the names of the brokers and others belonging to the "Osprey," for the purpose of making inquiries in America.—Mr. Hawkins then called upon Mr. Whalley, on his subpoena, to produce the statements he had taken down from Luie.—The hon. member for Peterborough said that, as he had received the subpoena only a few minutes previously, he could not then produce the memoranda. He had, however, telegraphed for them, and he hoped to have the papers on the following day.—Five other witnesses were examined that day. Francis Longland (who was examined at the previous trial), Frederick Tizard, and Daniel Shandy stated that they

saw the "Osprey" at Melbourne in 1854.—Henry Crabb, gardener at Upton, and Emma Helsby, who was in Chili in 1853, identified the defendant as Roger Tichborne. Mrs. Helsby, who is the sister-in-law of the gentleman who took the famous daguerreotypes at Santiago, in Chili, in 1853, declared that, "to the best of her belief," the defendant is Mr. Tichborne; but it appeared that the lady's knowledge of the young gentleman was confined to his having once been pointed out to her in the streets of that city twenty years ago.

Henry Williams, formerly corporal in the Carabiniers, was the first witness called on Thursday. He saw the defendant for the first time last Monday, and in his judgment he was the gentleman (Roger Tichborne) whom he knew in the Carabiniers; but, in cross-examination, the witness stated that "if the defendant had not been able to answer the question I put to him, I should not have believed he was the man."—Sergeant-Major Hugh Hughes and John Hastie, both in the Carabiniers, believed that defendant and Roger Tichborne were the same person, although Hastie seemed to have considerable doubt.—Mary Ann Bunnidge, whose husband served the Ortons with fish, said the defendant was not Arthur Orton.—Thomas King, a lighterman, also formerly of Wapping, said there was not a morsel of Arthur Orton about the defendant. He created much laughter by saying that the whole Orton family, including the daughters, had humps on their backs, and by admitting that in that respect they were like dromedaries.

Jean Luie, the Danish steward, appeared again before the Court, and promised to remain until he had been further cross-examined, it having been agreed that the Crown should pay his expenses on the taxed scale. One witness was called to prove the excitement in Melbourne in August, 1854, owing to the gold discoveries, and that when a vessel arrived in Hobson's Bay neither customs nor police officers came on board.—Mr. Hofland, who was drawing master at Stonyhurst, expressed his conviction (as the result of conversation) that the defendant was the Roger Tichborne whom he had taught.—Mary Groves, a lady's-maid, spoke as to the belief of her mistress, the late Lady Tichborne, that the defendant was her son.—Other evidence was called to prove that the defendant was not Arthur Orton, with whom one man had a fight, and that he was Roger Tichborne, to whom Miss Coates had sold pastry when he was at Stonyhurst.

James Loader, formerly a ship captain, stated that he knew the witness Brown when he was clerk to a firm of ship-chandlers at Rio de Janeiro. The principal witness was Charles Lewis, an hotel-keeper, living at Brentwood. In 1846 he was a draper's apprentice at Alresford, and knew Roger. In that year he went to Tichborne House to show Lady Doughty some goods, and about a hundred yards inside the park gates he met Roger and Miss Doughty. The young lady introduced Roger to witness as her cousin from Paris. He became very intimate with Roger Tichborne, whom he recognized in the defendant. This witness, who remarked that he had "a peculiar memory," stated that he and Roger frequently went out together at night, and he narrated that, when they quarrelled on one occasion, he struck Roger with an iron-shod stick and wounded him on the left arm, on which witness did not then see any tattoo marks. In their recent conversations the defendant mentioned some circumstances which witness thought could only be known to themselves. On cross-examination, he could not account for the defendant



having, at the last trial, entirely forgotten him. This witness recollected the amount they spent together for drink and tobacco.—William Acott, who said he met Arthur Orton in Australia, in 1854, stated that the defendant was not the same man. He testified also to the purchase of a horse from Orton, who gave him a receipt signed “A. J. Reid,” and witness added that he changed his name three times while he was in Australia.

Mr. Bulpett, the Winchester banker, was called solely for the purpose of expressing his belief that the defendant was Roger Tichborne and of denying that he had communicated to the defendant the result of his conversation with Mr. Gosford. It was left to the counsel for the prosecution to ask all other questions—a mode of conducting the case which led to a difference of opinion being expressed between the Lord Chief Justice and Dr. Kenealy. In his cross-examination Mr. Bulpett explained that he was unwilling to be called as a witness. He stated that he only saw Roger four or five times in the hunting-field, and never exchanged a word with him. His memory was a blank as to having sent paragraphs to a Winchester newspaper in support of defendant’s claim. He had only once seen the defendant since the last trial, and that was an accidental meeting on a railway; but they were still on friendly terms. After he learnt that Gosford was opposed to the defendant, a dinner-party at the Grosvenor Hotel was arranged on the advice of counsel, and witness was the instrument of getting that interview between Gosford and the defendant, in order, if possible, to procure a recognition. At that meeting defendant did not know the contents of the sealed packet, about which he was questioned by Gosford. The counsel who were then engaged in the case threatened to throw up their briefs unless the defendant cleared up the matter of the sealed packet, and then the defendant wrote the paper on which witness put his initials.

Some Australians spoke as to having seen an “Osprey” at Melbourne; and domestics now spoke to the late Lady Tichborne being quite sane, and recognizing the defendant as her son.

The examination of Sir William Fergusson with regard to certain marks on the defendant’s person occupied nearly the whole of a day.

Dr. Wilson was examined as to a surgical matter, and explained that he had not attended the defendant professionally, but only for his own purposes of scientific investigation. He added that persons who suffered from sun-stroke often showed an indifference about their affairs.—Mr. Whalley, M.P., was afterwards called to deny that he had coached any of the witnesses or communicated to the defendant what they had said. On cross-examination he repeated his declaration of opinion that the opposition to the defendant was a Popish plot to deprive him of his rights.—A licensed victualler, who lives at Shepherd’s-bush, gave evidence as to “Captain Tichborne” driving up to Johnny Broome’s public-house in Piccadilly, in the autumn of 1850, and complaining of having been swindled out of some money; but this witness was not cross-examined, as the Lord Chief Justice reminded the counsel that it was known exactly where Roger Tichborne was at the time of which the witness spoke.—Another witness gave evidence as to a horse-dealing transaction with the defendant at Castlemaine, where he signed the receipt in the name of Tichborne.

On Monday, the 27th of October, the Court assembled for the 124th time. Several witnesses were called, including Lady Isabella Burrowes, who spoke

to having attended a race-ball at Southampton in 1849, where she danced with Roger Tichborne. She had spoken to the defendant, and believed him to be the man whom she met that night. With this Dr. Kenealy intimated that his case was closed; and Mr. Hawkins asked for an adjournment, in order to admit of his producing rebutting testimony. After some discussion between the Judges and the counsel, it was ultimately arranged that the Court should adjourn until twelve o'clock on Wednesday.

Mr. Hawkins began on Wednesday his rebutting evidence with Lady Radcliffe. She gave the dates of every occasion, from January, 1849, to June, 1852, on which she had seen Roger Tichborne. She denied all knowledge of the man Lewis, who professes to have been Roger's boon companion and to have frequently seen him with her. The statements of Mrs. Burt, Thomas Dimond, Caroline Skates, and others, as to having seen her alone with Roger, she positively contradicted. In cross-examination, Dr. Kenealy pressed her regarding certain entries in her diary, which his questions implied had been interpolated at later dates. Mr. Marsh, late member for Salisbury, deposed to having sailed from Sydney to Melbourne in 1855, with Sir Charles Fitzroy, the then Governor of New South Wales. He fixed the time of sailing at the end of January; and Mrs. Marsh, who was also called, read an entry from her diary which showed that it had been January 27.

Some further rebutting evidence was then given.—Mr. Charles Sperling said he resided in Essex, and was a magistrate for the county, and in 1846, when he was under Mr. Brunel, the engineer, he was staying at Melksham, near Bath. Having been called to contradict Mary Anne Neale, the barmaid at the "King's Arms," Melksham, who deposed to Roger Tichborne and himself visiting that house together in 1849, he said he went to the "King's Arms" two or three times, but never knew Roger Tichborne, nor did any of his family know him. Colonel Bickerstaff was examined as to the evidence of Timothy Marks. He said he never ran a race with any officer, non-commissioned officer, or private in the Carabiniers in his life, or with Mr. Greenwood. In reply to the Lord Chief Justice, he said he was present when Roger Tichborne was bled by Dr. Moore at Canterbury, and had a perfect remembrance of what occurred. He then stated positively that the doctor only made one puncture with the lancet on each ankle and only one puncture on each arm, but said that the doctor pointed out four or five old marks of punctures on the left arm. Henry Allen, who went out with Arthur Orton in the "Middleton," said he never saw any scars or marks on his face or on his hands. He was positive upon the subject.—John Francis Cronin, Frederick Cronin, Joseph Smith, Mrs. Johnson, Russell, and William Dodd, all of whom had already been examined for the prosecution, gave similar testimony. The other witnesses called and examined upon the same point were Shottler and Ann Cockburn.—Captain Oates, examined as to the evidence of Captain Brown, said: "I have not the slightest knowledge or recollection of Captain Brown. I never saw him. I was in Hull, and not in the gallery of the court when Brown was examined, as stated by him in his evidence. Captain Birkett and I did not introduce Roger Tichborne to any person called Brown at Rio. I saw Roger frequently for four or five days. I never drank with him, Captain Birkett, and Brown, in an hotel, or played at billiards with him. It is not true that I ever played billiards with Roger

Tichborne. I never saw Roger play with Captain Birkett or Captain Carmichael, or, in fact, with any one. I don't know Captain Carmichael. I never played at any game with Roger in Rio, or saw him play at any game with any one. There is nothing true in Brown's statement as to my playing billiards or being present when Birkett and Carmichael played with Roger for money when he was drunk. I never played, and never saw Birkett or Carmichael play with him. I never occupied a bedroom in which another man named Brown slept at the same time in the second bed. It is untrue, as is also the statement that I bathed in the presence of Brown. I never saw Roger Tichborne drunk in an hotel or billiard-room, or anywhere else. There is not one word of truth in the statement that I and Roger and others were drunk the night he is said to have occupied Brown's bed. I never requested him to take Roger to the room and give him a bed. I don't know Captain Myers and Captain Jenkins, mentioned by Brown. Captain Hoskins was in Rio at the time Roger was there. There is no truth whatever in the statement that I and the other captain were drunk in the hotel. The statement is no more true than that I was in the gallery the other day. It is not true that I, Roger, Birkett, and Hoskins came on board together, and were all pretty well drunk. There is a not word of truth in Brown's story. Captain Birkett did not say to him, 'Brown, you are the only sober man on board; stow Roger away.' Brown did not take off his coat and prise a board off the bulkhead. Captain Birkett was perfectly sober, and the ship in every respect fit to go to sea. It is untrue that Brown put Roger in the cabin. I saw him go into the lazarette, and I left him there. The grating was put over the hole, and a table, on which we afterwards had coffee, over that." Other portions of Brown's evidence were read by Mr. Hawkins, and Captain Oates gave a positive denial to each part of it.—Captain Hoskins, who was at Rio in 1854, said he never spoke to Roger Tichborne in his life. The witness then, in reference to Captain Brown's evidence, denied that he ever knew such a person, and also denied that he went on board the "Bella," drunk or sober, on the morning of her departure, or that he had ever played billiards with Roger, adding that he never was in a billiard-room in Rio. The other parts of Brown's evidence, he said, were totally untrue.

After some further rebutting evidence had been given, a fortnight's adjournment was asked for and obtained by the prosecution in order to meet the unexpected and startling evidence given by Jean Luie, for which purpose Mr. Purcell had been at once sent from London to America on Oct. 20

The trial was appointed to be resumed, for the 128th day, at twelve o'clock on Monday, Nov. 17. There was a great crowd in Palace-yard, and also in the Hall, waiting to see the defendant and other remarkable persons arrive. The Court was also very much crowded, and there was a larger attendance of the Bar than usual.

The jury were in their places before the appointed hour, looking cheerful after their brief holiday, and the folks who feared a speedy break-down of the proceedings in consequence of dismal reports of "blood-poisoning," in the case of one of the jurymen, were glad to know that Mr. Taylor, the gentleman referred to, had come up from the country in a greatly improved state of health. There was a slight hitch in the proceedings consequent upon the non-arrival of the Lord Chief Justice, who had telegraphed from Portsmouth

that he had found that the train by which he had been accustomed to come to town on Monday mornings had been "taken off."

At a quarter to one the Lord Chief Justice made his appearance, in company with his two colleagues, and, after a brief apology from his lordship to the jury and the Bar for his absence, the proceedings commenced by Mr. Hawkins rising with an affidavit in hand, explaining that it had been found impossible yet to bring the witnesses from America. Mr. Purcell, in fact, only left London on Oct. 20—his instructions being to make personal inquiries in New York and the contiguous Jersey city; to communicate with Chicago and New Orleans by telegraph, and to bring such witnesses and documentary evidence as he might be able to obtain, throwing light on the statements made by the witnesses Luie and "Captain" Brown. It is obvious that this programme of proceedings was not likely to be accomplished in twenty-eight days, and as a fact Mr. Hawkins stated, on the authority of the affidavit made by Mr. Stephenson, the Assistant-Solicitor of the Treasury, that the first set of witnesses only left New York on Wednesday week last, and were not expected until to-day; while another witness from New Orleans did not leave until Saturday afternoon, and therefore could not be in London before the next Monday at the earliest. Under these circumstances, Wednesday, the 26th, was first named for the recommencement of proceedings; but at the request of one of the jurymen, Thursday, the 27th, was ultimately fixed upon.

This arrangement, however, was not made without decided opposition from Dr. Kenealy and Mr. McMahon, who were armed with a heap of authorities tending in their opinion to show that the Court had no power to adjourn. On this point, however, the whole Bench were of opinion that the Court had the power, and, as it was remarked, it had been frequently exercised without question during the course of these proceedings. A lengthened argument ensued upon this and other kindred questions, in the course of which the Lord Chief Justice remarked again on the fact that counsel for the defendant had in his speech announced that the "Osprey" to which his witness was about to depose was the New Bedford "Osprey," whereas it had turned out to be a different vessel, and that the name of Luie had been withheld, and Luie kept in the background, and, as he himself stated, forbidden to communicate with other witnesses. In fact, his lordship observed, the appearance of this witness was in the nature of a surprise; and it was on this ground, as well as from the fact that it was impossible to inquire into the truth of the statements of that important witness, except in the United States, that the Court granted the delay asked for.

After some further arguments it was finally arranged, on the suggestion of the Lord Chief Justice, that the prosecution, as soon as it was in a position to do so, should furnish to the other side particulars of the names of the witnesses who, in the words of the affidavit of Mr. Stephenson, were coming "to contradict the witness Luie in many important particulars," and also with a statement of the matters to which their testimony would refer. The Court then adjourned until ten o'clock on Thursday, Nov. 27.

On that day, accordingly, the trial was resumed. Mr. Purcell, barrister-at-law, said he left England in October last for New York with the view of making inquiries about the evidence of Luie, and he arrived there on Nov. 2. He searched the arrivals at New York from July 1, 1853, to May 1, 1854.



There was no vessel called the "Osprey" which arrived at New York within those dates; nor was there any vessel of the name of "Osprey" in the clearance books for the same period. The "Osprey" was also not to be found in the New Jersey pilots'-book. He made inquiry for the stevedore Thompson mentioned by Luie, and found he was dead. He visited New Bedford and examined the arrivals and clearances in 1851, 1852, and 1853, to see if there was an "Osprey" or a "Helvetia," and found neither name. He searched the register of vessels granted in 1850, 1851, and 1852. There was a register granted to one "Osprey," and one only. It was an "Osprey" commanded by Captain M'Comber. He caused searches about a grog-shop to be made in New York and Chicago. At Brooklyn he discovered a ship-chandler named Kimber, a brother-in-law of Thompson, the stevedore. He found no trace of a shipowner named Falconberg. He was not able to find the slightest trace in New York of a person named Luie, whether a sail-maker or anything else. He went to everybody whose name Luie gave to Mr. Whalley.—Paul Cornell, who had served in the Custom-house barge which boarded all vessels entering the Narrows from foreign ports, gave positive evidence to show that the "Osprey" could not have been off Staten Island and loaded there at the time fixed by Luie.—Francis Frederick Kruse, a stevedore, of West-street, New York, who succeeded to the business of Thompson, proved that there was no "Osprey" loaded by the firm during 1853 or 1854. His attention being directed to Luie, he said he never saw him in his life.—Hercules Rosier, of Chicago, a detective, said there was no place in that city called Seventh-street. He could not find in Newbury-avenue a grog-shop kept by Jean Luie. He went to New York and inquired for Karl Anderson and Jean Luie in Nineteenth-street, Brooklyn, but could not hear anything of them. There was no Caroline-street in Jersey City.

Mr. N. W. Casey, auditor of customs at New Orleans, deposed to having searched the register of vessels entering that port in 1852 and 1853. There were only two "Ospreys," one a steamer, another a Liverpool ship. Respecting the "Helvetia," which is alleged to have been changed to the "Osprey," he stated that she traded to Havre, and in her crew list there was no Jean Luie.—John Avery Allen, collector of customs at New Bedford, produced the log-book of the "Osprey" hailing from that port, and her crew lists.—Captain M'Comber, formerly master of the New Bedford "Osprey," identified the log-book put in, and described the movements of his vessel during 1854. She had passed down the South American coast, but had never called at Rio, and had picked up no shipwrecked crew.—Mr. Duncan, of the United States Bar, testified to the extent of the Customs-house jurisdiction of New York, and to the provisions of the American law touching the acquisition of foreign ships by American citizens, their change of names, &c.—Captain Hayes, of the steamer "Belgium," the only boat that came to London from Ostend on the date given by Luie, denied having seen him on board during that or any other passage. It was proved by other witnesses that his name did not occur in the passenger list or in the alien list sent to the Home Office. This closed the case for the prosecution, whereupon Dr. Kenealy applied for an adjournment to produce sur-rebutting evidence. After hearing him argue the point at great length the Court unanimously decided that no sufficient grounds had been advanced to justify a further adjournment. After the Court had risen, Mr. Pollard, one of the solicitors of the Treasury, asked that Luie should be



bound over to appear on Monday, as two gentlemen were in court who could swear to having seen him in England in May. The Judges returned, but Mr. Hawkins having declined to take any part in the proceedings, it lapsed.

Monday's sitting (Dec. 1) was a highly sensational one, Mr. Hawkins having intimated that he would not follow up the action taken by Mr. Pollard with respect to Luie on Friday afternoon, Dr. Kenealy moved for an attachment against the offending solicitor, whose conduct he characterized as one of the worst contempts of court he had ever seen.—A remark from the Lord Chief Justice on Luie's affidavit called up Mr. Whalley, who wished, "with the utmost deference and humility," to explain that he was the man.—His lordship inquired if Mr. Whalley knew he was addressing the Court without his gown and wig.—Mr. Whalley reiterated that he did not speak as a barrister, but "as one of the——" His attempted explanation was cut short by a peremptory order to sit down.—Mr. Hawkins having, after consultation, decided to call the witnesses affecting Luie's antecedents, Mr. Peters deposed that he was chief clerk to Messrs. Hoffman, Schenk, and Co., shipping agents. In March last Luie had called at their office, introducing himself as Captain Sorrenson, and negotiated a charter for a ship of which he said he was master. Subsequently he tried to obtain a loan of 20*l.* from the agents for the pretended purchase of a chronometer. It was found that his ship, "Greda," was not known where he represented it to be lying, and he was threatened with a charge of attempting to obtain money by false pretences.—John Stettaford, a fellow-clerk of Mr. Peters, and Mr. Cobet, the managing partner in the firm, gave confirmatory evidence.—Luie was recalled, and in cross-examination by Mr. Hawkins affirmed that he had come to Liverpool by the "Circassian" in June, had travelled from Liverpool to Folkestone by rail, and then proceeded by steamer to Ostend. He could not say whether or not he had passed through London.—Two of the previous witnesses were re-examined as to Luie's voice, and they declared it positively to be the same as Sorrenson's.—The Court then called on Luie to enter into his own recognizances in 300*l.* and two sureties in 150*l.* each for his appearance when wanted.—Dr. Kenealy pleaded earnestly for an adjournment to obtain rebutting evidence, but the Court would go no further than to promise that if witnesses came forward he might make a special application at a later stage.

An overwhelming body of evidence was now produced in identification of the so-called Jean Luie. For four days the Court was occupied with evidence brought by the Crown to rebut that given by Jean Luie, or, rather, to prove that the story told by Luie, that while he was steward of the "Osprey" they picked up the defendant and five others from the wreck of the "Bella," was untrue. Forty-five witnesses from various parts of England were examined on this point, amongst them a young woman who claimed Luie as her husband under the name of Carl Lungren, and several shipping clerks, who identified him as having passed at different times under the names of John Lungren, Capt. Strom, Landbeg, Petersen, Sorrenson, Safstrom, and Grundlun. A number of warders from Chatham Prison also recognized Luie as having been under their charge for some time previous to March last. The result was that the Solicitor to the Treasury was directed to prosecute Jean Luie for perjury and contempt of court, and he remained in Holloway prison.

Luie was first identified as the convict Lungren from his photograph in

the office of the Registrar of Criminals, and it is said that it was not without much difficulty, and after many refusals, that he was persuaded to sit for his photograph, to be sold for the benefit of the Tichborne Defence Fund. When at length he did sit, he pulled his hat over his eyes, moved about, in fact threw so many difficulties in the way of obtaining a good likeness, that it was an hour before a satisfactory photograph was procured. Luie's identification was completed by the medical evidence of Dr. Burns, of the Chatham Convict Prison. The stiffness in the little finger, the moles on the back, and the hernia all corresponded with the prison record.—Dr. Kenealy declined to support him further, and he was again committed to prison, and the Solicitor to the Treasury bound over to prosecute him for perjury.

The progress of the trial at this stage was more than once sadly interfered with by the occurrence of those unfortunate scenes between the counsel for the defence and the Judges which have been so remarkable a feature of this trial. The last and most painful instance occurred when Dr. Kenealy, upon an objection being taken by the Lord Chief Justice as to his mode of cross-examination, retorted, "Your lordship is always insulting me." A bitter discussion followed, in which all the Judges took part. Meanwhile Dr. Kenealy began his address on Tuesday, the 2nd of December, by way of summing up on behalf of the defence.

It opened with a vehement appeal to the jury, in which the Divine Spirit was invoked to assist their deliberations, and the learned gentleman went on to state that in all his life he never felt more confidence than that the gentlemen whom he addressed were quite prepared with clear consciences to find a verdict for his client. He adverted to the pressure which had been brought against him, and to all the influences against which he had had to contend; but still he felt sure what the result would be. Had the defendant been an impostor, would he not have fled the country? But what had he done? He had gone about England courting investigation in every place, and among all people to whom he was known, and with what result?—that of having almost one and all with whom he came in contact, and who had no interest in denying him his heritage, coming forward to say he was the Roger Tichborne, whom they recognized by his face, by his walk, by his voice, and his sweet, amiable smile. This remark created a smile in court. Counsel then went on to denounce the little rubbish, the trash, and nonsense which had been brought forward by the prosecution—these were things which were only worth his cursory contempt, and were never worth the consideration of any jury. He thought the present prosecution of his client was one of the worst, the most wicked, the most profligate things that had ever disgraced the English courts since the time of the Stuarts. After a passing reference to Jeffreys and Scroggs, and an allusion to the "triple crown" being in the dust, he went on to complain that the witnesses against him were bribed, and also that they had been most unfairly treated by the Court.—On this the Lord Chief Justice said that that was not so, and that, had it been so, counsel was failing in his duty to his client not to have claimed the protection of the Court at once; and Mr. Justice Lush, in the most emphatic manner, condemned any such insinuation.—In the course of the continuation of the learned counsel's speech he many times brought himself into verbal collision with one or other of the Judges. The Government did not escape censure as partisans in the great Popish plot to keep

the heir of Tichborne out of his estates, which in less than twenty years would be worth 50,000*l.* a year. One Cabinet Minister had been put into the box to swear recklessly and rashly, though not wilfully, what every one now must know was untrue. Another Cabinet Minister had conferred a fat appointment on a witness. At the end of his first day Dr. Kenealy was enlarging on "the great and unseen powers behind the prosecution, who were going against this man for their own purposes."—After the rising of the Court Jean Luie, who, in compliance with the regulations of his bail, had been in attendance all day, was sent for to the Judges' private room, and, there being no other security forthcoming but Mr. Whalley, M.P., Jean Luie was not admitted to further bail, but sent to Holloway prison.

Dr. Kenealy here again severely stigmatized the course pursued by the prosecution. When, in his abuse of the prosecution, he declared that the principle on which it had acted was not the law of England, but might be the law of hell, the Lord Chief Justice "took upon him" to object to language which, "if not blasphemous, was most improper and indecorous." The doctor went on to complain of the ordeal to which his client had been subjected in having his whole previous life brought up against him as a test of his identity. He ridiculed the theory of the prosecution that the defendant had been coached, and reproached it with not having rested its case on some specific points in the evidence, which would have kept the trial within a few days' compass. Respecting Roger Tichborne's residence at Stonyhurst Dr. Kenealy set up a number of hypotheses and battled for them. One was intended to account for the defendant's statement that he had first lived in a cottage outside the gates. Another was used in support of his alleged expulsion from the college immediately on his return in 1849. A high-flown eulogy was bestowed on Bogle, "the faithful African," and stray incidents were cited as inconsistent with the doctrine that he was a co-conspirator.

For some days the address of Dr. Kenealy went over the old ground, except where it consisted of denunciations, in which he was repeatedly stopped by the Court. His running criticism on the evidence for the prosecution bore hard on Señor Barra for what he had said to Castro about the defendant. It discovered many grounds of probability for Roger Tichborne having visited Melapilla—his writing home that he was studying Spanish, the way he had talked about his magnificent estates, and so forth. The doctor objected, parenthetically, to the Australian and other maps put in by the prosecution, that they had not been proved.—Mr. Justice Lush asked if he meant to convey an imputation against the Queen's geographer, Mr. Wyld.—Oh! no; but he thought that a more accurate map was to be preferred to a less accurate one. It was shown, *per contra*, that the prosecution had been very severe on his client's lapses of memory. Mr. Hawkins had laughed at his calling his mother "Mama" and writing "Bart." after his signature; but these peculiarities demonstrated his superiority to coaching. Even the contradictions in his client's own statements strengthened this conclusion in Dr. Kenealy's mind. He could not explain how the defendant had sworn that the Santiago likeness was taken at Southampton; but an imposter, he argued, could not afford to risk committing such an inaccuracy. His knowing the incident of the mule falling over a precipice was strongly inconsistent with imposition.—The Lord Chief Justice offered to tell Dr. Kenealy how he meant to instruct the jury on that point—it had been got from Moore.—After

some discussion about Moore not having been called, Dr. Kenealy pronounced the Lord Chief Justice's theory "a wild speculation." From this there was a digression to the sealed packet, regarding which Dr. Kenealy accused himself of an omission, for which he would never be able to forgive himself "as long as he walked this mortal earth." Mr. Hawkins had told the jury that the date of the packet was not in Roger Tichborne's handwriting. On examination, his lordship and the jury both agreed that it was.—Dr. Kenealy proceeded to insinuate that Mr. Hawkins had a grave design in casting suspicion on the writing.—The Lord Chief Justice observed that Mr. Hawkins had yet to be known either as a rogue or a fool, and if in this case he had been rogue enough to try to mislead the jury, he would not have been fool enough to put in the document.—A juror suggested another explanation—that Dr. Kenealy might assume they came from Earlswood.—The doctor, however, took a sudden flight to Rio, and there drew a Bacchanalian portrait of Roger drunk at two o'clock in the morning, and getting pigeoned out of his money. He complained that the voice of the community was stifled, but he foresaw a time of retribution, when these points would be agitated by many active and energetic minds.—The Court objected to forestalling such great minds, as it wasted time; and Dr. Kenealy, being entreated to come to the main points himself, showed the importance of establishing that there was an "Osprey" in Hobson's Bay in 1854, by which Roger Tichborne might have been picked up.—The Lord Chief Justice granted that if he proved this he cut away the ground from one of the strong arguments of the prosecution.

Dr. Kenealy then spoke at some length upon what he termed "the Luie episode." He declared that the legal advisers of the defendant never had the slightest suspicion that the man's evidence was untrustworthy, and that his conduct subsequently to the time when he gave his evidence justified them in placing faith in him. The learned counsel explained his own share in the matter, and assured the jury that the extraordinary art, skill, and daring of the man had "deceived him, as it had deceived others." He then addressed himself to the question of the defendant's responsibility, and, while presuming that the production of Luie had undoubtedly done great and vital injury to his cause, pointed out to the jury the reasons for the defendant's belief that the story told by Luie was a genuine one. In the end, Dr. Kenealy assured the jury that if he could for a moment believe that his client had palmed off this witness upon him, knowing his antecedents, he would throw up his brief with scorn, as he had done with the Fenian, Captain Burke, on discovering that he was implicated in the Clerkenwell outrage. A question rose next about Captain Brown's alleged recognition of Luie, which the Lord Chief Justice wondered at, as the "Osprey" had never been at Rio in 1854. He invited information also on Luie's statement that he was led to believe that the pilot and part of the crew of the "Osprey" were then in London. Dr. Kenealy promised to look into this point, and concluded for the day with a protest that, if the captain of the "Osprey" had neglected to report his ship at Melbourne, the defendant ought not to be responsible for it.

He was next engaged in pointing out the omissions of the prosecution, and showing what he called the absurd consequences of the Orton theory. There was never a case heard of, he said, where the imposter had known so little of his model, or had so little means of acquiring information. There had never, from the time of Perkin Warbeck, been an imposture so long-lived. All the

eccentricities of his client became, in Dr. Kenealy's hands, proofs of his *bona fides*. Towards the close of the sitting the learned counsel digressed into his favourite field of biographical analogy. Lord Carew, Lord Peterborough, Richard Savage, Dean Swift, and other celebrated eccentrics, were portrayed in support of the doctor's argument that ordinary rules were not always to be applied to human nature.

The learned counsel spoke of the amount of gold which he alleged was ready in this case when witnesses were wanting—a remark which elicited a rebuke from the Judges, Mr. Justice Lush observing that, after the experience of the last ten days, he listened with astonishment to these imputations. Dr. Kenealy, during his address, explained why he had not called Orton's sisters in support of his case, and reviewed at considerable length the conduct of the defendant in going to Wapping on the night of his arrival in England, in December, 1866. Here Dr. Kenealy provoked another altercation with the Bench by speaking of the independence of the Bar as being imperilled.

The visit of the defendant to Wapping on Christmas Eve, 1866, next formed the staple of Dr. Kenealy's address. He said the only true way of looking at it was as the act of a brain which was not right—of a person hardly responsible for what he did. Assuming the defendant was Arthur Orton, it was conduct perfectly inconsistent with that of a cool, calculating villain like a man of that description, who had fabricated an ingenious and wicked fraud; but, on the other hand, assuming he was Roger Tichborne, a wild, headstrong, and foolish man, such conduct, being irrational, was consistent enough. Dr. Kenealy proceeded to argue that the evidence of the Wapping witnesses who had deposed that the claimant and Arthur Orton were the same person was highly improbable, if not incredible, and occupied most of the day with disparaging comments on the Wapping witnesses called by the Crown. Dr. Kenealy pointed to the fact that most of the witnesses for the Crown could not say whether the ears of Arthur Orton were pierced or not, and the Lord Chief Justice having expressed a doubt whether a casual observer would notice it, the learned counsel said he could distinctly see the ears of the jurymen so as to say whether they were pierced or not. Whereupon he was asked by a jurymen, "Are the foreman's ears pierced?" and replied "No." Much laughter was caused by the foreman saying, "You are wrong."

At this stage Dr. Kenealy was more than once interrupted by audible remonstrances from the defendant on the line of argument adopted. When the learned counsel admitted that his client had in fact gone to Lloyd's to make searches, as charged in the indictment, the defendant was suddenly heard to exclaim, "They may swear; but I don't admit it;" and when the speaker insisted that if his client "went to Wapping to give money to the sisters, he gave them none for twelve months afterwards," the defendant again turned round, and said aloud, "That is not so." "I wish you would not interrupt me," returned the learned counsel; to which his client replied, rather sharply, "Well, I wanted to put you right."

Just before adjourning for a brief Christmas vacation, the Lord Chief Justice expressed his desire that the learned counsel might, when the Court met again, be enabled to finish his observations within a working week. Dr. Kenealy assured the Judges that, while he would use every reasonable means to confine his remarks within proper limits, it was impos-



sible for him to pledge himself to six or any other number of days. The Lord Chief Justice said the Court would exercise its discretion. A good deal of time had been wasted in dealing with trifling topics, but, as long as the learned counsel dealt with important facts and material issues, there would be no disposition to curtail or abridge his address. After some further discussion on this point, Dr. Kenealy continued his speech, returning to the Wapping witnesses for the Crown, who, he contended, had no sufficient opportunities of knowing Arthur Orton, and ought not, therefore, to be relied upon by the jury. He also argued that the evidence of Donna Maria Hayley, of Melipilla, who recognized the defendant as Orton, had been coloured by the handsome sum she had received from the prosecution, and was in other respects unsatisfactory. The learned counsel then dealt with the other witnesses called to support the Orton theory; in most instances quoting their evidence, and pointing out where it was open to doubt or suspicion. Passing next to Mr. Purcell, he said he did not say anything against that gentleman, as great allowance was to be made for him, as, being a stranger in Melipilla, and knowing hardly anything of Spanish, he was at the mercy of the people by whom he was surrounded, and naturally fell into grievous errors. Regarding the personal appearance of Orton, he reminded the jury that he had produced forty-nine witnesses who deposed to his having high cheekbones, ears like those of a kangaroo, and bored for earrings, none of which peculiarities were to be found in "our fat friend," as he styled his client.

A sitting was occupied with reading tables compiled by Mr. Cooper Wyld, showing how many witnesses had sworn to the extreme size of Orton's hands and feet, his pockmarks, his height, and his slovenly appearance. Dr. Kenealy next read abstracts of the evidence of each witness, and illustrated them with running comments. Except one brief remark from Mr. Hawkins, and one or two almost as brief from the Judges, the learned Doctor was now uninterrupted save by the somewhat pertinent queries and observations of one or two of the jury, who followed with the closest attention all that was said.

On the last day of the year Dr. Kenealy was still continuing his speech for the defence, his observations during the greater part of the day being directed to an analysis of what is known as the Orton evidence in this case. Dr. Kenealy reverted to the foreman's statement about earring marks being eradicable, when the foreman stated that his own ears had been pierced and showed no marks. In referring to his client the learned counsel instanced his independent treatment of his friends as a proof of patrician recklessness. "Though," exclaimed the Doctor, "I have worked for that man as I should work for my own flesh and blood, he has never said 'Thank you!'" "You should take that for granted," interposed the claimant.

And so the third year of the Tichborne case ended, leaving Dr. Kenealy speaking.

# APPENDIX.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

### I.

#### CORRESPONDENCE WITH RUSSIA RESPECTING CENTRAL ASIA.

No. 1.

EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

*Foreign Office, October 17, 1872.*

MY LORD,—Her Majesty's Government have not yet received from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg communication of the Report which General Kaufmann was long since instructed to draw up on the countries south of the Oxus which are claimed by the Ruler of Afghanistan as his hereditary possessions.

Her Majesty's Government have awaited this communication in full confidence that impartial inquiries instituted by that distinguished officer would confirm the views they themselves take of this matter, and so enable the two Governments to come to a prompt and definitive decision on the question that has been so long in discussion between them.

But as the expected communication has not reached them, and as they consider it of importance both for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Central Asia, and for removing all causes of misunderstanding between the Imperial Government and themselves, I will no longer delay making known through your Excellency to the Imperial Government the conclusion at which her Majesty's Government have arrived after carefully weighing all the evidence before them.

In the opinion, then, of her Majesty's Government, the right of the Ameer of Cabul (Shere Ali) to the possession of the territories up to the Oxus as far down as Khoja Saleh is fully established, and they

believe, and have so stated to him through the Indian Government, that he would have a right to defend these territories if invaded. On the other hand, her Majesty's authorities in India have declared their determination to remonstrate strongly with the Ameer should he evince any disposition to overstep these limits of his kingdom.

Hitherto the Ameer has proved most amenable to the advice offered to him by the Indian Government, and has cordially accepted the peaceful policy which they have recommended him to adopt, because the Indian Government have been able to accompany their advice with an assurance that the territorial integrity of Afghanistan would in like manner be respected by those Powers beyond his frontiers which are amenable to the influence of Russia. The policy thus happily inaugurated has produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in the countries where it has long been unknown.

Her Majesty's Government believe that it is now in the power of the Russian Government, by an explicit recognition of the right of the Ameer of Cabul to these territories which he now claims, which Bokhara herself admits to be his, and which all evidence as yet produced shows to be in his actual and effectual possession, to assist the British Government in perpetuating, as far as it is in human power to do so, the peace and prosperity of those regions, and in removing for ever by such means all cause of uneasiness and jealousy between England and Russia in regard to their respective policies in Asia.

For your Excellency's more complete information I state the territories and boundaries which her Majesty's Government consider as fully belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, viz. :—

(1.) Badakshan, with its dependent district of Wakhan from the Sarikal (Woods Lake) on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Penjab), forming the northern boundary of this Afghan province throughout its entire extent.

(2.) Afghan Turkestan, comprising the districts of Kunduz, Khulm, and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kokcha River to the post of the Khoja Saleh, inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara to Balkh. Nothing to be claimed by the Afghan Ameer on the left bank of the Oxus below Khoja Saleh.

(3.) The internal districts of Aksha, Seripool, Maimenat, Shibberjan, and Andkoi, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of Turcomans.

(4.) The western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and those of the Persian province of Khorasan is well known and need not here be defined.

Your Excellency will give a copy of this despatch to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW TO COUNT BRUNNOW.

(Communicated to EARL GRANVILLE by COUNT BRUNNOW, December 29.)

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, December 7, 1872.

M. LE COMTE,—Your Excellency has already received copy of Lord Granville's despatch of the 17th October, which was communicated to us by Lord A. Loftus by order of his Government.

It refers to the affairs of Central Asia.

Before answering it, it becomes necessary for me to recapitulate the different phases of the negotiation between us and the English Cabinet upon this question.

The two Governments were equally desirous to forestall any cause of disagreement between them in that part of Asia. Both wished to establish such a state of things as would secure peace in those countries, and consolidate the relations of

friendship and good understanding between the two Governments.

They had consequently come to an agreement that it was expedient to have a certain "intermediary" zone, for the purpose of preserving their respective possessions from immediate contact.

Afghanistan seemed well fitted to supply what was needed; and it was consequently agreed that the two Governments should use all their influence with their neighbouring States towards preventing any collision or encroachment one side or the other of this "intermediary" zone.

All that remained, in order to make the agreement between the two Cabinets as complete in fact as it already was in principle, was to trace the exact limits of the zone.

It was here that a doubtful point arose.

The founder of the Afghan State, Dost Mahommed Khan, had left behind him a state of confusion which did not allow of the territorial extension which Afghanistan had acquired at certain moments of his reign, being accepted as a basis.

It was consequently agreed that no territories should be taken into account, but such as having formerly recognized the authority of Dost Mahommed were still in the actual possession of Shere Ali Khan.

It thus became necessary to ascertain, with all possible accuracy, what were the territories in his actual possession.

For this purpose it was requisite to have positive local data, which neither Government possessed, with reference to these distant and imperfectly-known countries.

It was agreed that the Governor-General of Turkestan should be instructed to take advantage of his residence in the proximity of and his relations with the neighbouring Khanates, to collect all the information necessary to throw light upon the question, and to enable the two Governments to come to a practical decision with the facts before them.

Such was the point, M. le Comte, as your Excellency will recollect, at which our negotiations with the English Cabinet had arrived.

In conformity with this decision, M. l'Aide-de-Camp Général de Kaufmann had taken every possible measure towards carrying out this preliminary investigation. Owing, moreover, to difficulties arising out of the distances involved, the excessively complicated nature of the points to be elucidated, the absence of genuine sources of information, and the impossibility of a direct inquiry, he was unable to accomplish his task as speedily as we, no less than the Government of her

Britannic Majesty, would have desired. Hence the delay pointed out in Lord Granville's despatch.

We have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the cause of the delay is to be found in the serious attention which the Imperial Cabinet devoted to this affair. It would have been easy to rest content with hastily collected notions, which later would have given rise to misunderstandings. We preferred to study the question conscientiously, since it was one of giving a solid and durable basis to the political organization of Central Asia, and to the good and friendly relations, present as well as future, which the two Governments aimed at establishing between them on that basis.

At the beginning of last October the Imperial Ministry was able to announce to Lord A. Loftus and to your Excellency that the Councillor of State Struve, to whom these inquiries had been entrusted, had at last just arrived at St. Petersburg, and that, as soon as the materials he had collected had been put into shape, the result would be communicated to the Cabinet in London. It was whilst this work was going on that Lord Granville's despatch was communicated to us, informing us of the opinion which her Britannic Majesty's Government has thought fit to form upon the points under discussion.

The Imperial Cabinet, having in view the spirit of the agreement arrived at in principle between the two Governments, none the less thinks it its duty to transmit to the Government of her Britannic Majesty the particulars collected on the spot by order of the Governor-General of Turkestan, and to lay before them most frankly the conclusions which, in its opinion, are their natural consequences.

These particulars and conclusions are contained in the letter, copy of which is inclosed, which M. l'Aide-de-Camp Général de Kaufmann has just addressed to me, and in the Memorandum which forms its inclosure.

I will sum them up:

The question to be settled had two sides—

1. To ascertain the real state of possession at this moment, so far as it is possible to prove it in those countries.

2. Starting from this *status quo* as a basis, to seek for a line of demarcation, to be traced, which will best answer the object of the present negotiations; that is, to remove as far as possible all cause of conflict or mutual encroachments between the neighbouring Khanates, and consequently assure, as far as can be done, the state of peace which henceforward

the two Governments should respectively use all their influence to cause to be respected

Looking at the question from these two points of view, its study led to the following conclusions:—

1. That to the north, the Amou Daria, forms, in fact, the proper frontier of Afghanistan from its confluence with the Koukcha, as far as the point of Khodja Sulek.

So far our data confirm the opinion of the Government of her Britannic Majesty, and the frontier in question seems the more reasonable, that it can give rise to no disputes on the part of the inhabitants of the banks of the Amou Daria.

2. To the north-east, the data we have collected give the confluence of that river with the Koukcha as the limit of the districts over which Shere Ali Khan exercises actual undisputed sovereignty. Beyond that limit, and especially with regard to Badakshan and Wakhan, it has been impossible to find any traces of such a sovereignty; on the contrary, all our information upon the subject goes to prove that these districts should be regarded as independent. In the communication from her Britannic Majesty's Government, which was made to us in November last, it is seen that, according to the testimony of Major Montgomery, the Ameer of Cabul has "considerable authority" in Badukstan, and that the Afghans have "assisted Mahmood Shah to upset the Emir or Chief of this country, Jehandar Shah." But these facts themselves seem to point rather to the real independence of Badakshan than to its absolute subjection to the Ameer of Cabul. The information collected by M. Struve, and contained in his Memorandum, supports this conclusion. Mention is made, it is true, of interference by the Afghan Ameer in the internal disputes of Badakshan, and of attempts on his part to get his assistance paid for by a kind of tribute; but nowhere are the signs to be found which, in Asia, accompany the exercise of the rights of sovereignty; for instance, the presence in the country of Afghan officers, and of officials to collect the taxes. The Chiefs of Badakshan looked upon themselves, and were looked upon by their neighbours, as independent Chiefs.

It follows that, from these facts, at the most it may be granted that the Ameer of Cabul has on various occasions attempted to bring Badakshan under his dominion; that he has several times profited by internal discord to exercise over the country considerable control, based on his position as a neighbour and the superiority of his forces; but that it is impossible to deduce



from them the existence of a real and uncontested sovereign power.

As to Wakhan, that country seems to have remained up to the present moment even more outside the circle of the direct action of the Chiefs of Afghanistan.

3. We have next to inquire whether or not, in this state of things, and in view of our common object—that is, the establishment in those regions of a permanent place guaranteed by both Governments, it is well to recognize the rights claimed by the Ameer of Cabul over Badakshan and Wakhan, and to comprise these two countries within the territorial limits of Afghanistan. Such is not the opinion of M. l'Aide-de-Camp Général Kaufmann, and the Imperial Cabinet arrives at the same conclusions.

In the present state of things there is no dispute between Badakshan and her neighbours. Bokhara puts forward no claim to that country. The two States are, besides, too weak, too absorbed in their own affairs, to wish to quarrel. England and Russia would consequently have nothing to do but to maintain this state of peace as well between these Khanates as between Afghanistan and Badakshan; and this task would not seem beyond their power. Far otherwise would it be the day that the Ameer of Cabul should extend his authority over Badakshan and Wakhan. He would find himself in immediate contact with Kashgar, Kokand, and Bokhara, from which he is now separated by those two countries. From that moment it would be far more difficult to avoid contests, due either to his ambition and consciousness of power, or to the jealousy of his neighbours. This would give a most precarious basis to the peace which it is sought to establish in those countries, and compromise the two Governments who would be called upon to guarantee it. This arrangement would consequently seem to us to go directly counter to the object which they have in common. It would appear to us much more in keeping with that object to allow the present state of things to continue. Badakshan and Wakhan would thus form a barrier interposed between the Northern and Southern States of Central Asia; and this barrier, strengthened by the combined action which England and Russia are able to bring to bear upon such of those States as are accessible to their influence, would effectually prevent any dangerous contact, and would in our opinion secure, as far as anything could do so, the peace of those countries.

4. As for the boundaries to be recognized as those of Afghanistan on the North-west, starting from Khodja-Saleh,

the information we have received equally throws doubts upon the *de facto* possession by the Ameer of Cabul of the towns of Aktchi, Seripool, Meimané, Chibirgan, and Andkhai, which it is a question of comprising within the acknowledged boundaries of Afghanistan.

These districts, however, being divided from Bokhara by deserts, would not, if annexed to the Afghan territory, offer the same dangers of contact that we have pointed out on the north-east; and their annexation would not, consequently, be open to the same objections.

If the Government of her Britannic Majesty adheres to its opinion of the expediency of comprising these places in the limits of the Afghan territory, we will not insist upon the principle from which we started, namely, that no districts should be acknowledged as part of Afghanistan, but such as had been under the rule of Dost Mohammed Khan, and were, at this moment, in actual subjection to Shere Ali Khan. In deference to the wish of the Government of her Britannic Majesty, the Imperial Cabinet would be disposed, as far as this portion of the boundary is concerned, to accept the line laid down in Lord Granville's despatch. Such, M. le Comte, are briefly the conclusions which we think the materials in our hands justify us in forming.

Be so good as to lay them before the Chief Secretary of State of her Britannic Majesty. Our intention, in communicating them to his Excellency, is not only to fulfil our promise. We believe that, in attempting the rational solution of a question which interests the two Governments equally, we are best carrying out the purpose which has animated both ever since their first friendly interchange of ideas.

Receive, &c.,  
(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

GENERAL KAUFMANN TO PRINCE  
GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, November 29, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Highness herewith a Memorandum on the question of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. This Memorandum has been compiled on the basis of such data and materials as I have succeeded in collecting in the course of the last two years, on the subject of the state of affairs on the frontier of Afghanistan and Bokhara, and the independent States on the upper course of the Amon-Daria.



I confess that these data are far from being complete.

Personal investigation and observation, exercised on the very spot, are in Central Asia the only means of obtaining enlightenment on any question whatever, political or geographical. I have not, as yet, had recourse to these means. To have sent a Russian official into these countries, even on the pretext of a scientific mission, might have created a panic in Afghanistan, and would have awakened suspicions and apprehensions on the part of the Government of India. It was my duty to avoid anything that might in any way have disturbed the satisfactory state of our relations as established by the friendly and sincere exchange of ideas which has taken place between the Imperial Government and that of her Britannic Majesty.

I have already had the honour of communicating to your Highness my opinion as to one of the causes of the excited state of public feeling existing in the Khanates of Central Asia bordering on Russia—that is, that all our neighbours, and particularly the Afghans, are filled with the conviction that there exists between Russia and England an enmity which, sooner or later, will lead us into a conflict with the English in Asia.

In conformity with the intentions and views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs I have applied myself to dispel this bugbear of an impending conflict between the two great Powers. In my relations with Kokand or Bokhara, and, above all, in my letters to Shere Ali Khan, I have always spoken of the similarity of views and of the friendship existing between ourselves and England, and I have applied myself to the task of demonstrating that these two Powers, Russia as well as England, are equally solicitous for the tranquillity of the countries and peoples which lie within the radius of their influence and protection. It is this reason which, up to the present time, has determined me not to send officers into those parts with the object of obtaining information respecting the questions put to me by the Imperial Government.

This state of things is quite as advantageous for us as for England. But it is liable to change should once the possessions of Shere Ali Khan be guaranteed to him within the boundaries proposed at the present moment by Lord Granville, in his despatch to Lord A. Loftus of the 17th of October last. Such a guarantee would give him a considerable prestige, and he would immediately attempt to seize, *de facto*, the territories thus conceded to him. First of all he would turn

his attention towards Badakshan and Wakhan as the easiest and most attainable booty. By the acquisition of these two territories he would prolong his line of contact with Bokhara, and would find himself side by side with Karateguina, whence Kokand is within easy reach. Finally, his north-western boundary would touch the possessions of Yakoub Bek. Here is a road which would lead him straight into collision with Russia.

If the English Government is really animated by the same wish as ourselves to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the Khanates which separate us from the British possessions in India—if England will give credit to our sincere protestations that we are not dreaming of any hostile enterprise whatever against her Indian possessions, common sense ought to suggest to her the necessity of recognizing the independence of Badakshan and Wakhan, equally in the interests of the Ameers of Cabul and of Bokhara.

I have, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

MEMORANDUM.

(*Translation.*)

IN the strict sense of the word, the possessions of the Ameer Shere Ali Khan only extend eastward as far as the meridian of the point of junction of the river Kouktcha with the Amu-Daria. This line separates Badakshan and Wakhan from the province of Kunduz, which incontestably forms part of the dominions of Shere Ali Khan. It was annexed to Afghanistan about twenty years ago by Mohammed Afzal Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, who was at that time Governor of Balkh. Afzal Khan, as we learn from an English communication, made a fruitless attempt to seize Badakshan, the consequence of which, however, was that the Meer of Badakshan, in order to secure the safety of his dominions, engaged to pay to Dost Mohammed Khan an annual tribute of two rupees for every house, and to deliver up to him the mines of rubies and lapis-lazuli situated in his territory. This engagement, however, was not fulfilled; the death of Dost Mohammed Khan suggested to the chiefs of Badakshan, who little wished to become subservient to Cabul, the idea of seeking the protection of Bokhara. But the Ameer Seid Mouzaffar totally declined to interfere in the affairs of Badakshan, not because he looked upon this country as a dependency of Afghanistan, but because

at that time he was anxiously watching the progress of our arms in Central Asia and was preparing to march against Kokand.

Djandar Shah, who was then ruler of Badakshan, was an entirely independent Sovereign, and recognized as such by all his neighbours. He had entered into friendly relations with Mohammed Afzul Khan and his son, Abdourrahman Khan, to whom he paid no tribute. When Shere Ali Khan, having defeated Abdourrahman Khan, had occupied Cabul and Balkh, and made himself master of all Afghanistan, he sent an embassy to Djandar Shah, calling upon him to fulfil the engagements which he had formerly contracted. Djandar Shah answered by a refusal. Thereupon Mohammed Shah, his nephew, supported by the Afghan troops, overthrew his uncle and made himself master of Faizabad, the capital of Badakshan, whilst his younger brother, Mizrab Shah, seized Tchuïab, the chief town of the province of Roustakh. The two brothers now pay to the Shere Ali Khan, in recognition of the co-operation which he granted them, an annual tribute of 15,000 rupees (9000 roubles). With the exception, however, of a very small number of Afghan adventurers, one meets in Badakshan with neither officials nor troops of the Ameer of Cabul, and his people themselves detest the Afghans.

This intelligence, furnished by Abdourrahman Kahn, and gathered partly from the lips of envoys of the Serdar of Balkh, who came to Tashkend, is confirmed by the statement of Alif Bek, ex-Governor of Sarikoul (a province of Kashgar bordering on Wakhan), who presented himself at Tashkend in the month of August of the present year. He added that Djandar Shah, the legitimate ruler of Badakshan, who first of all fled to Bokhara, had afterwards returned, by Samarkand and Kokand, to Chougnan.

Such a state of things existing in Badakshan clearly shows that Shere Ali Khan could have no pretension to the possession of Badakshan as an inheritance bequeathed to him by Dost Mohammed Khan, and that his authority is not yet established in Badakshan; Mohammed Shah and Mizoul Shah, the actual rulers of Badakshan, do not consider themselves as Beks of the Ameer of Cabul, and, if they pay him tribute, it is only in the interest of their own security, and in order to shelter themselves from the sudden attacks of the brigands of Kunduz. Moreover, they have still to fear their uncle, Djandar Shah. There is nothing to favour the belief that the state of affairs in Badakshan is likely to change soon in

favour of Shere Ali Khan, and it is certain that the present state of things in that country is in accordance, or nearly so, with the objects we have in view in Central Asia in common, and after a previous and voluntary understanding with England. Nor does anything point to the possibility of a collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara on the side of Badakshan: the Emeer Seid Mouzaffar has put forward no pretension to the possession of that country. In the same way Shere Ali Khan, who with difficulty keeps up a show of authority at Badakshan, is not in a position at this moment to exercise any influence over Kouliab and Hissar, the towns of Bokhara which lie nearest to Badakshan. The official recognition by Russia and England of the rights of Shere Ali Khan over this country would at once lead that sovereign to make every effort to establish himself at Faizabad and in the district of Roustakh, and, should he once succeed, a collision between Bokhara and Afghanistan would become inevitable. In support of this view, it will suffice to state that the former Bek of Hissar, who in 1870 took refuge in Afghanistan, after his revolt against the Emir Seid Mouzaffar in 1869, has already made attempts to recover his province, with the assistance of the Afghans, to whom he promised the entire subjection to the Ameer of Cabul of the whole of the province of Hissar and Kouliab. That this plan has not been carried out must be attributed to the fact that the authority of Shere Ali Khan in Badakshan was null, and that the Ameer had no means of aggression at his disposal in that State.

To the east of Badakshan, in the upper basin of the Amu-Daria, lies a country little known, named Wakhan. This country, sometimes called Daria-pendj (the Five Rivers), on account of the five principal tributaries which give rise to the Amu-Daria, to the north borders on the Pamir Steppe, which separates it from Karatégnine; to the east it marches with Sarikoul, which belongs to the States under Yakoub Bek; to the south it is separated from Tchitrar (a country completely independent of Cabul) by the mountains of Nouk-San, the eastern prolongation of the Hindoo-Koosh. Wakhan is administered by a chief of its own, but the poverty of its inhabitants, and the barrenness of the soil of this mountainous district, have brought it into dependence upon Badakshan, the Beks of which do not, however, meddle with its domestic affairs. Once a year the Chief of Wakhan sends a certain sum of money to the Beks of Badakshan; but there are no direct

relations between this country and Afghanistan.

A road passes through Badakshan and Wakhan, connecting Kunduz with Sarikoul, Yarkend, and Kashgar. According to certain information in our possession, this road is longer than the direct road from Peshawur to Yarkend taken by Mr. Shaw.

As to the Amu-Daria, this river serves as a boundary-line between Afghanistan and Bokhara for a distance of about 300 versts, from the confluence of the Kouktschu on the east up to the point where both banks belong to Bokhara, and especially as far as the pass of Tchouckha-Gouzar, opposite the Bokharan village of Klodja-Suleh, which is on the right bank of the river.

To sum up, as far as regards the north-west boundary of Afghanistan, although there are doubts as to the actual possession by the Amcer of Cabul of the towns of Aktschu, Seripool, Maimané, Chibirgan, and Andkholi, lying to the west of Balkh, it may be taken into consideration that all this region is isolated from the States of Bokhara by an almost impassable desert, and in part even by the sands, and that, consequently, on that side there would be less fear of any immediate collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara.

### No. 3.

EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

*Foreign Office, January 8, 1873.*

MY LORD, Having received information from your Excellency and from Count Brunnow that Count Schouvalow, a statesman enjoying the full confidence of the Emperor of Russia, had left St. Petersburg for London at the desire of his Imperial Majesty, I had the pleasure of receiving his Excellency on the 8th instant.

He confirmed the fact that it was by the Emperor's desire that he had sought a personal interview with me. It had caused great surprise to his Imperial Majesty to learn from various sources that a certain amount of excitement and susceptibility had been caused in the public mind of this country on account of questions connected with Central Asia.

The Emperor knew of no questions in Central Asia which could affect the good understanding between the two countries. It was true that no agreement has been come to as to some of the details of the arrangement concluded by Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakow on the basis of Mr. Forryth's recommendations as to the

boundaries of Afghanistan; but the question ought not to be a cause to ruffle the good relations between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty had agreed to almost everything that we had asked. There remained only the point regarding the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan. There might be arguments used respectively by the departments of each Government, but the Emperor was of opinion that such a question should not be a cause of difference between the two countries, and his Imperial Majesty was determined that it should not be so. He was the more inclined to carry out this determination in consequence of his Majesty's belief in the conciliatory policy of her Majesty's Government.

Count Schouvalow added, on his own part, that he had every reason to believe, if it were desired by her Majesty's Government, the agreement might be arrived at at a very early period.

With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four battalions and a half. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva.

Count Schouvalow repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject, and he gave me most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter.

With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvalow; the people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes as it would appear, like England in India and France in Algeria, more so than was desired by the Central Governments; that the Clarendon and Gortchakow arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with great delay as

to its final settlement; that it was with the object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th October.

The only point of difference which now remained, as Count Schouvalow had pointed out, concerned Badakshan and Wakhan. In our opinion, historical facts proved that these countries were under the domination of the Sovereign of Cabul, and we have acknowledged as much in public documents; that, with regard to the expedition to Khiva, Count Schouvalow was aware that Lord Northbrook had given the strongest advice to the Khan to comply with the reasonable demands of the Emperor, and if the expedition were undertaken and carried out with the object and within the limits described by Count Schouvalow, it would meet with no remonstrance from her Majesty's Government, but it would undoubtedly excite public attention, and make the settlement of the boundary of Afghanistan more important for the object which both Governments had in view, viz., peace in Central Asia, and good relations between the two countries.

As to coming to a decision at an early date, it appeared to me desirable, inasmuch as it would bear a different aspect if arrived at in the spirit with which both Governments were actuated, and not complicated by possible discussions raised in the British Parliament.

I concluded by telling Count Schouvalow that I knew the confidence which was placed in him by the Emperor, and that I felt sure that my colleagues would agree with me in appreciating his visit to England, as a gratifying proof of the eminently conciliatory and friendly spirit with which the Emperor desired to settle without delay the question at issue.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

*Foreign Office, January 24, 1873.*

MY LORD,—Her Majesty's Government have attentively considered the statements and arguments contained in Prince Gortchakow's despatch of the 7th December, and the papers that accompanied it, which were communicated to me by the Russian Ambassador on the 26th December, and to your Excellency by Prince Gortchakow on the 29th of that month.

Her Majesty's Government gladly recognize, in the frank and friendly terms

of that despatch, the same spirit of friendliness as that in which, by my despatch of the 17th of October, I desired to convey through your Excellency to the Russian Government the views of that of her Majesty in regard to the line of boundary claimed by Shere Ali, the Ruler of Cabul, for his possessions of Afghanistan.

Her Majesty's Government see with much satisfaction that, as regards the principal part of that line, the Imperial Government is willing to acquiesce in the claim of Shere Ali, and they rely on the friendly feelings of the Emperor when they lay before him, as I now instruct your Excellency to do, a renewed statement of the grounds on which they consider that Shere Ali's claim to the remainder of the line of boundary referred to in my despatch of the 17th of October, to be well-founded.

The objections stated in Prince Gortchakow's despatch apply to that part of Shere Ali's claims which would comprise the province of Badakshan with its dependent district of Wakhan within the Afghan State. The Imperial Government contend that the province of Badakshan with its dependency, not having been formally incorporated into the territories of Shere Ali, is not legitimately any portion of the Afghan State.

To this her Majesty's Government reply that the Ameer of Cabul, having attained by conquest the sovereignty over Badakshan, and having received in the most formal manner the submission of the chiefs and people of that province, had the right to impose upon it such a form of Government as he might think best adapted to the position of affairs at the time. In the exercise of this right he appointed a Local Governor, and he consented experimentally to receive a fixed portion of the revenues of the country, instead of taking upon himself its general financial and other administration. But the Ameer expressly reserved to himself the right of reconsidering this arrangement, which was, in the first instance, made only for one year, of at any time subjecting Badakshan to the direct Government of Cabul, and of amalgamating the revenues thereof with the general revenue of the Afghan State. Her Majesty's Government cannot perceive anything in these circumstances calculated to weaken the claims of Shere Ali to the absolute sovereignty of Badakshan. The conquest and submission of the province were complete; and it cannot reasonably be urged that any experimental form of administration which the Ameer, with the acknowledged right of sovereignty, might think fit to impose on Badakshan, could



possibly disconnect the province from the general territories south of the Oxus, the sovereignty of which the Russian Government has without hesitation recognized to be vested in the Ameer of Cabul.

Her Majesty's Government have not failed to notice in portions of the statements of the Russian Government to which I am now replying, that its objection to admitting Badakshan and Wakhan to be under the sovereignty of Shere Ali is rested in part on an expressed apprehension lest their incorporation with the remainder of Afghanistan should tend to disturb the peace of Central Asia, and specifically should operate as an encouragement to the Ameer to extend his possessions at the expense of the neighbouring countries. I alluded, in my despatch of the 17th of October, to the success which had attended the recommendations made to the Ameer by the Indian Government to adopt the policy which had produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in countries where it had long been unknown; and her Majesty's Government see no reason to suppose that similar results would not follow on the like recommendations. Her Majesty's Government will not fail to impress upon the Ameer in the strongest terms the advantages which are given to him in the recognition by Great Britain and Russia of the boundaries which he claims, and of the consequent obligation upon him to abstain from any aggression on his part, and her Majesty's Government will continue to exercise their influence in the same direction.

Her Majesty's Government cannot, however, but feel that, if Badakshan and Wakhan, which they consider the Ameer justly to deem to be part of his territories, be assumed by England or Russia, or by one or either of them, to be wholly independent of his authority, the Ameer might be tempted to assert his claims by arms; that perhaps in that case Bokhara might seek an opportunity of acquiring districts too weak of themselves to resist the Afghan State; and that thus the peace of Central Asia would be disturbed, and occasion given for questions between Great Britain and Russia, which it is on every account so desirable to avoid, and which her Majesty's Government feel sure would be as distasteful to the Imperial Government as to themselves.

Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that the Imperial Government, weighing these considerations dispassionately, will concur in the recognition which they have made of Shere Ali's rights, as stated in my despatch of October, and by so doing put an end to the wild specula-

tions, so calculated to distract the minds of Asiatic races, that there is some marked disagreement between England and Russia, on which they may build hopes of carrying out their border feuds for purposes of self-aggrandizement.

Her Majesty's Government congratulate themselves on the prospect of a definite settlement as between the two Governments of the question of the boundaries of Afghanistan, the details of which have been so long in discussion.

Your Excellency will read and give a copy of this despatch to Prince Gortchakow.

I am, &c.,  
(Signed) \* GRANVILLE.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW TO COUNT BRUNNOW.

(Communicated to EARL GRANVILLE by COUNT BRUNNOW, February 5.)

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, January 12, 1873.

M. LE COMTE.—Lord Augustus Loftus has communicated to me the reply of her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to our despatch on Central Asia of the 19th of December.

I enclose a copy of this document.

We see with satisfaction that the English Cabinet continues to pursue in those parts the same object as ourselves, that of insuring to them peace, and, as far as possible, tranquillity.

The divergence which existed in our views was with regard to the frontiers assigned to the dominions of Shere Ali.

The English Cabinet includes within them Badakshan and Wakhan, which, according to our views, enjoyed a certain independence. Considering the difficulty experienced in establishing the facts in all their details in those distant parts, considering the greater facilities which the British Government possesses for collecting precise data, and, above all, considering our wish not to give to this question of detail greater importance than is due to it, we do not refuse to accept the line of boundary laid down by England.

We are the more inclined to this act of courtesy as the English Government engages to use all her influence with Shere Ali, in order to induce him to maintain a peaceful attitude, as well as to insist on his giving up all measures of aggression or further conquest. This influence is indisputable. It is based not only on the material and moral ascendancy of England, but also on the subsidies for which Shere Ali is indebted to her. Such being the



case, we see in this assurance a real guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to make this declaration to her Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State, and to give him a copy of this despatch.

We are convinced that Lord Granville will perceive in it a fresh proof of the value which our august Master attaches to the maintenance and consolidation of the most friendly relations with the Government of her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Receive, &c.,

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

CIRCULAR DESPATCH ADDRESSED BY  
PRINCE GORTCHAKOW TO RUSSIAN  
REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD.

(Translation.)

*St. Petersburg, November 21, 1864.*

THE Russian newspapers have given an account of the last military operations executed by a detachment of our troops in the regions of Central Asia with remarkable success and important results. It was to be foreseen that these events would the more attract the attention of the foreign public that their scene was laid in scarcely known countries.

Our august Master has commanded me to state to you briefly, but with clearness and precision, the position in which we find ourselves in Central Asia, the interests which inspire us in those countries, and the end which we have in view.

The position of Russia in Central Asia is that of all civilized States which are brought into contact with half-savage, nomad populations, possessing no fixed social organization.

In such cases it always happens that the more civilized State is forced, in the interest of the security of its frontier and its commercial relations, to exercise a certain ascendancy over those whom their turbulent and unsettled character make most undesirable neighbours.

First, there are raids and acts of pillage to be put down. To put a stop to them, the tribes on the frontier have to be reduced to a state of more or less perfect submission. This result once attained, these tribes take to more peaceful habits, but are in their turn exposed to the attacks of the more distant tribes.

The State is bound to defend them against these depredations, and to punish those who commit them. Hence the necessity of distant, costly, and periodically recurring expeditions against an enemy whom his social organization makes it impossible to seize. If, the robbers once

punished, the expedition is withdrawn, the lesson is soon forgotten; its withdrawal is put down to weakness. It is a peculiarity of Asiatics to respect nothing but visible and palpable force; the moral force of reason and of the interests of civilization has as yet no hold upon them. The work has then always to be done over again from the beginning.

In order to put a stop to this state of permanent disorder, fortified posts are established in the midst of these hostile tribes, and an influence is brought to bear upon them which reduces them by degrees to a state of more or less forced submission. But soon beyond this second line other still more distant tribes come in their turn to threaten the same dangers, and necessitate the same measures of repression. The State thus finds itself forced to choose one of two alternatives, either to give up this endless labour and to abandon its frontier to perpetual disturbance, rendering all prosperity, all security, all civilization an impossibility, or, on the other hand, to plunge deeper and deeper into barbarous countries, where the difficulties and expenses increase with every step in advance.

Such has been the fate of every country which has found itself in a similar position. The United States in America, France in Algeria, Holland in her Colonies, England in India—all have been irresistibly forced, less by ambition than by imperious necessity, into this onward march, where the greatest difficulty is to know when to stop.

Such, too, have been the reasons which have led the Imperial Government to take up at first a position resting on one side on the Syr-Daria, on the other on the Lake Issyk-Kaul, and to strengthen these two lines by advanced forts, which, little by little, have crept on into the heart of those distant regions, without, however, succeeding in establishing on the other side of our frontiers that tranquillity which is indispensable for their security.

The explanation of this unsettled state of things is to be found, first, in the fact that, between the extreme points of this double line, there is an immense unoccupied space, where all attempts at colonization or caravan trade are paralyzed by the inroads of the robber tribes; and, in the second place, in the perpetual fluctuations of the political condition of those countries, where Turkestan and Khokand, sometimes united, sometimes at variance, always at war, either with one another or with Bokhara, presented no chance of settled relations or of any regular transactions whatever.

The Imperial Government thus found

itself, in spite of all its efforts, in the dilemma we have above alluded to; that is to say, compelled either to permit the continuance of a state of permanent disorder, paralyzing to all security and progress, or to condemn itself to costly and distant expeditions, leading to no practical result, and with the work always to be done anew, or, lastly, to enter upon the undefined path of conquest and annexation which has given to England the Empire of India, by attempting the subjugation by armed force, one after another, of the small independent States whose habits of pillage and turbulence and whose perpetual revolts leave their neighbours neither peace nor repose.

Neither of these alternative courses was in accordance with the object of our august Master's policy, which consists, not in extending beyond all reasonable bounds the regions under his sceptre, but in giving a solid basis to his rule, in guaranteeing their security, and in developing their social organization, their commerce, their well-being, and their civilization.

Our task was, therefore, to discover a system adapted to the attainment of this three-fold object.

The following principles have, in consequence, been laid down:—

1. It has been judged to be indispensable that our two fortified frontier-lines—one extending from China to the Lake Issyk-Kaul, the other from the Sea of Aral along the Syr-Daria—should be united by fortified points, so that all our posts should be in a position of mutual support, leaving no gap through which the nomad tribes might make with impunity their inroads and depredations.

2. It was essential that the line of our advanced forts thus completed should be situated in a country fertile enough, not only to insure their supplies, but also to facilitate the regular colonization, which alone can prepare a future of stability and prosperity for the occupied country, by gaining over the neighbouring populations to civilized life.

3, and lastly. It was urgent to lay down this line definitively, so as to escape the danger of being carried away, as is almost inevitable, by a series of repressive measures and reprisals, into an unlimited extension of territory.

To attain this end a system had to be established, which should depend not only on reason, which may be elastic, but on geographical and political conditions, which are fixed and permanent.

This system was suggested to us by a very simple fact, the result of long experience, namely, that the nomad tribes,

which can neither be seized or punished or effectually kept in order, are our most inconvenient neighbours; while, on the other hand, agricultural and commercial populations attached to the soil, and possessing a more advanced social organization, offer us every chance of gaining neighbours with whom there is a possibility of entering into relations.

Consequently, our frontier line ought to swallow up the former, and stop short at the limit of the latter.

These three principles supply a clear natural, and logical explanation of our last military operations in Central Asia. In fact, our original frontier-line, extending along the Syr-Daria to Fort Perovsky on one side, and on the other to the Lake Issyk-Kaul, had the drawback of being almost on the verge of the desert. It was broken by a wide gap between the two extreme points; it did not offer sufficient resources to our troops, and left unsettled tribes over the border, with which any settled arrangement became impossible.

In spite of our unwillingness to extend our frontier, these motives had been powerful enough to induce the Imperial Government to establish this line between Lake Issyk-Kaul and the Syr-Daria, by fortifying the town of Tchekend, lately occupied by us. By the adoption of this line we obtain a double result. In the first place, the country it takes in is fertile, well wooded, and watered by numerous watercourses; it is partly inhabited by various Kirghize tribes, which have already accepted our rule; it consequently offers favourable conditions for colonization, and the supply of provisions to our garrisons. In the second place, it puts us in the immediate neighbourhood of the agricultural and commercial populations of Kokand. We find ourselves in presence of a more solid and compact, less unsettled, and better organized social state; fixing for us with geographical precision the limit up to which we are bound to advance, and at which we must halt, because, while, on the one hand, any further extension of our rule, meeting, as it would, no longer with unstable communities, such as the nomad tribes, but with more regularly constituted States, would entail considerable exertions, and would draw us on from annexation to annexation with unforeseen complications. On the other, with such States for our future neighbours, their backward civilization, and the instability of their political condition, do not shut us out from the hope that the day may come when regular relations may, to the advantage of both parties, take the place of the permanent troubles which have up to the present

moment paralyzed all progress in those countries.

Such, Sir, are the interests which inspire the policy of our august Master in Central Asia; such is the object, by his Imperial Majesty's orders, of the action of his Cabinet.

You are requested to take these arguments as your guide in any explanations you may give to the Government to which you are accredited, in case questions are asked or you may see credence given to erroneous ideas as to our action in these distant parts.

It is needless for me to lay stress upon the interest which Russia evidently has not to increase her territory, and, above all, to avoid raising complications on her frontiers, which can but delay and paralyze her domestic development.

The programme which I have just traced is in accordance with these views.

Very frequently of late years the civilization of those countries which are her neighbours on the continent of Asia has been assigned to Russia as her special mission.

No agent has been found more apt for the progress of civilization than commercial relations. Their development requires everywhere order and stability; but in Asia it demands a complete transformation of the habits of the people. The first thing to be taught to the populations of Asia is that they will gain more in fa-

vouring and protecting the caravan trade than in robbing them. These elementary ideas can only be accepted by the public where one exists; that is to say, where there is some organized form of society, and a Government to direct and represent it.

We are accomplishing the first part of our task in carrying our frontier to the limit where the indispensable conditions are to be found.

The second we shall accomplish in making every effort henceforward to prove to our neighbouring States, by a system of firmness in the repression of their misdeeds, combined with moderation and justice in the use of our strength, and respect for their independence, that Russia is not their enemy, that she entertains towards them no ideas of conquest, and that peaceful and commercial relations with her are more profitable than disorder, pillage, reprisals, and a permanent state of war.

The Imperial Cabinet, in assuming this task, takes as its guide the interests of Russia. But it believes that, at the same time, it is promoting the interests of humanity and civilization. It has a right to expect that the line of conduct it pursues and the principles which guide it will meet with a just and candid appreciation.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

## II.

### CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE ASHANTEE INVASION.

No. 1.

COLONEL HARLEY TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY.

*Received May 9.*

*The Castle, Cape Coast, April 14, 1873.*

MY LORD,—I had, on the morning of the 12th instant, the satisfaction of receiving from the King of Ashantee a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, with others, from Mr. Dawson, my special messenger to the King. I venture to use this expression, my lord, as I think it will be satisfactory for your lordship to learn from the King himself the cause which has led him to the invasion of the Protectorate. . . .

2. Your lordship will perceive that the cause stated by the King is the transfer of Elmina, and I think not a little to the singular selection made by Mr. Hennessy of Mr. Plange (an Elmina man and a Dutch agent) as the first English Commissioner to Coomassie after the transfer, whom he despatched to the King with many valuable presents, amounting to some 600*l.* or 700*l.*, and amongst them a monster mirror. Well, my lord, there were people here who could have told Mr. Hennessy, had it suited him to learn it, that Mr. Plange's loyalty to the flag was more than suspected, and that he had been known to say "Elmina is transferred, but not in heart." He had been, I am told, in some way previously con-



met with the King, and we now, fortunately, know something of his mind and feeling towards British rule; but it seems to me, from the King of Ashantee's statement, that whatever Mr. Plange did say produced great irritation, and led to his sending his army across the Prah against the tribes of the Protectorate.

3. The news of the safety of the European missionaries who have all signed this letter will, I am sure, be a source of much gratification to your Lordship, and their signatures are already sufficiently known to me to leave no doubt of their being reliable.

4. Your lordship will observe in the second paragraph that the King of Ashantee distinctly claims the Fort of Elmina as his by descent. I am well aware how absurd this plea is, but, nevertheless, it is a plea sufficient for the savage Monarch to act upon, and the threat which he states was made to him by the messenger sent by Mr. Hennessy—"the King says he could not understand the Administrator-in-chief's sending Attah, *alias* Mr. H. Plange, to tell him of his having taken possession, and notifying him also that in four months he, the Administrator, would come to Ashantee to take away power from him." How can we now tell, but that this man, to favour the policy of the King of Elmina, may not have made some such statement as alleged, to enrage the King of Ashantee, and to induce him to move to the assistance of Elmina by invading the Protectorate. And here I would mention to your Lordship the evidence given by Coffee A. Kell, the cane-bearer, sent with my messenger, Mr. Dawson, to the King of Ashantee in December last, when negotiations were pending for the release of the European missionaries. "Mr. Plange, Commissioner and an Elmina, told the King that the British Government intended giving Quake Frami, King of Denkeru, power in four months' time, and the King said in reply, if any blood shed Plange would be responsible for it, as he had brought him that message. The King says he has a palaver with the Assins, the Denkeras, and the Akins, but not with white people, but Mr. Dawson thinks it is all false, as the King means war against the British authority. Mr. Dawson tells the Governor, as soon as he gets this message, to make prisoners of the King of Elmina and King Amakie, of Appolonia, as they are the cause of this war." In his diary, he adds, the King explained how the Elminas had sent to ask his succour on a previous occasion, which led to his sending Atjempon with money, &c. Mr. Dawson left Cape Coast on the 28th November

(and here, my lord, the dates are important), he states, "three days after leaving the Prah, they met the invading army, which had left Coomassie on the 9th December; it was the whole Ashantee force now at Yancoonassie." This at once discloses the treachery of the King of Ashantee, who was at the time professing friendship towards the Government through his envoys at Cape Coast. He also states "that the King of Elmina sent his brother Intehkohte, asking the King of Ashantee to send an army to him, and when the Fantees were busy away from Cape Coast they would come and overrun and plunder it. Amakie, King of Appolonia, sent also to Ashantee asking the King to send down and help him, and the notorious Atjempon, who was sent back to Coomassie at such trouble and expense in December, is now on his way there with 3000 men. Moreover amongst the traders at Coomassie, British Elminas were put in log, but the Dutch Elminas went away with Atjempon," and that he "has gone to Kinjarbo, the trading town on the Assinee River." Thomas Cochran, the Fantee policeman, sent with my letter and proclamation to the King on my assumption of the Government, has been sent back, also with two other Fantees and two boys of Mr. Dawson's, in all six persons, and the King told the cane-bearer to say "that he has plenty of Fantee prisoners, but he has not killed any, he only kills the Assins, the Denkeras, and the Akims."

5. These two and another Fantee whom I examined confirm Mr. Dawson's reports, and they state further that they saw with their own eyes the brother of the King of Elmina at Coomassie, and the messengers of Amakie, King of Appolonia. It will thus be evident to your lordship that this scheme of invasion had been for some time intended by the Ashantees, and that Elmina and Appolonia were to rise to support it. All this only confirms the information I had the honour to convey to your lordship in my despatch No. 39 of the 2nd instant, at paragraph 4, in which I drew attention to the King of Elmina having issued an order for the Ashantees to arm, and I then ventured to express my own opinion "that the invasion was a preconcerted scheme between Ashantee and Elmina, and that when the invading army had advanced to a given distance of the coast, the whole of the Dutch natives of the Windward Settlements would rise en masse against the British rule."

6. The diary of Mr. Dawson will give your lordship more detailed information, and especially with regard to the part

Mr. Plange seems to have taken, so that he has lost the confidence of the King, and has even been ill-treated, which is a most exceptional thing in the case of special messengers or envoys sent to Coomassie. I shall recall him provided the King will allow him to return, leaving Mr. Dawson, with the Missionaries, to carry out any negotiations which may be necessary with the King.

7. The letter of Mr. Dawson to Prince Anuah, of which I submit a copy,\* conveys the impression that Governor Ferguson's letter to the King, announcing the intended transfer, was not opened until after the receipt of Mr. Hennessy's Proclamation, and that this has led to a misapprehension, but whether this be so or not, I am satisfied the King intended war, and his whole effort was directed to deceive the Government here, and to conceal his movements until he was ready, and they could no longer remain unknown.

8. Your lordship will now see how fortunate the timely arrest of the King of Elmina has been, and I propose sending instructions to the Civil Commandant at Axim to take exactly the same course towards Amakie, King of Appolonia, as adopted with him; i.e. to summon him and administer the oath of allegiance, and, should he refuse, to arrest him and send him to Cape Coast. For this service I shall request the Senior Naval Officer to send down a gun-boat, with a small reinforcement of the detachment of troops withdrawn from Secondee, which I intend replacing with policemen; as they will be better adapted I think, my lord, in the proposed changes there, which I have submitted for your lordship's consideration. I have, however, requested the officer commanding the troops on the Gold Coast to allow Dr. Horton to remain at Secondee for the present, and until your lordship's decision with regard to the new arrangements is received, as his services would be required to assist in carrying them out.

9. It will be seen from the date of the King's letter (20th March), that it was written after receiving the news of the success of his army at Yancoomassie on the 10th, and accounts, no doubt, in a great measure for the exaggerated demands which he makes. I shall consult the Council as to the reply to be sent to that letter, and your lordship may rely upon its being most carefully considered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. W. HARLEY, Colonel,  
Administrator-in-Chief.

\* Not inclosed.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Coomassie, March 20, 1873.

SIR,—His Majesty, Kalkaree, sends his best respects to your Honour, also to Messrs. Ossoo Anuah and G. Blankson.

2. His Majesty states that, he being the grandson of Ossai Tutu, he owns the Elminas to be his relatives, and consequently the fort at Elmina and its dependencies being his, he could not understand the Administrator-in-Chief's sending Attah, *alias* Mr. H. Plange, to tell him of his having taken possession of them for Quake Fram, and notifying him also that in four months, he, the Administrator, would come to Ashantee to take away power from him.

3. He states that he has been made angry by this, and it was this which led to his sending his great captains and forces to bring him, Quake Fram, of Denkerah, who dares to take his Elmina fort, &c., and also the Assins and Akims, who are his own slaves, and who have united with the Denkerahs to take power from him.

4. His Majesty further states that, your Honour's restoring him these tribes, viz., Denkerahs, Akims, and Assins, back to their former position as his subjects, and also restoring the Elmina fort and people back in the same manner as they were before, will be the only thing or way to appease him, for he has no quarrel with white men; but should your Honour come in to interfere, as he hears you are, that you have not to blame him, because he will then start himself.

5. That his Majesty having heard of some false information being brought to your Honour respecting your messengers and the white captives, he has requested their attesting this letter with their own signatures, of their being in health.

We have, &c.

For his Majesty,  
(Signed) KOFI KALKAREE.  
Linguist YAWOO NANKWI,  
his X mark.  
„ AKWESSI APPEAR,  
his X mark.  
„ KOFI BUAKI,  
his X mark.  
JOSEPH DAWSON, the writer.  
FR. RAMSEYER, for himself,  
his wife, and child.  
G. KUHN.  
M. J. BONNAT, Sen.  
H. PLANGE.

To testify my being alive.  
To his Honour Colonel ROBERT WM.  
HARLEY, C.B., Administrator of Her  
Majesty's Forts, &c., on the Gold Coast.



Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

*Coomassie, March 21, 1873.*

SIR,—Your Honour will find my letter dated 19th December last as a sort of diary informing your Honour everything down to the reading of the letters I brought from you to the King. The bearer of the cane being intelligent, and having been with me every time in my interviews with the King, through good interpreter will be able to answer your Honour some plain questions.

There has been a letter here, brought by a Court crier nearly two months ago, I have heard, but nobody has been called to open it before now, what for I do not know. Henceforth, I think, your Honour's letter-bearers should not know the contents of the letter, especially if they be Ashantees.

I have not had the chance of communicating with your Honour; the cause will be perceived from my diary letter referred above. I now beg to embrace this chance to return your Honour my humble thanks for having sent that ungrateful Atjempon ere the Ashantee forces were seen on the frontier. Your Honour could not have acted wiser. By that act your Honour saved me from a great deal of trouble, and, not only that, but also exonerated the Government from being blamed; and it has, I am glad to say, led to a question among the Ashantees, "what for do we go to this war?"

Your Honour will see from my private interview with the King that this invasion has purely risen from the cession of the Elmina Fort and its dependencies, and for which I see no reason, seeing there is no loss sustained in any way by the Kingdom of Ashantee, as the Elminas never succoured in its attacks upon the coast or anywhere else with arms.

I must go no further for fear of being stopped altogether. We are starving: the King's allowance does not reckon 2d. per day for each person. I beg to enclose to your Honour a receipt for 30*l.* which must be all in silver coins, as gold coins do not pass here. Silver we can exchange for gold dust. I have also given a small order for 8*l.* to Mr. Dawson. I am in want of stationeries, as I brought but very few sheets of paper, &c., with me.

Trusting this to find your Honour and family in good health,

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. DAWSON.

His Honour Colonel ROBERT WM. HARLEY, C.B., Administrator of Her Majesty's Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast.

P.S.—Mr. Plange being not allowed to write he sends through me a receipt for 30*l.*  
J. D.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

*Coomassie, December 19, 1872.*

SIR,—I regret very much the having to report to your Honour the sad state of affairs in Coomassie against people under your Honour's protection and rule, viz., Assina, Denkerah, and Akims. Against these, as I am apparently told by the King Kalkere, he has war, and his forces left here last Monday, the 9th instant, to invade. I have also heard privately that he had sent the petitioned succour to Amakie, the King of Fort Appolonia, against Birey of Attuanboo, a very loyal British subject.

2. I was only allowed to enter here last Saturday, the 14th instant. The centre force, which is against the Assina, from some cause seem to be slow in their movement. I met the vanguard at Ajablu-suh (about 3½ miles within Coomassie), whereas those against Akim have already sent forty persons, chiefly children and women—only half a dozen young men amongst them.

3. The King could not help broaching out his mind publicly to me at my reception last Saturday when returning to me the compliment. When he came with a few steps to where I was seated to receive him, he came down from his basket and began a dance, when he came just before me making a certain motion, he had a musket handed to him, he did as though he was loading it, wearing for necklace silver bullets, which is a sign of a determination for war. A little while he demanded audience and told me, with very affable face, that he has no war with white men, neither Fantees, but Denkerah, Assins, and Akims, who are his own slaves, and who have turned to rob him so greedily he will not allow; he danced a little more and passed away home.

4. True, as the reports circulated on the coast, he seems to have been preparing for this long ago, but he has been waiting for a certain period. That Ocora, the King's servant, as he was reported to your Honour, who came with the last messengers, Osoo, Eddoom, and Oasai, was despatched by the envoys at Cape Coast to convey certain messages to the King before my arrival at Coomassie, and although I left him at Eddoomfa when I came on to Denkerah to sleep the same day I left Cape Coast, he passed in the night, and travelled, I believe, day and night and conveyed to the King my being

on the way coming to him, who then sent a sword-bearer and another man to hasten me on to see him on the following Monday. These met me on the declivity of Kivissah mountains on Saturday morning of the 7th, about 11 a.m.; their errand was, "He who administers war affairs having heard of his best friend's messenger coming to him, desires us to come and welcome you, and to take you to see him on Monday even dark." I hastened on; I was not allowed to stay more than half-an-hour with the gentlemen at Formannah but passed on to Danpoassi, about three-quarters of an hour's walk from Formannah.

5. On Sunday the 8th, judging the King being very anxious to see me, I was on the way, travelled over an hour, when close to a second village, Essang In-quanta, another messenger from the King met me. His errand was that the King had gone to perform an annual service at Bautoomals, and, "finding that he will not have time to receive you, desires that you wait at Danpoassi for other messengers, who will be coming to-morrow (Monday) to take you and the white men from Fammanna together to see him." I was therefore brought back to Danpoassi again.

6. Early on Monday morning three captains, a sword-bearer, and four servants with gold plates on their necks, one of whom is a son of the late King, arrived and confirmed the errand of yesterday, and passed to Formannah, and desired me to wait their return on the next day for going to Coomassie. About 7 a.m. of Tuesday I was called out with all my people, even my cook was not exempted, to a certain fetish house. There came one man, and presently the Occra, the servant who passed on to Coomassie. After putting heads together with the head men of the town a little, I was told that the King, having heard of my people complaining for want of food (falsehood), desires that all my people should be distributed to the care of his head men at Danpoassi to have special care taken of them, that they may be in want of nothing. They must, therefore, be taken by fours to see the respective houses of the head men, and return back to me. I knew it to be making them prisoners, and told them so. But still I made no resistance, knowing it to be against their national law to hurt messengers in case of war. They were all put into irons or logs directly. After a little consideration, they brought me back my cook and a boy. I learnt afterwards that the missionaries were all plundered of their property, and that Mr. Plange had been severely beaten and put into irons.

They made no attempt upon me, neither on my cane-man. I here concluded a war being declared, and that his forces were being sent out to invade.

7. On Wednesday morning Ossoo Koli, who was detained at Essiamman by looking after some loads belonging to the King, passing called to see, and condoled with me hastening himself onward to see the King about me, and that I am not to mind what has taken place. About three hours after him, a messenger arrived with orders from the King to have all my people released to me. The messenger passed on, after acquainting me to tell the captains at Formannah to come and obey. He returned towards evening to report their coming directly.

8. On Thursday, the 12th, twenty-two Fantees and one Akim were brought to pass for Coomassie in logs. The messenger being disappointed by the captains, and seeing no sign of them, ordered the releasement of all my men, called me and gave them to me according to his instructions; and left me to wait the white captives, &c., to go together to Coomassie. The treatment was true, as I heard, against the gentlemen. They were, however, brought in the afternoon to Danpoassi.

9. Being anxious to know the cause of this hostile movement, I prayed for a private interview with the King on my arrival, which prayer was answered on Tuesday last, the 17th. I told him that it is known on the coast that he is constantly troubled by his people to attempt an invasion on the coast, which of course will bring disturbance between him and white men; this I pray him, as the friend of his late grand uncle, not to yield to, because I know the white men respect him, and desire always peace with him, as to give free course to trade. I also begged to be intermedial to bring about peace, and get him redressed, if necessary, when he makes known to me what his grievances are. He appeared to have listened to me with interest, but said: "Why were you not sent before? I am going; ready now;" and then began relating his grievances; and although he told me over and over again that he has neither war with the white men nor the Fantees, I was left to infer that it is to disguise, from the grievances he enumerated.

10. "My people," said he, "when they run away from me to the Coast, why are they not sent back to me, if they are my good friends? but what I hear is, 'they have taken hold of the English flag,' consequently, they keep them, as in the case of Gennim, whom Kwarki, the King of Denkerah (here he shook his head with

great vexation), has taken. 2. The taking my Elmina Fort, in which I eat (with great stress) and given to Kwarki, from whose ancestors the King of Ashantee having fought with, took by paying the 1000 pireguans they owed in that fort (one thousand times 8*l.* 2*s.* sterling)." He was very much excited again. I interrupted him, therefore, with the denial of the fort being given to Kwarki, and that I would explain things to him if he would allow me. He told me to hold on. "The fort is bought, they say. Why, if they wish good understanding with me, they should send a person to inquire of me before. What debt does the King of Elmina, Kobbina Gan, owe that the fort should be taken from him? 3. And the Sierra Leone Governor who came to take it, not being satisfied with that power on the coast, sent his gold ring by Attah (Mr. Plange) to say he takes now the coast, but at the end of four months he would come and take my power also away from me. Auha," he cried out, and many of his people about him questioned, "Is he able?" He was so very much annoyed that he could hardly keep on his seat. I interrupted him again by saying that I do not believe the Governor sent such message, and prayed him to allow me the opportunity of questioning Mr. Plange before him, which he promised. "No," he went on to say, "do the white men know how to travel to fight? We know it here. No! only war must end this matter. 4. There, Atjiempon, my father, has been bound, hands behind him, and his cloth torn to pieces, all gold he wore taken of him, and the soldiers have been selling in the Cape Coast market. 5. Yes, because he wants to take away my power, he receives some bad fellow who has been rambling about here as a messenger from Gyarmen, and has sent Kondoya (Lindzey) to accompany him thither, my own country, yes, and should you not find him what will be it then? No! muskets must be fired on this matter." Thank God, although he was so much excited, when he turned to speak to me personally he cooled his tone. He then said, "Why a person like you was not sent before? It is rather late; you will soon hear. But you as a messenger, though muskets be firing, are safe."

10. Finding him cooled a little, I undertook to explain the interchange and the cause. Then I questioned his "eating from the Elmina Fort," which is meant the annual stipend, whether he has not been promised with its continuation, and moreover doubled, as I understood. He answered this with a question, "And what became of what was due before?" I answered an inquiry ought to be made. I

observed he was touched, but still I found it was no use to expostulate with him until I have been allowed to open your Honour's letters, because all his attendants about him, with the exception of my landlord, Busoomburootinya, appeared to listen one side and allow no reasoning.

11. He speaks awfully bad of Mr. Plange, and puts him down as the causer of the existing irritation, referring to the taking away his power in four months, telling him in a very disrespectful manner of the roads to the coast to be closed against him if he, Mr. Plange, was not allowed to cross River Prah with the white captives; and that the Governor had said, with the nail of his thumb to one of his upper front teeth, as though forcing it out, that he will not pay him the amount he asks for the white captives at all, but what he, the Governor, thinks proper; which sign is very disrespectful and vexatious in this and Fantee too. And, lastly, suspecting him very strongly to have misrepresented affairs in Coomassie to the Governor. He then told me to come home to my lodging, and wait for his convenient time to read the letters to him and Chiefs.

12. I am sure, your Honour, I have left nothing here unsaid which he mentioned to me as grievance. I beg, therefore, to leave them to your Honour, to draw out your inferences in comparison to what he openly told me, of having no war with the Governor or white men.

13. There being no call made up to Friday, the 20th, for the reading of the letters I brought, and the antecedent one by a policeman, I talked with my landlord and Ossoo Kokoli, the necessity, which led to their going to the King about it. I was called then about 5 p.m., and Messrs. Ramseyer, Bonnat, and Plange being also called, I was called to read them. The King and people exhibited not the least dissatisfaction on any part of their contents, but the money not being lodged in the hands of his envoys at Cape Coast, which they all at once attributed to Mr. Plange having written to say, the Ashantees being rogues would not allow the white captives to come to the coast when the money be sent to Coomassie.

14. But I sternly denied the having heard anything more than your Honour desiring the King to act in accordance with the original arrangement; the sending the white men to Cape Coast, and there the money be paid by Mr. Grant, in whose hands the money was already lodged, and that of your Honour having given order to Mr. Grant to that effect, and that the King's letter states that the envoys should wait at Cape Coast till then.

15. The King here called out Mr. Ramseyer, and told him, "you would have been ere this on the coast, but Mr. Plange has prevented it; a rogue he is, who is the cause of the existing irritation now between me and the coast; on whose head all that happens will fall;" then turned directly to Mr. Plange himself: "You, have I not told you already, that the safety of Ashantee and the countries on the coast are put on a stake by you" (with a pointed finger at him); "you came and told me of my power to be taken at the end of four months," &c., repeating all what he had told me at my private interview with him. But the excitement was here stronger, because most of his Chiefs were present and united in abusing Mr. Plange. I tried many occasions to pacify them, but I found no chance, neither Mr. Plange was allowed to defend himself. He was asked if he is not an Elmina man as he reported? The poor young man being frightened, lowered his position by saying, in addition to his affirmation, that he is consequently a slave of his. Here the King began to explain how the Elminas sent to ask his succour, which led to his sending Akyempon with money, &c., and why he, being Elmina man, came with commission from the Governor of Cape Coast. Is it because there is nobody at Cape Coast to be sent? No; but that you might get a chance to play roguery and many other abuses. We, however, sat down until he asked us to go home for this time. I learnt, afterwards, that he expressed a regret that he was so excited before me, fearing that I would think he was angry with me, and repeated his inquiry why I was not sent before. However, he will see for a chance for me to do the best I can between him and the white men. This I have been told by two of his confidentials.

16. From this day's interview I beg to remark that whatever is communicated from this to the coast is brought, through some other channel, back again to Coomassie, and places the writer in a very awkward position. I do not know which way I shall be able to send you this as the path is closed. I have been privately told that he is thinking to give me one man to accompany my cane-man to bring some communication to your Honour; if so, you will have every information necessary. We are all prisoners here—not, of course, in irons as the Fantee traders and the hammock-men, who were sent to take the white captives to the coast, are.

17. It appears as though the end of Ashantee Power or Kingdom is close at hand. You can hardly meet with an aged man to reason with: still I am hard at

work to get chance to expostulate with the King and two of the best of his confidentials at a quiet night's interview. I have reasons to thank God, because he appears to have good feelings for me, notwithstanding attempts being made by some of his people to make him angry because I went and brought Akyempon from Half-Assinee.

18. I do not suppose they have been able yet to muster over 200 Fantees in Ashantee, but there are over 500 Ashantees on the coast, and his people who are going to war—I mean the commons, not the captains—are all murmuring very much. They have not enough muskets; we find three and two to a musket as they pass by, so that we have much in our favour.

I will write again when he makes up his mind at any time to allow communication with your Honour.

I beg to recommend to your Honour's sharp looking-out for the Ashantee forces the following directions: Appolonia, Was-sau, Western Denkirah, Assin and Akim. Pray have an eye on the King of Elmina. He sent private messenger, his own brother, Intekoodji by name, through Assinee by Kreukiaboo, and although Fantees and some Elmina people are in logs here and no way for any communication, he has been despatched since I arrived to pass by the same way. He brought about fifty dollars to purchase slaves, which by mistake were taken from the person that had the keeping of them when catching the Fantees and plundering their property, but the King has restored them.

Thank God we are all in good health, and beg to remain, &c.,

(Signed) JOSEPH DAWSON.

His Honour Colonel R. W. HARLEY, C.B.,  
Administrator of Her Majesty's Forts  
and Settlements on the Gold Coast.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1.

*Coomassie, December 29, 1872.*

SIR,—I have written the Administrator the state of affairs in Coomassie, which I have not the least doubt he will show to you.

I am glad, however, with the success I have this day met in being able to effect the King's yielding to my becoming inter-medial between the two Powers, viz., his and that of the British Government, by communicating his grievances. If I am to rely on his promise he has this evening told me, that will stop commencing hostilities until I obtain no satisfaction for



him, but which I am rather afraid he will never get, from the intimation I have in possession of it, viz, the head of Kwarki of Denkirah, being sent to him, the Ahkins, i.e., Assins, Denkirahs, Akims, and Wassaus, all being returned to the Kingdom of Ashantee.

I sought for this private interview with him and the most sensible of his confidentials, and I am gratified with having obtained it this evening. I expostulated with them regarding the invasion they make now, and although the King would not stoop to confess the rash and unnatural start made in this invasion, he has acknowledged it by the promise of stopping hostilities until I have communicated with the Governor.

When reasoning with him on the evil effect entailing on the trying of the two Powers, he coolly questioned me, "and what is that? because here in Coomassie, we kill 100 persons in a day for custom, and as the young here are anxious to see something wonderful, he thinks the young on the other (the coast) side feel the same anxiety." What childish idea!

He has drained all his forces; the only Chief kept is the Govabin Chief, who starts when he the King does. The strongest force is directed against Denkerah, thinking by that, that he can get to Elmina sooner to take his fort back and the head of Kwarke, who asked the Government to reclaim his ancestor's property, the Elmina Fort, for him.

I only regret the being detained here and not knowing how long, because, unless he changes his mind as to send me back with his grievances, he will not allow me to come, until he finds his failure in the invasion; he may then make use of me to bring about peace. I am here almost starving, because he pays but little attention to the Governor's envoys, being checked by his Chiefs for having been too liberal before, and some fellow having reported here that Colonel Foster told him when he was sent to him by the Governor to receive subsistence, said that giving money to him, he may as well throw it into the sea.

January 1, 1873. Having not as yet closed this, may I beg to wish your Honour a happy new year, and many happy returns of the season. Mine has met me in prison.

I shall be very sorry to miss the chance of seeing your Honour ere you leave the coast. Should you be going ere I return, and you want the journal to the Apollonian Mission you can apply to Mrs. Dawson for it; I am writing her to that effect. I would only beg of your Honour to have an eye on placing your humble

servant in as favourable position as your Honour can, because I have now made up my mind entirely for the Government, and trust the Lord will make me useful for the good of my country in the hand of the Government. May I beg your Honour's acceptance of one of the pairs of sandals I am in search after for the King of Dahomey. I do not know what will please the Administrator and wife from this, as curiosities, having only here Ashantee pipes and moulded weights for gold.

I have heard of a letter having arrived from the coast since last three days, but he has not yet called me or any one to open. Atjiempon has not yet reached Coomassie, he will come on Monday next I hear. Present my best respects to Colonel Foster.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. DAWSON.

The Honourable C. S. SALMON,  
&c. &c. &c.

Inclosure 5 in No. 1.

*Government House, Cape Coast,  
November 25, 1872.*

YOUR MAJESTY, I have the honour to forward for your Majesty's information copy of a Proclamation, which I have issued on my arrival here, announcing my appointment as Administrator of the Government of the Gold Coast by my Most Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria.

2. In acquainting your Majesty with my assumption of this Government, I desire to convey to your Majesty that I am animated with the desire that nothing but the most friendly relations should exist between us during my administration, and to assure your Majesty that no effort shall be wanting upon my part to prove to your Majesty that such is the wish I very strongly entertain and earnestly hope may be realized.

3. I desire to express also my best wishes for a continuance of your Majesty's health, and that it may long be spared to promote the prosperity and happiness of your people, by developing the commerce of your great country in the peaceful habits of industry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. W. HARLEY, Colonel,  
Administrator.

His Majesty the King of Ashantee,  
Coomassie.

Inclosure 6 in No. 1

*Government House, Nov. 28, 1872.*

YOUR MAJESTY,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of the



9th instant, from Coomassie, received here on the 25th (three days since), and I hasten to assure your Majesty of the gratification it affords me to find that you have allowed the European missionaries with the Commissioner, Mr. Plange, to leave Coomassie for Formannah, on their way to Cape Coast, for which I beg to offer you my warmest thanks.

2. Her Majesty's Government will also receive this intelligence with much satisfaction, and will not fail to appreciate the good faith and friendliness which your Majesty has displayed.

3. As the 1000*l.* to be paid to your Majesty by the Baste Mission has been already placed in the hands of Mr. Grant, their agent at Cape Coast, in the presence of your Majesty's Envoys in accordance with the terms of the Acting Administrator's letter, dated 25th October last, addressed to your Majesty, I have given an order to that gentleman, under the seal of this Government, for its payment to the envoys on the arrival of the captives at Cape Coast, and they (that is, Woosoo Coker Coomah Cotiko, and Quadu) have been requested to remain at Cape Coast until they come down.

4. If your Majesty wanted any additional proof of the good-will of myself and this Government towards you and your subjects, I am sure your Majesty will see how strong it must be from the manner in which your Chiefs and Envoys have been treated while at Cape Coast; and at your request I will send you Atjiempon and his followers under safe conduct to the Prah, in order that he may return to Coomassie; but as he has begged to be allowed to remain here a few days longer to receive his Fetish stool, which he left at Half Assinee, I have consented to his doing so, and as

your Majesty also desires that any Ashantees remaining at Elmina should be sent back to Coomassie your Majesty's wishes shall be made known to them, and they shall be told to return.

5. As I have received news that Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, with their child, are very sick and weak, I feel sure your Majesty would regret in common with this Government anything serious happening to any of the party while they remain detained by your Majesty, and that you will, therefore, give immediate orders that they may be sent down without any delay to Cape Coast.

With my best wishes for your Majesty's health, I have, &c.,

(Signed) R. W. HARLEY,  
Colonel, Administrator.

His Majesty the King of Ashantee,  
Coomassie.

P.S.—I send a special interpreter with this despatch, who will make known its contents to your Majesty truly and well, and will bring me back your Majesty's answer with the missionaries, whom I beg your Majesty not to detain.

R. W. H.

No. 2.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Colonel Harley.  
Downing Street, May 12, 1873.*

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 14th ultimo, forwarding a letter from the King of Ashantee, with others from Mr. Dawson, your special messenger to the King, as to the causes which have led to the invasion of the Protectorate by the Ashantees.

I have, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

### III.

## TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, FOR THE MUTUAL SURRENDER OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS.

*Signed at Brussels, July 31, 1872.*

*[Ratifications exchanged at Brussels, August 29, 1872.]*

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the Belgians, having judged it expedient, with a view to the more complete prevention of crime within their respective territories, that

persons charged with or convicted of the crimes hereinafter enumerated, and being fugitives from the justice of their country, should, under certain circumstances, be reciprocally delivered up; their said Majesties have named as their Plenipo-

mentaries to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, John Savile Lumley, Esquire, her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of the Belgians;

And his Majesty, the King of the Belgians, the Comte d'Aspremont Lynden, Officer of his Order of Leopold, Commander of the Order of the Ernestine Branch of the House of Saxony, Grand Cross of the Orders of Charles III., of the Medjidie, and of the Saviour, Member of the Senate, his Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles.—

#### ARTICLE I.

It is agreed that her Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the King of the Belgians, shall, on requisition made in their name by their respective Diplomatic Agents, deliver up to each other reciprocally, any persons, except as regards Great Britain, native born and naturalized subjects of her Britannic Majesty, and except as regards Belgium, those who are by birth or who may have become citizens of Belgium, who, being accused or convicted as principals or accessories before the fact, of any of the crimes hereinafter specified, committed within the territories of the requiring Party, shall be found within the territories of the other Party:

1. Murder (including assassination, parricide, infanticide, and poisoning), or attempt to murder.

2. Manslaughter.

3. Counterfeiting or altering money, or uttering counterfeit or altered money.

4. Forgery, counterfeiting, or altering or uttering what is forged or counterfeited or altered.

5. Embezzlement or larceny.

6. Obtaining money or goods by false pretences.

7. Crimes by bankrupts against bankruptcy law.

8. Fraud by a bailee, banker, agent, factor, trustee, or director, or member or public officer of any company, made criminal by any law for the time being in force.

9. Rape.

10. Abduction.

11. Child stealing.

12. Burglary or housebreaking.

13. Arson.

14. Robbery with violence (including intimidation).

15. Threats by letter or otherwise with intent to extort.

16. Piracy by law of nations.

17. Sinking or destroying a vessel at sea, or attempting or conspiring to do so.

18. Assaults on board a ship on the high seas with intent to destroy life, or to do grievous bodily harm.

19. Revolt or conspiracy to revolt by two or more persons on board a ship on the high seas against the authority of the master.

Provided that the surrender shall be made only when, in the case of a person accused, the commission of the crime shall be so established as that the laws of the country where the fugitive or person accused shall be found would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial if the crime had been there committed; and, in the case of a person alleged to have been convicted, on such evidence as, according to the laws of the country where he is found, would prove that he had been convicted.

In no case can the surrender be made unless the crime shall be punishable according to the laws in force in both countries with regard to extradition.

#### ARTICLE II.

In the dominions of her Britannic Majesty, other than the Colonies or Foreign Possessions of her Majesty, the manner of proceeding shall be as follows:—

I. In the case of a person accused—

The requisition for the surrender shall be made to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the Minister or other Diplomatic Agent of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, accompanied by a warrant of arrest or other equivalent judicial document, issued by a Judge or Magistrate duly authorized to take cognizance of the acts charged against the accused in Belgium, together with duly authenticated depositions or statements taken on oath before such Judge or Magistrate, clearly setting forth the said acts, and containing a description of the person claimed, and any particulars which may serve to identify him. The said Secretary of State shall transmit such documents to her Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, who shall then, by order under his hand and seal, signify to some Police Magistrate in London that such requisition has been made, and require him, if there be due cause, to issue his warrant for the apprehension of the fugitive.

On the receipt of such order from the Secretary of State, and on the production of such evidence as would, in the opinion of the Magistrate, justify the issue of the warrant if the crime had been committed in the United Kingdom, he shall issue his warrant accordingly.

When the fugitive shall have been apprehended, he shall be brought before the Police Magistrate who issued the warrant, or some other Police Magistrate in London. If the evidence to be then produced shall be such as to justify, according to the law of England, the committal for trial of the prisoner, if the crime of which he is accused had been committed in England, the Police Magistrate shall commit him to prison to await the warrant of the Secretary of State for his surrender; sending immediately to the Secretary of State a certificate of the committal and a report upon the case.

After the expiration of a period from the committal of the prisoner, which shall never be less than fifteen days, the Secretary of State shall, by order under his hand and seal, order the fugitive criminal to be surrendered to such person as may be duly authorized to receive him on the part of the Government of his Majesty the King of the Belgians.

#### II. In the case of a person convicted—

The course of proceeding shall be the same as in the case of a person accused, except that the warrant to be transmitted by the Minister or other Diplomatic Agent in support of his requisition shall clearly set forth the crime of which the person claimed has been convicted, and state the fact, place, and date of his conviction. The evidence to be produced before the Police Magistrate shall be such as would, according to the law of England, prove that the prisoner was convicted of the crime charged.

After the Police Magistrate shall have committed the accused or convicted person to prison to await the order of a Secretary of State for his surrender, such person shall have the right to apply for a writ of *habeas corpus*; if he should so apply, his surrender must be deferred until after the decision of the Court upon the return of the writ, and even then can only take place if the decision is adverse to the applicant. In the latter case the Court may at once order his delivery to the person authorized to receive him, without the order of a Secretary of State for his surrender, or commit him to prison to await such order.

#### ARTICLE III.

In the dominions of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, other than the

Colonies or Foreign Possessions of his said Majesty, the manner of proceeding shall be as follows :—

#### I. In the case of a person accused—

The requisition for the surrender shall be made to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the King of the Belgians by the Minister or other Diplomatic Agent of her Britannic Majesty, accompanied by a warrant of arrest issued by a Judge or Magistrate duly authorized to take cognizance of the acts charged against the accused in Great Britain, together with duly authenticated depositions or statements taken on oath before such Judge or Magistrate, clearly setting forth the said acts, and containing a description of the person claimed, and any other particulars which may serve to identify him.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs shall transmit the warrant of arrest, with the documents thereto annexed, to the Minister of Justice, who shall forward the same to the proper judicial authority, in order that the warrant of arrest may be put in course of execution by the Chamber of the Council (*Chambre du Conseil*) of the Court of First Instance of the place of residence of the accused, or of the place where he may be found.

After issue of the order for arrest, and on exhibition of the warrant of arrest, the foreigner may be provisionally arrested, and the *Juge d'Instruction* is authorized to proceed according to the rules prescribed by the *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*.

The foreigner may claim to be provisionally set at liberty in any case in which a Belgian enjoys that right, and under the same conditions. The application shall be submitted to the Chamber of the Council (*Chambre du Conseil*).

The surrender shall not be granted unless on production of the order of the Council (*Chambre du Conseil*), of the decree of the Chamber of Indictments or Investigation (*Chambre des Mises en Accusation*), or of the act of criminal procedure (*acte de procédure criminelle*), issued by the competent Judge, formally decreeing or necessarily involving the sending of the accused before a criminal court (*la juridiction répressive*) delivered in original or in an authenticated copy, and after having taken the opinion of the Chamber of Indictments or Investigation (*Chambre des Mises en Accusation*) of the Court of Appeal, within whose jurisdiction the foreigner shall have been arrested.

The hearing of the case shall be public, unless the foreigner should demand that it should be with closed doors.

The public authorities and the foreigner shall be heard. The latter may obtain the assistance of Counsel.

Within a fortnight from the receipt of the documents, they shall be returned, with a reasoned opinion, to the Minister of Justice, who shall decide, and may order that the accused be delivered to the person duly authorized on the part of the Government of her Britannic Majesty.

II. In the case of a person convicted—

The course of proceeding shall be the same as in the case of a person accused, except that the conviction or sentence of condemnation issued in original or in an authenticated copy, to be transmitted by the Minister or other Diplomatic Agent in support of his requisition, shall clearly set forth the crime of which the person claimed has been convicted, and state the fact, place, and date of his conviction. The evidence to be produced before the Magistrate charged with the investigation of the case shall be such as would, according to the Belgian laws, prove that the prisoner was convicted of the crime charged.

#### ARTICLE IV.

A fugitive criminal may, however, be apprehended under a warrant issued by any Police Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, or other competent authority in either country, on such information or complaint, and such evidence, or after such proceedings as would, in the opinion of the person issuing the warrant, justify the issue of a warrant, if the crime had been committed or the prisoner convicted, in that part of the dominions of the two Contracting Parties in which he exercises jurisdiction: Provided however that, in the United Kingdom, the accused shall, in such case, be sent as speedily as possible before a Police Magistrate in London. He shall be discharged, as well in the United Kingdom as in Belgium, if within fourteen days a requisition shall not have been made for his surrender by the Diplomatic Agent of his country, in the manner directed by Articles II. and III. of this Treaty.

The same rule shall apply to the cases of persons accused or convicted of any of the crimes specified in this Treaty, committed on the high seas, on board any vessel of either country which may come into a port of the other.

#### ARTICLE V.

If the fugitive criminal who has been committed to prison be not surrendered

and conveyed away within two months after such committal (or within two months after the decision of the Court upon the return to a writ of *habeas corpus* in the United Kingdom), he shall be discharged from custody, unless sufficient cause be shown to the contrary.

#### ARTICLE VI.

When any person shall have been surrendered by either of the High Contracting Parties to the other, such person shall not, until he has been restored or had an opportunity of returning to the country from whence he was surrendered, be triable or tried for any offence committed in the other country prior to the surrender, other than the particular offence on account of which he was surrendered.

#### ARTICLE VII.

No accused or convicted person shall be surrendered, if the offence in respect of which his surrender is demanded shall be deemed by the Party upon which it is made to be a political offence, or to be an act connected with (*connexe à*) such an offence, or if he prove to the satisfaction of the Police Magistrate, or of the Court before which he is brought on *habeas corpus*, or to the Secretary of State, that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with a view to try or to punish him for an offence of a political character.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

Warrants, depositions, or statements on oath, issued or taken in the dominions of either of the two High Contracting Parties, and copies thereof, and certificates of or judicial documents stating the fact of conviction, shall be received in evidence in proceedings in the dominions of the other, if purporting to be signed or certified by a Judge, Magistrate, or officer of the country where they were issued or taken.

Provided such warrants, depositions, statements, copies, certificates, and judicial documents are authenticated by the oath of some witness, or by being sealed with the official seal of the Minister of Justice, or some other Minister of State.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The surrender shall not take place if, since the commission of the acts charged, the accusation, or the conviction, exemption from prosecution or punishment has been acquired by lapse of time, according



to the laws of the country where the accused shall have taken refuge.

#### ARTICLE X.

If the individual claimed by one of the two High Contracting Parties in pursuance of the present Treaty should be also claimed by one or several other Powers, on account of other crimes committed upon their respective territories, his surrender shall be granted to that State whose demand is earliest in date; unless any other arrangement should be made between the Governments which have claimed him, either on account of the gravity of the crimes committed, or for any other reasons.

#### ARTICLE XI.

If the individual claimed should be under prosecution, or condemned for a crime or offence committed in the country where he may have taken refuge, his surrender may be deferred until he shall have been set at liberty in due course of law.

In case he should be proceeded against or detained in such country, on account of obligations contracted towards private individuals, his surrender shall nevertheless take place, the injured party retaining his right to prosecute his claims before the competent authority.

#### ARTICLE XII.

Every article found in the possession of the individual claimed at the time of his arrest, shall, if the competent authority so decide, be seized, in order to be delivered up with his person at the time when the surrender shall be made. Such delivery shall not be limited to the property or articles obtained by stealing or by fraudulent bankruptcy, but shall extend to everything that may serve as proof of the crime. It shall take place even when the surrender, after having been ordered, shall be prevented from taking place by reason of the escape or death of the individual claimed.

The rights of third parties with regard to the said property or articles are nevertheless reserved.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall defray the expenses occasioned by the arrest within its territories, the deten-

tion, and the conveyance to its frontier, of the persons whom it may consent to surrender in pursuance of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

The stipulations of the present Treaty shall be applicable to the Colonies and Foreign Possessions of the two High Contracting Parties.

The requisition for the surrender of a fugitive criminal who has taken refuge in a Colony or Foreign Possession of either Party, shall be made to the Governor or Chief Authority of such Colony or Possession by the Chief Consular Officer of the other in such Colony or Possession; or, if the fugitive has escaped from a Colony or Foreign Possession of the Party on whose behalf the requisition is made, by the Governor or Chief Authority of such Colony or Possession.

Such requisitions may be disposed of, subject always, as nearly as may be, to the provisions of this Treaty, by the respective Governors or Chief Authorities, who, however, shall be at liberty either to grant the surrender, or to refer the matter to their Government.

Her Britannic Majesty shall, however, be at liberty to make special arrangements in the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions for the surrender of Belgian criminals who may there take refuge, on the basis, as nearly as may be, of the provisions of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE XV.

The present Treaty shall come into operation ten days after its publication in conformity with the laws of the respective countries.

Either Party may at any time terminate the Treaty on giving to the other six months' notice of its intention.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at Brussels as soon as may be within six weeks from the date of signature.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Brussels, the thirty-first day of July, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

(L.S.) J. SAVILE LUNLEY.



## IV.

## TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE KING OF ITALY FOR THE MUTUAL SURRENDER OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS.

*Signed at Rome, February 5, 1873.**[Ratifications exchanged at Rome, March 18, 1873.]*

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Italy, having judged it expedient, with a view to the better administration of justice, and to the prevention of crime within their respective territories, that persons charged with or convicted of the crimes hereinafter enumerated, and being fugitives from justice, should, under certain circumstances, be reciprocally delivered up, their said Majesties have named as their Plenipotentiaries to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, that is to say, —

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Augustus Berkeley Paget, her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Italy;

And his Majesty the King of Italy the Noble Emilio Visconti Venosta, Deputy in the Parliament, and Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles —

## ARTICLE I.

The High Contracting Parties engage to deliver up to each other reciprocally any persons who, being accused or convicted of any of the crimes specified in the Article following, committed within the territory of either of the said Parties, shall be found within the territory of the other, in the manner and under the conditions determined in the present Treaty.

## ARTICLE II.

The crimes for which the extradition is agreed to are the following

1. Murder, or attempt or conspiracy to murder, comprising the crimes designated by the Italian Penal Code as the associ-

ation of criminals for the commission of such offences.

2. Manslaughter, comprising the crimes designated by the Italian Penal Code as wounds and blows wilfully inflicted which cause death.

3. Counterfeiting or altering money, and uttering or bringing into circulation counterfeit or altered money.

4. Forgery, counterfeiting or altering, or uttering of the thing or document that is forged or counterfeited or altered.

5. Larceny, or unlawful abstraction or appropriation.

6. Obtaining money or goods by false pretences (cheating or fraud).

7. Fraudulent bankruptcy.

8. Fraud, abstraction, or unlawful appropriation, by a bailee, banker, agent, factor, trustee, director, or member, or officer of any public or private company or house of commerce.

9. Rape.

10. Abduction.

11. Child stealing.

12. Burglary and housebreaking, comprising the crimes designated by the Italian Penal Code as entry by night, or even by day, with fracture or escalade, or by means of false key or other instrument, into the dwelling of another person with intent to commit a crime.

13. Arson.

14. Robbery with violence.

15. Threats by letter or otherwise, with intent to extort money or anything else.

16. Piracy, according to international law, when the pirate, a subject of neither of the High Contracting Parties, has committed depredations on the coasts, or on the high seas, to the injury of citizens of the requiring Party, or when, being a citizen of the requiring Party, and having committed acts of piracy, to the injury of a third State, he may be within the territory of the other Party, without being subjected to trial.

17. Sinking or destroying, or attempting to sink or destroy, a vessel at sea.

18. Assaults on board a ship on the high seas with intent to kill or to do grievous bodily harm.

19. Revolt or conspiracy by two or more persons on board a ship on the high seas against the authority of the master.

Accomplices before the fact in any of these crimes shall, moreover, also be delivered up, provided their complicity be punishable by the laws of both the Contracting Parties.

#### ARTICLE III.

The Italian Government shall not deliver up any Italian to the United Kingdom; and no subject of the United Kingdom shall be delivered up by it to the Italian Government.

#### ARTICLE IV.

In any case where an individual convicted or accused shall have obtained naturalization in either of the two Contracting States after the commission of the crime, such naturalization shall not prevent the search for, arrest, and delivery of the individual. The extradition may, however, be refused if five years have elapsed from the concession of naturalization, and the individual has been domiciled, from the concession thereof, in the State to which the application is made.

#### ARTICLE V.

No accused or convicted person shall be given up if the offence for which he is claimed is political; or if he proves that the demand for his surrender has been made with the intention of trying and punishing him for a political offence.

#### ARTICLE VI.

The extradition shall not be granted if, since the commission of the crime, the commencement of proceedings, or the conviction, such a length of time has elapsed as to bar the penal prosecution or the punishment, according to the laws of the State to which application is made.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The accused or convicted person who has been given up shall not, until he has been liberated, or had an opportunity of returning to the country in which he was living, be imprisoned or subjected to trial in the State to which he has been given up, for any crime or on any charge other than

that on account of which the extradition took place.

This does not apply to offences committed after the extradition.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

If the individual claimed is under prosecution or in custody for a crime committed in the country where he has taken refuge, his surrender may be deferred until the law has taken its course.

In case he should be proceeded against or detained in such country on account of obligations contracted with private individuals, or any other civil claim, his surrender shall nevertheless take place, the injured party retaining his right to prosecute his claims against him before the competent authority.

#### ARTICLE IX.

The requisitions for extradition shall be made, respectively, by means of the Diplomatic Agents of the High Contracting Parties.

The demand for the extradition of an accused person must be accompanied by a warrant of arrest issued by the competent authority of the State applying for the extradition, and by such proof as, according to the law of the place where the fugitive is found, would justify his arrest if the crime had been committed there.

If the requisition relates to a person convicted, it must be accompanied by the sentence of condemnation of the competent Court of the State applying for the extradition.

The demand for extradition must not be founded upon a sentence *in contumacia*.

#### ARTICLE X.

If the demand for extradition be made according to the foregoing stipulations, the competent authorities of the State, to which the requisition is made, shall proceed to arrest the fugitive.

The prisoner shall be taken before the competent Magistrate, who shall examine him, and make the preliminary investigations of the affair, in the same manner as if the arrest had taken place for a crime committed in the same country.

#### ARTICLE XI.

In the examinations to be made in conformity with the preceding stipulations, the authorities of the State to which the demand is addressed shall admit, as en-

tirely valid evidence, the documents and depositions taken on oath in the other State, or copies of them, and likewise the warrants and sentences issued there; provided that such documents are signed or certified by a Judge, Magistrate, or Officer of such State, and are authenticated by the oath of some witness, or stamped with the official seal of the Department of Justice or some other Department of

#### ARTICLE XII.

If, within two months from the arrest of the accused, sufficient evidence be not produced for his extradition, he shall be liberated.

#### ARTICLE XIII

The extradition shall not take place until the expiration of fifteen days after the arrest, and then only if the evidence has been found sufficient, according to the laws of the State to which the demand is addressed, to justify the committal of the prisoner for trial in case the crime had been committed in the territory of that State; or to show that the prisoner is the identical person condemned by the Tribunals of the State which demands him.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

If the prisoner be not given up and taken away within two months from his apprehension or from the decision of the Court upon the demand for a writ of *habeas corpus* in the United Kingdom, he shall be set at liberty, unless sufficient cause be shown for the delay.

#### ARTICLE XV.

If the individual claimed by one of the two Contracting Parties, in conformity with the present Treaty, should be also claimed by another or by other States on account of crimes committed in their territories, his surrender shall, in preference, be granted according to priority of demand, unless an agreement be made between the Governments which make the requisition, either on account of the gravity of the crimes committed, or for any other reason.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

Every article found in the possession of the prisoner at the time of his arrest shall be seized, in order to be delivered up with him. Such delivery shall not be limited to the property or articles obtained by the

robbery or fraudulent bankruptcy, but shall include everything that may serve as evidence of the crime; and it shall take place even when the extradition, after having been ordered, cannot take effect, either on account of the escape or the death of the delinquent.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

The High Contracting Parties renounce all claim for repayment of the expenses incurred for the arrest and maintenance of the person to be given up, and for his conveyance on board a ship; such expenses shall be borne by themselves respectively.

#### ARTICLE XVIII.

The stipulations of the present Treaty shall be applicable to the Colonies and Foreign Possessions of the two High Contracting Parties.

The requisition for the surrender of a person accused or condemned, who has taken refuge in any such Colony or Possession of either Party, shall be made to the Governor or Chief Authority of such Colony or Possession by the Chief Consular Officer of the other residing in such Colony or Possession; or, if the accused or condemned person has escaped from a Colony or Foreign Possession of the Party on whose behalf the requisition is made, the requisition shall be made by the Governor or Chief Authority of such Colony or Possession.

Such requisitions may be disposed of in accordance, as far as possible, with the stipulations of this Treaty, by the respective Governors or Chief Authorities, who, however, shall be at liberty either to grant the extradition or to refer the matter to their own Government.

Her Britannic Majesty shall nevertheless be at liberty to make special arrangements in the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions for the surrender to his Italian Majesty of criminals who may have taken refuge in such Colonies or Possessions, always in conformity, so far as possible, with the provisions of the present Treaty.

Finally, it is agreed that this stipulation does not apply to the Island of Malta, the Ordinances of the Maltese Government of May 3,\* 1863 (No. 1230), remaining in full force.

\* Afterwards rectified as to date, Feb. 21, 1863.

## ARTICLE XIX.

The High Contracting Parties declare that the present stipulations apply as well to persons accused or convicted, whose crimes, on account of which the extradition is demanded, may have been committed previously, as to those whose crimes may be committed subsequently to the date of this Treaty.

## ARTICLE XX.

The present Treaty shall come into operation ten days after its publication according to the forms prescribed by the laws of the High Contracting Parties.

Either Party may at any time put an

end to this Treaty, which, however, shall remain in force for six months after the notice for its termination.

This Treaty shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at Rome within six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed in duplicate, in English and Italian, the present Treaty, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Rome, the fifth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three.

(L.S.)

A. B. PAGET.

(L.S.)

VISCONTI VENOSTA.







## PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

*Jan.* 14. C. E. Pollock. Q.C.; Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

— 21. Major W. Palliser, C.B.; Knight.

— 24. Sir G. E. Honyman, Bart.; Justice of the Common Pleas.

— 31. E. C. Clark, M.A.; Reader of Civil Law at Cambridge.

*Feb.* 11. T. D. Archibald, C. E. Pollock, and J. C. Burrows; Knights.

— 14. Right Hon. Sir Alex. Cockburn; K.G.C.B.

Lieut.-Col. F. R. Pollock, C.S.I.; K.C.S.I.

Captain B. Lovett, and H. W. Bellew; C.S.I.

Joseph Needham; Knight.

— 21. W. Hamilton (Envoy to Persia); Knight.

W. T. Thomson; Consul-General at Teheran.

— 25. J. S. Lumley, and Hon. E. M. Erskine; C.B., Civil Division.

*March* 4. Sir J. B. Byles; Privy Councillor.

— 7. Anthony Musgrave, C.M.G.; Governor of South Australia.

— 14. John Pope Hennessy, C.M.G.; Governor of the Bahamas.

— 21. The Marquis of Ripon; Lieutenant of the North Riding.

The Rev. Edward King, M.A.; Professor of Pastoral Theology and Canon of Christchurch (Oxford).

Charles Lister Ryan; Assistant-Comptroller of the Exchequer.

— 27. Henry Thring, C.B.; K.C.B., Civil Division.

Major E. F. Du Cane, J. Leutaigne, and Pearce W. Rogers; C.B., Civil Division.

Col. Andrew Clarke, R.E., C.B.; K.C., St. Michael and St. George.

*April* 4. The Earl of Normanton (Irish Peerage); Baron Somerton of Somerley.

Sir R. A. Shafto Adair, Bart.; Baron Waveney, of South Shuham.

The Rev. C. Kingsley; Canon of Westminster.

— 8. George Kinloch; Baronet.

— 11. William Ainslie, and Ernest G. Birch, Bengal Civil Service; Judges of Bengal High Court.

— 22. Rev. F. W. Farrar; Queen's Chaplain.

*May* 2. E. J. Turner (Consul at Carthage); Consul for Galicia and Asturias.

— 9. James Hill; Knight.

Captain F. J. Owen Evans, R.N., and William T. Thornton; C.B., Civil Division.

— 13. Sidney Smith Saunders, C.M.G.; Knight.

— 20. James Marshall; Chief Magistrate for the Gold Coast Settlement.

*June* 3. Charles Gavan Duffy; Knight.

Richard Owen; C.B., Civil Division.

G. Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G.; Governor of Victoria.

Sir Benjamin C. C. Pine, K.C.M.G.; Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.

— 10. E. Billarch (Consul of Feejee); Consul of Grand Para, &c.

W. Gregory; Consul at Swatow.

— 13. H. T. Irving; Governor of the Leeward Islands.

— 17. R. Stuart (Consul for Albania); Consul at Odessa.

A. N. Birch; Colonial Secretary for Ceylon.

Hon. Greville Howard; Commissioner in Lunacy.

*July* 1. Dr. A. Nisbet, and Captain G. Biddlecombe, R.N.; Knights.

Richard Cayley; Puisne Judge of Ceylon.

— 4. H. H. Hajie Khan (Grand Vizier of the Shah), and Dr. Dickson (Physician to the Shah); Knights.

Hon. Alfred Thesiger; Queen's Counsel.  
*July 8.* E. L. Layard; Consul at Feejee.  
 — 15. W. C. F. Robinson; C.M.G.  
 — 18. Rev. R. Seymour; Canon of Worcester.

*Aug. 1.* John Kirk; Consul at Zanzibar.

— 15. Thomas White and Frederick Perkins; Knights.

Harold Browne, D.D. (Bishop of Ely); Bishop of Winchester.

— 22. Right Hon. H. A. Bruce; Baron Aberdare of Duffryn.

Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton; Advocate-General.

— 26. Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E.; Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue; Lieutenant of Essex.

*Sept. 2.* Sir George Jessel; Privy Councillor.

— 5. C. W. Loocsy; Puisne Judge of British Guiana.

— 9. Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

— 26. R. Swinhoe; Consul at Ningpo.

C. Alabaster; Consul at Taiwan.

Henry James, Q.C.; Solicitor-General.

J. C. Loggie; C.M.G.

*Oct. 1.* Hudson R. Janisch; Governor of St. Helena.

— 7. John Hawkshaw; Knight.

— 10. Major-General Norcott, C.B.; Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey.

Right Rev. F. T. McDougall; Canon of Winchester.

— 24. J. R. Graham; Consul at Islay.

F. Clare Ford; Chargé d'Affaires to Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse Darmstadt.

R. Percy Ffrench; Secretary of Embassy at Vienna.

William Doria; Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburg.

Gerard F. Guild; Secretary of Legation at Stockholm.

Hon. W. Nassau Jocelyn; Secretary of Legation at Berne.

J. C. Cobbold; Secretary of Legation at Lisbon.

R. G. Watson; Secretary of Legation at Copenhagen.

E. B. Malet, C.B.; Secretary of Legation at Athens.

Victor A. W. Drummond; Secretary of Legation at Rio Janeiro.

Hon. F. R. Plunkett; Secretary of Legation at Yedo.

J. Walsham; Secretary of Legation at Peking.

— 28. J. Russell Woodford, D.D.; Bishop of Ely.

*November 11.* Charles Hall; Vice-Chancellor.

George Starkey; Secretary of Legation at Dresden.

— 14. Rev. Henry White; Queen's Chaplain.

— 18. Lyon Playfair, C.B.; Postmaster-General.

— 21. Sir J. D. Coleridge; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Henry James; Attorney-General.

William G. G. V. Vernon Harcourt, Q.C.; Solicitor-General.

*December 2.* John Bramston; Attorney-General for Hong Kong.

— 9. Francis Snowden, and George Phillippo; Puisne Judges of the Straits Settlements.

— 16. Henry James, William V. Harcourt, Charles Hall, A. Paull Burt, and W. H. Doyle; Knights.

— 23. Rev. E. Lowe, D.D.; Canon of Ely.

## THE CABINET.

*First Lord of the Treasury* (Premier),  
*Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Right Hon.

W. E. Gladstone.

*Lord High Chancellor*, Lord Selborne.

*Lord President of the Council*, Lord Aberdare.

*Lord Privy Seal*, Viscount Halifax, G.C.B.

*Secretary of State, Home Department*,  
 Right Hon. R. Lowe.

*Secretary of State, Foreign Department*,  
 Earl Granville, K.G.

*Secretary of State, Colonial Department*,  
 Earl of Kimberley.

*Secretary of State, War Department*,  
 Right Hon. F. Cardwell.

*Secretary of State, Indian Department*,  
 Duke of Argyll, K.T.

*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*,  
 Right Hon. John Bright.

*First Lord of the Admiralty*, Right Hon.  
 G. J. Goschen.

*President of the Board of Trade*, Right  
 Hon. C. S. Fortescue.

*Chief Secretary for Ireland*, Right Hon.  
 Marquis of Hartington.

*President of the Local Government  
 Board*, Right Hon. J. Stansfeld.

*Vice-President of Council of Education*,  
 Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

## SHERIFFS FOR 1873.

## ENGLAND.

- BEDFORDSHIRE.**—Harry Thornton, Kempston.  
**BERKSHIRE.**—John Alves Arbuthnot, Cowarth Park, Old Windsor.  
**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.**—James Edward McConnell, The Woodlands, Great Missenden.  
**CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE.**—Sidney Stanley, Long Stowe Hall.  
**CHESHIRE.**—Gilbert Greenall, Walton Hall.  
**CUMBERLAND.**—Thomas Holme Parker, Warwick Hall.  
**DERBYSHIRE.**—John Gilbert Crompton, The Lilies, Derby.  
**DEVONSHIRE.**—John Henry Ley, Trehill.  
**DORSETSHIRE.**—Sir Molyneux Hyde Nepean, Bart., Loder's Court.  
**DURHAM.**—Charles Freville Surtees, Mainsforth, Ferryhill.  
**ESSEX.**—Robert John Bagshaw, Dovercourt.  
**GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—Thomas Anthony Stoughton, Owlpen Park, near Dursley.  
**HEREFORDSHIRE.**—James Rankin, Bryngwyn, Hereford.  
**HERTFORDSHIRE.**—Horace James Smith-Bosanquet, Broxbournebury.  
**KENT.**—John Wingfield Stratford, Addington Park, Maidstone.  
**LEICESTERSHIRE.**—Isaac Harrison, Newfound Pool.  
**LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Valentine Dudley Henry Cary Elwes, Manor House, Brigg.  
**MONMOUTHSHIRE.**—John Jefferies Stone, Scyborwen, Llantrissant, near Newport.  
**NORFOLK.**—John Bathurst Graver Browne, Morley.  
**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—Sir William Richmond Brown, Bart., Astrop Park, Kingstons.  
**NORTHUMBERLAND.**—Sir William George Armstrong, Knight, Craggside.  
**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**—Henry Eyre, Rampton.  
**OXFORDSHIRE.**—William Dalziel Mackenzie, Gillotts.  
**RUTLAND.**—Francis Heathcote, Pilton.  
**SHROPSHIRE.**—Charles George Wingfield, Onslow, Shrewsbury.  
**SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Richard King Meade-King, Walford, Taunton.  
**SOUTHAMPTON.**—Sir William Henry Humphery, Bart., Penton Lodge, near Andover.  
**STAFFORDSHIRE.**—William Mander Sparrow, Penn.  
**SUFFOLK.**—Fuller Maitland Wilson, Stowlangtoft Hall.  
**SURREY.**—Gordon Wyatt Clark, Mickleham Hall, Dorking.  
**SUSSEX.**—Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart., Heathfield Park.  
**WARWICKSHIRE.**—The Right Honourable Sir Frederick Peel, K.C.M.G., Hampton in Arden.  
**WESTMORELAND.**—Thomas Mason, Kirkby Stephen.  
**WILTSHIRE.**—Nathaniel Barton, Corsley House, Warminster.  
**WORCESTERSHIRE.**—Harry Foley Vernon, of Hanbury Hall, Droitwich.  
**YORKSHIRE.**—George Lane Fox, Bramham Park, Tadcaster.

## WALES.

## NORTH AND SOUTH.

- ANGLESEY.**—William Humphrey Owen, Plasyn Penrhyn.  
**BRECONSHIRE.**—Oliver Morgan Bligh, Cilmerry Park.  
**CARDIGANSHIRE.**—William Buck, Stradmore, near Llandissil.  
**CARMARTHENSHIRE.**—John Davie Ferguson Davie, Derllys Court.  
**CARNARVONSHIRE.**—Thomas Turner, Plasbrereton.  
**DENBIGHSHIRE.**—James Hassall Foulkes, Llay Place.  
**FLINTSHIRE.**—Thomas Griffies Dixon, Nant.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—Francis Edmund Stacey, Landough, near Cowbridge.  
 MERIONETHSHIRE.—The Honourable Charles Henry Wynn, Rhug.  
 MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—Devereux Herbert Mytton, Garth.  
 PEMBROKESHIRE.—Henry Seymour Allen, Cresselly House.  
 RADNORSHIRE.—John Percy Severn, Penybout Hall.

LANCASHIRE.—Sir James Ramsden, Knight, Abbott's Wood.  
 CORNWALL.—Lieutenant-Colonel Grylls, Lewarne.

## UNIVERSITY DEGREES, 1872.\*

## OXFORD.

## TRINITY TERM.

*In Literis Humanioribus.*

## CLASSIS I.

Callender, J. M., Oriol.  
 Davidson, L., New.  
 Goodwin, A. (a), Balliol.  
 Gregory, B. D., Brasenose.  
 Marshall, J., Balliol.  
 Shute, R. (b), N.I.H.

## CLASSIS II.

Allanson, E. P., Queen's.  
 Boodle, R. W., Magdalen.  
 Freeman, G. M., Corpus.  
 Garrod, H. B., Merton.  
 Green, M. H. (c), Corpus.  
 Hindmarsh, T. C., Trinity.  
 Hopkinson, A., Lincoln.  
 Horner, G. W., Balliol.  
 McClymont, C. R., Balliol.  
 Ormond, T. S. (d), Balliol.  
 Read, Ph., Lincoln.  
 Sturgis, J. R., Balliol.  
 Traies, W. (e), Worcester.

## CLASSIS III.

Birkett, B. M., Ch. Ch.  
 Black, C., New.  
 Bode, J. E., New.  
 Bradley, E., Wadham.  
 Hummel, F. W., Worcester.  
 Patten, J., Ch. Ch.  
 Simmons, C., Balliol.

## CLASSIS IV.

Græme, R. S., Trinity.  
 Rorison, W. M. M., St. John's.

One hundred and three  
 others passed.

*In Scientis Mathematicis et Physicis.*

## CLASSIS I.

Russell, J. W., Balliol.  
 Tanner, H. W. L., Jesus.  
 Young, H., Queen's.

## CLASSIS II.

Fisher, A. B., Balliol.  
 Tylecote, C. B. L., Queen's.  
 Young, J., Balliol.

## CLASSIS III.

None.

## CLASSIS IV.

None.

Forty-one others passed.

\* From the Calendar of 1873.

a, Fellow of Balliol; b, Senior Student of Christ Church; c, Fellow of Trinity  
 d, Fellow of St. John's; e, Fellow of Merton.



*Examiners.*

H. Furneaux.  
B. Mouro.  
J. R. Magrath.  
A. Robinson.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

## CLASSIS I.

Cooper, H. S., All Souls.  
Earwaker, J. P., Merton.  
Moullin, C. W., Pembroke.

## CLASSIS II.

Green, H., Queen's.

## CLASSIS III.

Fox, E. C. B., Exeter.

## CLASSIS IV.

Lloyd, J. A., St. John's.

*Examiners.*

W. Ogle.  
R. H. M. Bosanquet.  
A. W. Reinold.

*In Jurisprudentia et Historia Moderna.*

## CLASSIS I.

Powell, F. Y., Ch. Ch.  
Stiffe, C. E., Balliol.  
Tait, C., Ch. Ch.  
Wakeman, Sir O., Bart., Ch. Ch.

## CLASSIS II.

Chesman, J., Wadham.  
Collins, J. C., Balliol.  
Grenside, C. E., Wadham.  
Hancock, F., Wadham.  
Harris, S. F., Worcester.  
Knich, A. E., Brasenose.  
Luttman-Johnson, J. A., Trinity.  
Overend, T. G., Unatt.  
Punchard, E. G., N. I. H.  
Robertson, T. H., Magdalen.  
Stronge, J. H., Brasenose.  
Wood, J. B., Merton.

*Examiners.*

C. J. Faulkner.  
J. Griffiths.  
W. H. Lavery.

*In Sacra Theologia.*

## CLASSIS I.

Monck, G. G., Brasenose.

## CLASSIS II.

Bradley, W. H., Exeter.  
Mitchell, J., University.  
Pearson, A., Lincoln.

## CLASSIS III.

Collins, E. V., Exeter.  
Dawes, N., Albion Hall.  
Hill, E. B., Wadham.  
Pulling, J. L., Ch. Ch.  
Tower, C. M. A., Magdalen.

## CLASSIS IV.

Coote, C. M., University.  
Michael, J., Jesus.  
Rundell, E. W. M. C., Magdalen Hall.  
Trotter, J. G., St. John's.

*Examiners.*

W. Kay.  
E. H. Plumptre.  
W. Stubbs.

## CLASSIS III.

Fawcett, W. M., Merton.  
 Goodwyn, F. W., Brasenose.  
 Graham, J., Corpus.  
 Gresley, N. W., Exeter.  
 Hay, J. Y., Balliol.  
 Hobson, J. P., Worcester.  
 Jack, C., Ch. Ch.  
 Mosley, T., Albion Hall.  
 Roper, H. C., Merton.  
 Sutton, E., University.  
 Turner, C. A., Trinity.  
 Williams, G. M., St. John's.

## CLASSIS IV.

Burney, A. G., Ch. Ch.  
 Campernowne, W., Ch. Ch.  
 Cree, C. E., University.  
 Dupis, C. S., Lincoln.  
 Furneaux, W. C., Brasenose.

Thirty-one others passed.

*Examiners.*

S. J. Owen.  
 A. S. Chavasse.  
 M. Creighton.

## TERM MICH.

*In Literis Humanioribus.*

## CLASSIS I.

Ball, C. J., Queen's.  
 Connell, A. K., New.  
 Courtney, W. L. (*f*), University.  
 Furneaux, W. M., Corpus.  
 Gibbons, E. T. (*g*), Exeter.  
 Gibson, C. H., St. John's.  
 Gibson, W. S., Balliol.  
 Gilkes, A. H., Ch. Ch.  
 Grigsby, W. E., Balliol.  
 Hall, F. H., Corpus.  
 Masterman, J. S., Corpus.  
 Mowbray, R. G. C., Balliol.  
 Stanger, H. Y., Lincoln.  
 Wilson, J. C., Balliol.

## CLASSIS II.

Agar, T., Ch. Ch.  
 Armistead, F. E., Exeter.  
 Barnwell, F. L., Magdalen.  
 Bennett, F. E., New.  
 Bourne, C. F., St. John's.  
 Chettle, H., Exeter.  
 Christie, T., Lincoln.  
 Dawson, G. H., Wadham.  
 De Sausmarer, F. B., Pembroke.

*In Scientiis Mathematicis et Physicis.*

## CLASSIS I.

Eastgate, C. E., Merton.  
 Handsomebody, H. E., St. John's.  
 Lendesdorf, C., Worcester.  
 Roe, R. H., Balliol.  
 Tylecote, E. F. S., St. John's.

## CLASSIS II.

Hotham, A., Brasenose.  
 Knollys, C. C., Magdalen.

*f*, Fellow of Merton ; *g*, Senior Student of Christ Church.

Durrant, E., New.  
 Escott, W. W. S., Trinity.  
 Fawkes, A., Balliol.  
 Gillespie, G. R., Balliol.  
 Gordon, J. S. M., Balliol.  
 Gristock, A. G., Magdalen Hall.  
 Lefroy, W. C., Ch. Ch.  
 Lloyd, D., Jesus.  
 Longridge, W. H., Corpus.  
 Manson, E. W. D., Brasenose.  
 Pickford, W., Exeter.  
 Pilcher, G. T., Corpus.  
 Priestley, W., University.  
 Raikes, T. D., Oriel.  
 Russell, J., Balliol.  
 Scott, A. G., Ch. Ch.  
 Sharp, G., Lincoln.  
 Sinclair, W. M., Balliol.  
 Stock, St. G., Pembroke.  
 Walshe, W. H., Worcester.  
 Wannop, A. E., Brasenose.  
 Warner, W. C., Exeter.  
 Whittuck, C. A., Oriel.  
 Wilson, W. J., Wadham.

## CLASSIS III.

Adamson, A. G., Worcester.  
 Buckmaster, C. J., Queen's.  
 Cooper, V. K., Brasenose.  
 Edwards, L. C., Lincoln.  
 Evans, W., Jesus.  
 Fowler, W. W., Jesus.  
 Graham, H. R., Exeter.  
 Green, G. L., New.  
 Hodges, E. U., Queen's.  
 Hopwood, H. R., Oriel.  
 Hutton, E. M., Queen's.  
 Herr, G., Exeter.  
 Mackay, T., New.  
 Morgan, C. L. G., Worcester.  
 Mulvany, W. C., Magdalen.  
 Murray, G. H., Ch. Ch.  
 Neale, J. A., Queen's.  
 Nolloth, C. F., Oriel.  
 Pelham, S., Magdalen.  
 Perry, W. C., Exeter.  
 Ploetz, R. A., Magdalen.  
 Powell, T., Jesus.  
 Price, H. S. B., Merton.  
 Prior, C. E., Queen's.  
 Ramsden, H. P., Worcester.  
 Sandford, G. H. W., New.  
 Sharpe, H. M., Worcester.  
 Smith, S. U. B., University.  
 Torry, J. R., Worcester.  
 Wynne-Jones, J. W., Ch. Ch.

## CLASSIS IV.

Atkinson, J. T., Brasenose.  
 Davies, J. H., Jesus.  
 Hansell, E. A., Pembroke.  
 Harper, W., Trinity.  
 Kempe, W. J., Worcester.

## CLASSIS III.

Beadon, R. B., University.  
 Garstang, T. W. H., Balliol.  
 Harrison, P. R., Pembroke.  
 Milner, R. J., Exeter.  
 Smith, R. W., Magdalen Hall.

## CLASSIS IV.

None.

Eighty-six others passed.

Mosley, H., Worcester.  
 Nicholas, W. L., Jesus.  
 Wade, C. Fritz R., Magdalen.

Seventy-two others passed.

*Examiners.*

H. Furneaux.  
 D. B. Monro.  
 H. L. Thompson.  
 A. Robinson.

*In Scientia Naturali.*

CLASSIS I.

Baynes, R. E., Wadham.  
 Carbonell, F. R., Merton.  
 Cleminshaw, E., Merton.  
 Longstaff, G. B., New.  
 Lupton, S., Ch. Ch.  
 Rig, E., Queen's.

CLASSIS II.

Riddell, W. A., Queen's.

CLASSIS III.

None.

CLASSIS IV.

None.

*Examiners.*

R. H. M. Bosanquet.  
 A. W. Reinold.

*Examiners.*

G. S. Ward.  
 J. Griffiths.  
 W. H. Lavery.

*In Jurisprudentia et Historia Modern*

CLASSIS I.

None.

CLASSIS II.

Bryce, J. A., Balliol.  
 Holderness, T. W., University.  
 MacNeill, J. G. S., Ch. Ch.  
 Ord, R., Balliol.  
 Risley, H. H., New.  
 Russell, L. P., Trinity.  
 Fremenheere, W. B., Oriel.

CLASSIS III.

Ashby, T., Exeter.  
 Gardner, J. W., Brasenose.  
 Hammick, E. V., Exeter.  
 Hummel, F. H., Worcester.  
 Janson, C. A., University.  
 Lloyd, C., Oriel.  
 Smurthwaite, G. F., Worcester.  
 Williams, R. ap H., Ch. Ch.

CLASSIS IV.

Duncombe, A. G., Ch. Ch.  
 Monnington, W., Worcester.  
 Oldfield, J. E., Oriel.  
 Povah, F. K., Ch. Ch.  
 Taylor-Taswell, S. T., St. M. H.  
 West, S. H., Worcester.  
 Wilkinson, H. J., Brasenose.

Twenty-eight others passed.

*Examiners.*

M. Burrows.  
 H. B. George.  
 C. L. Shadwell.

*In Jurisprudentia.*

## CLASSIS I.

Fox, S. N., New.  
 Howell, B., Corpus.  
 Pulling, J. L., Ch. Ch.  
 Whatley, A. T., Ch. Ch.

## CLASSIS II.

Bigge, W. E., New.  
 Edwards-Moss, J. E., Balliol.  
 Lake, R. J., New.  
 Poyser, A. H., Ch. Ch.  
 Senior, W. N., University.  
 Wood, A. G., Pembroke.

## CLASSIS III.

Birley, F., University.  
 Maitland, T. A. F., Ch. Ch.  
 Venning, W. M., Worcester.  
 Williamson, H. T., St. John's.

## CLASSIS IV.

Caise-Chitty, J. J., Exeter.

*Examiners.*

M. Bernard.  
 J. Bryce.  
 A. S. Chavasse.

*In Historia Moderna.*

## CLASSIS I.

Giles, E., Ch. Ch.  
 Parsons, J., New.  
 Reynolds, B., Wadham.

## CLASSIS II.

Acworth, W. M., Ch. Ch.  
 Middleton, J. W., Queen's.  
 Nauson, W., Trinity.  
 Warner, E. H., Trinity.

## CLASSIS III.

Brown, H., University.  
 Laming, H., Queen's.  
 Luard, T. I., Wadham.  
 Rose, G. D. F., Pembroke.  
 Townshend, W., Brasenose.

## CLASSIS IV.

None.

*Examiners.*

C. W. Boase.  
 S. J. Owen.  
 M. Creighton.

*In Sacra Theologia.*

## CLASSIS I.

Shirreff, F. A. P., Queen's.  
 Walker, J. E., Corpus.

## CLASSIS II.

Kenrick, C. W. H., Brasenose.  
 Kitchen, J. G., Ch. Ch.  
 Lloyd, C. H., Magdalen Hall.  
 Longridge, J., Brasenose.  
 Moberly, E. H., Corpus.  
 Robinson, C. J., Ch. Ch.  
 Scobell, E. C., Pembroke.  
 Sketchley, E. P., St. John's.  
 Sparks, W. R., Exeter.  
 Stretton, J. G. M., Wadham.  
 Sturdy, H. C., Unatt.

## CLASSIS III.

Chapman, W. S., New.  
 Douglas, R., Exeter.  
 Everard, R. B. C., Brasenose.  
 Gull, J. E., Albert Hall.  
 Littleton, Hon. C. J., Ch. Ch.  
 Lowthian, W., Queen's.

Ommanney, G. C., Wadham.  
 Pardoe, G. O., University.  
 Smith, H. G., Magdalen Hall.  
 Story, C. E., Exeter.

## CLASSIS IV.

Alison, H. S., Keble.  
 Brooks, T. B., University.  
 Edwards, R. J., Jesus.  
 Evans, D. W., Jesus.  
 Formby, E. H., St. Mary's Hall.  
 Hilliard, J. E., Wadham.  
 Jones, R. E., Albert Hall.  
 Martin, H., St. Edmund's Hall.  
 Shiers, J., Brasenose.  
 Stones, G. B., St. John's.  
 Wickham, G. B., New.  
 Wright, W., St. Edmund's Hall.

*Examiners.*

W. Kay.  
 E. H. Plumptre.  
 W. Stubbs.



## CAMBRIDGE.

## MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.

## MODERATORS.

William Davidson Niven, M.A., Trinity.  
George Pirie, M.A., Queens'.

## EXAMINERS.

Norman Macleod Ferrers, M.A., Caius.  
William Henry Hoar Hudson, M.A., St. John's.

## ADDITIONAL EXAMINER.

James Clerk Maxwell, M.A., Trinity.

WRANGLERS.<sup>1</sup>

Ds. Harding (1), Trinity.  
Nanson (2), Trinity.  
{ Gurney, John's.  
{ Prior  $\beta$ , Caius.  
{ Garnett, John's.  
{ Terry, Trinity.  
{ Hicks, John's.  
{ Ritchie, Trinity.  
Lock, Clare.  
Gregory  $\beta$ , King's.  
Johnson, John's.  
Bovey, Queens'.  
Reeves, John's.  
{ Clarkson, King's.  
{ Hoare  $\gamma$ , John's.  
{ Vinter, Caius.  
{ Whitfield, John's.  
Ruston, John's.  
Adams, T., John's.

Spear, Clare.  
Yonge, Trinity Hall.  
Drury, Trinity.  
Irons, Emmanuel.  
Fletcher, Peter's.  
Pole, Queens'.  
{ Hodgins, Emmanuel.  
{ Laing, Clare.  
Simpson, Trinity.  
{ Delevingne, Jesus.  
{ Robinson, Trinity.  
{ Hall, Christ's.  
{ Ogilvie, G. A., Trinity.  
{ 'terbury, Peter's.  
{ Finlay, Trinity.  
Benson, Downham.  
{ Roughton, John's.  
{ Talbot, Jesus.

## SENIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. { Hough, Sidney.  
{ Willink, Emmanuel.  
Alston, John's.  
Garney, Trinity.  
Pouting, Corpus.  
Hawkins, R., Corpus.  
Thorp, Catherine's.  
{ Bell, John's.  
{ Jones, G. O., Trinity.  
{ Kisch, Trinity.  
Griffin, Sidney.

{ Howson, Pembroke.  
{ Lloyd, John's.  
{ Newman, Magdalen.  
Robinson, Christ's.  
Pinder, John's.  
Ratcliffe, Pembroke.  
Todd, Queens'.  
{ Blackburn, Trinity,  
{ Machell, John's.  
Ellen, John's.  
Berry, Queens'.  
Baber, Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> In all cases of equality the names are bracketed.  $\alpha$  denotes that the person was in the first class of the Classical Tripos;  $\beta$  in the second;  $\gamma$  in the third.

## JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Ds. Webber, Catherine's.  
 Knox, Sidney.  
 Lake, John's.  
 Cardwell, Christ's.  
 Hobson, John's.  
 Richardson, Trinity.  
 Angus  $\alpha$ , Clare.  
 Lapage, Magdalen.  
 { Birdwood, Peter's.  
 { Metcalfe, John's.  
 { Quirk, John's.  
 Gardner, Corpus.  
 Pugh, M. H., John's.  
 Stubbs, Corpus.  
 Willacy, John's.  
 Downing, Sidney.  
 { Beverley, Clare.  
 { Fair, Peter's.  
 Browne, Trinity.

Barnacle, John's.  
 Hodgkinson, John's.  
 Bell, Trinity.  
 Burville, John's.  
 Brereton.  
 Dawe, Corpus.  
 { Hanson, John's,  
 { Williams, Sidney.  
 La Touche, Catherine's.  
 Lambert, C. A., Trinity.  
 { Hallsworth, Sidney.  
 { Mytton, John's.  
 Prettyman, Emmanuel.  
 Mainprice  $\gamma$ , Catherine's.  
 Clarke, Trinity.  
 Hudson, Clare.  
 Muggeridge, King's.  
 Hill, Trinity.  
 Cooper, John's.

## CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

## EXAMINERS.

Arthur Holmes, M.A., Clare.  
 William Mandell Gunson, M.A., Christ's.  
 Charles Walter Moule, M.A., Corpus.  
 John Maxwell Image, M.A., Trinity.  
 Frederick Apthorp Paley, M.A.  
 John Edwin Sandys, M.A., St. John's.

## FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Butcher ¶, Trinity.  
 { Page ¶, John's.  
 { Verrall ¶, Trinity.  
 Meek  $m$ , Trinity.  
 { Hebblethwaite, Trinity.  
 { Newbold, John's.  
 Hutchinson  $m$ , Christ's.

{ Brooke, King's.  
 { Garrett, Peter's.  
 { Greenwood, Trinity.  
 { Wills, John's.  
 Myers, Trinity.  
 { Angus, Clare.  
 { Haslam, John's.

## SECOND CLASS.

Ds. { Hailstone, Peter's.  
 { Lewis, Downham.  
 { Warrington, Trinity.  
 Adams, F. H., John's.  
 Anderson, Christ's.  
 Bell, King's.  
 { Lawson, Pembroke.  
 { Smith, Pembroke.  
 { Bickersteth, Pembroke.  
 { Cooper, Emmanuel.  
 { Howlett, Christ's.  
 Tindal, King's.  
 Tryon, Downham.  
 Fitch, Christ's.

Allnutt, John's.  
 Newcomb, Sidney.  
 Lees, John's.  
 { Pochin, Sidney.  
 { Prior, Caius.  
 { Shilleto, Christ's.  
 Johnson, Peter's.  
 Gregory, King's.  
 Woolley, John's.  
 { Fearnley, Trinity.  
 { Hughes, Corpus.  
 { Miles, Magdalen.  
 Low, Corpus.

¶ Equal as Chancellor's Medallists, his Grace the Chancellor having given a third Medal in this year;  $m$  highly distinguished in the Examination for Chancellor's Medals.

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Wace, King's.  
{ Buller, Trinity.  
{ Krohn, Magdalen.  
{ Barker, Caius.  
{ Browne, Emmanuel.  
Bridgeman, Trinity.  
{ Hamley, Clare.  
{ Hoare, John's.  
Loxley, Catherine's.  
Horsley, F., Corpus.

Oddie, John's.  
Hopkinson, Pembroke.  
Strahan, John's.  
{ Howard, E. S., Trinity.  
{ Mainprice, Catherine's.  
{ Finch, John's.  
{ Le Cornu, Jesus.  
Banks, Trinity.  
Duke, Corpus.  
Stogdon, Catherine's.

# INDEX.

N.B. The figures between [ ] refer to Part I.

ABDICATION OF KING OF SPAIN, [220].  
 ACCIDENTS.—At Junior Carlton Club, 49; to the Queen's grandson, 53; to Mrs. Clive, 67; to Colonel Mackenzie, 79; on Thames, 102; firework explosion at Lambeth, 107; on Thames, 120; *vide* Railway Accidents.  
 ADDRESS TO THE CROWN, [7].  
 AGASSIZ, PROFESSOR, Obituary notice, 159.  
 ALDERSHOT, Sham Fight at, 66.  
 ALEXANDRA PALACE, Opening of, 50; Burning of, 55.  
 "ALFORD, DEAN, Life, Journals, and Letters of," by Mrs. Alford, [263].  
 ALICANTE, Bombardment of, [233].  
 AMADEO, Abdication of King, [220].  
 AMERICA. *Vide* UNITED STATES, also Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru.  
 "ANOTHER WORLD," by Hermes, [304].  
 ARGYLL, BISHOP OF, Obituary notice, 138.  
 ARMSTRONG, SIR W., Speech on Iron and Coal Trade Strike, [2].  
 ARMY ESTIMATES, The, [73].  
 ARNOLD'S, MATTHEW, "Literature and Dogma," [291].  
 ART, Retrospect of, [307].  
 ARTHINGTON, Railway Accident at, 99.  
 ASCOT CUP won by Cremorne, 57.  
 ASHANTEE, Commencement of War, [95]; Account of, [*ib.*]; Sir Garnet Wolseley appointed Commander-in-Chief, [103].  
 ASHANTEE INVASION, Correspondence respecting. I. Colonel Harley to the Earl of Kimberley, 232; Inclosures, No. 1, letter of chiefs, 234; No. 2, letter of Jos. Dawson, 235; No. 3, ditto, *ib.*; No. 4, ditto, 238; No. 5, Colonel R. W. Harley, 239; No. 6, ditto, *ib.*; II. Earl of Kimberley to Colonel Harley, 240.  
 ASHTON, Railway Accident near, 83.

ASIATIC AND AFRICAN STATES. *Vide* Persia, China, &c.  
 ATCHIN, Dutch War at, [235].  
 "ATLANTIC," Wreck of, 36.  
 "AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND," by Mr. Trollope, [296].  
 AUSTRIA.—History of the year, [201]; passing of Reform Bill through Lower House of Reichsrath, [*ib.*]; end of Session, [202]; death of Empress Dowager, [*ib.*]; marriage of Archduchess Gisela, [*ib.*]; opening of Exhibition at Vienna, [202]; Financial Panic, [203]; visits of King of Italy and Emperor William, [204]; opening of Vienna Waterworks, [*ib.*]; elections to Reichsrath, [205]; opening of Session by the Emperor, [206]; jubilee of Emperor, [209].  
 AUSTRO-HUNGARY. *Vide* Hungary.  
 AUTUMN CAMPAIGN on Dartmoor, 79.  
 AUTUMN MANŒUVRES at Cannock Chase, 94.  
 AYRTON, MR., appointed Judge-Advocate-General, [83].  
 BAKER, SIR SAMUEL, at Khartoum, 58; arrival in London, 101; at Geographical Society, 115.  
 BALLOON VOYAGES to Europe; two American attempts, 100.  
 BALLYGLUNIN, Railway Accident at, 107.  
 BANK ACT, Proposal to regulate Suspension of, [69].  
 BANK OF ENGLAND FORGERIES, 26; trial of prisoners, 164.  
 BANK HOLIDAYS.—Easter Monday, 44; Whit Monday, 53.  
 BANK RATES OF DISCOUNT, [92].

- BARING, MR., M.P., Obituary notice, 157.
- BATH LETTER by Mr. Disraeli, [87].
- BAZAINE, Trial of Marshal, [176]; sentence, [178].
- BELGIUM, [235]; repurchase by State of Luxemburg Railway, [*ib.*]; Treaty with, for surrender of fugitive criminals, 240.
- BERLIN, Column of Victory at, [191].
- BERNSTORFF, COUNT, Obituary notice, 129.
- BIDWELL, A. A., AND GEORGE, Trial of, for Bank of England Forgeries, 164.
- BIRCHINGTON, Railway Accident at, 95.
- BIRMINGHAM, Mr. Bright at, [85].
- BIRMINGHAM, Railway Accident at, 99.
- BISMARCK, PRINCE.—Retirement from Presidency of Council of Ministers and Presentation of Order of Black Eagle, [180].
- BLAGDEN, MISS, Obituary notice, 123.
- BOARD OF TRADE CIRCULAR ON RAILWAY ACCIDENTS, [93]; Return of Railway Accidents, 95.
- BOAT-RACE, University, 85.
- BOLIVIA, [255].
- BOMBARDMENT OF ALMERIA, [230]; of Khiva, [240].
- BOTLEY, Railway Accident at, 84.
- BOVILL, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, Death of, [83]; Obituary notice, 158.
- BRAZIL, [255].
- BRIGHT, MR. HENRY, Obituary notice, 151.
- BRIGHT, MR. JOHN, Return to office, [83]; Speech at Birmingham, [85]; Letter on Republicanism, 48.
- BRITISH ASSOCIATION, Meeting of [317].
- BROGLIE, DUC DE, Report to National Assembly, [119].
- BROWN, MR. B., Obituary notice, 127.
- BRUNSWICK, DUKE OF, Death at Geneva, [237].
- BRYDON, SURGEON, C.B., Obituary notice, 130.
- BUDGET, The, introduced by Mr. Lowe, [54]; Resolution by Mr. W. H. Smith, [66]; Reply of Mr. Lowe, [67]; Speech of Mr. Disraeli, [68]; of Mr. Gladstone, [69].
- BUFFET, M., re-elected President, [132].
- "BURGOYNE, Life and Letters of Sir John," by Colonel Wrottesley, [268].
- BURNING, Death of six persons from, 51.
- BUXTON'S, CHARLES, "Notes on Thought," [285].
- "BY AND BY," by Edward Maitland, [304].
- CABINET, Reconstruction of, [83]; list of the, 252.
- CAIRNES'S, PROFESSOR, "Political Essays," [286].
- CALDEW BRIDGE, Railway collision at, 106.
- CAIRNS, LORD, on Judicature Bill, [50].
- "CALIBAN, THE MISSING LINK," by Dr. Daniel Wilson, [295].
- CALVERT, DR. F. CRACE, Obituary notice, 151.
- CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY DEGREES, 260.
- CAMPBELL'S, DR. LEWIS, "Antigone, Electra, and Dejanira," [307].
- CAMPBELL'S, DR. MCLEOD, "Reminiscences and Reflections," [265].
- CANADA, Ministerial Changes in, [94].
- CANDLISH, DR., Obituary notice, 151.
- CANNOCK CHASE, Autumn Manœuvres at, 94.
- CAPTAIN JACK, Execution of, [250].
- CARDWELL, MR., introduces the Army Estimates, [73].
- CARLISLE, Railway Accident at, 106.
- CARLIST WAR IN SPAIN, [224], [234].
- CARNE, MISS E., Obituary notice, 150.
- CARPENTER'S, DR., Sunday Lectures in St. George's Hall, [325].
- CARTAGENA, Revolt at, [229]; Naval Action off, [233].
- CARTIER, SIR G. E., BART., Obituary notice, 134.
- CASTELAR, SENOR, Reply of, on abdication of King of Spain, [222]; President and Dictator of Spain, [231]; Differences with Salmeron, [234].
- CATHOLIC BISHOPS, Resistance of Prussian, to Laws, [186]; Prosecution of, [187].
- CENTRAL ASIA, Correspondence with Russia respecting, 221.
- CESAREWITCH, Arrival of the, 57.
- CESAREWITCH, Race for, 100.
- "CHALLENGER," Arrival at St. Thomas, 31.
- CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (Italy), Debates on Finance, [211]; Ministerial Crisis, [212]; Religious Corporations Bill, [213]; Resignation of Cabinet, [216]; Minghetti appointed, [*ib.*]; Reassembling of, [218]; Financial Debates, [*ib.*].
- CHAMBERLAYNE, CAPT. D. T., Obituary notice, 134.
- CHAMBORD, COMTE DE, Letter to Bishop of Orleans, [120]; Receives a Deputation of Royalists, [155]; Letter to M. Chesnelong, [157].
- CHANNELL, BARON, Obituary notice, 128.
- CHESNELONG, M., Monarchical Missions of, [155]; Speech in National Assembly, [168].
- CHINA, [256]; Massacre at Talifu, [*ib.*]; Reception of Foreign Ambassadors by Emperor, [*ib.*].
- CHISELHURST, Napoleonic Fête at, 76.



- "CHORLEY, HENRY FOTHERGILL, Life of," by Mr. Hewlett, [275].  
 "CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN WEST OF EUROPE, Essays on Rise and Progress on," by Earl Russell, [290].  
 CHURCH, GENERAL, C.B., G.C.H., Obituary notice, 130.  
 "CLARE, the Northamptonshire Peasant Poet," Memoir of, [273].  
 CLARENDON, LORD, moves Address to the Crown in House of Lords, [7].  
 CLAY, MR., M.P., Obituary notice, 150.  
 CLIVE, MRS., Obituary notice, 142.  
 COAL FAMINE, 24.  
 "COLERIDGE, SARA, Memoir and Letters of," [271].  
 COLLIERY EXPLOSION, Talk-o'-the-Hill, 21.  
 COLUMN OF VICTORY AT BERLIN, [191]; unveiling of, [191].  
 "COLYMBIA," [304].  
 COMMISSION APPOINTED BY RAILWAY AND CANAL BILL, [70].  
 COMTE DE PARIS, Visit to Frohsdorf, [150]; Negotiations for Restoration of Monarchy, [153].  
 CONGRESS, Trades Union, 6.  
 CONGRESS (United States), Exposure of fraud by, [244]; General Grant's Message at close of, [245].  
 CONSERVATIVE VICTORY AT LIVERPOOL, [5].  
 "CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD, Memoirs of," [283].  
 COOPER, MR., Q.C., Obituary notice, 130.  
 COPENHAGEN, Visit of Crown Prince of Germany to, [238].  
 CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE ASHANTEE INVASION, 232.  
 CORRY, RIGHT HON. H. T., Obituary notice, 131.  
 CORTES (Spain), Elections to, [226]; meeting of, [227]; changes in Cabinet, [*ib.*]; Intransigentes, [227].  
 "COURT AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER NAPOLEON III.," by Mr. Whitehurst, [303].  
 COURT THEATRE, "Happy Land" at, 29.  
 COWEN, SIR J., M.P., Obituary notice, 160.  
 COWPER-TEMPLE, MR., Scheme of, for delivery of sermons in churches by laymen and dissenters, [72].  
 "COX, DAVID, Memoir of," by Mr. Solly, [274].  
 CRAIGIE, GEN. SIR P. E., Obituary notice, 160.  
 CRICKET.—Oxford and Cambridge match, 58; Eton and Harrow match, 67.  
 CRIMINALS, Treaty with Belgium for surrender of, 240; and with Italy, 245.  
 "CRITIQUES AND ADDRESSES," by Prof. Huxley, [294].  
 CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY, Visit to Copenhagen, [238].  
 DARTMOOR, Autumn Campaign on, 79.  
 DARWINIAN THEORY OF DESCENT OF MAN, Mr. St. George Mivart on, [326].  
 DAVIES'S, DR. MAURICE, "Orthodox London" and "Unorthodox London," [288].  
 "DEAN ALFORD, Life, Journals and Letters of," by Mrs. Alford, [263].  
 DEGREES, University, 253.  
 DELAWARE, EARL, Suicide of, at Cambridge, 46.  
 DE LIZARDI, JOSEPH, Charge of fraud against, 22.  
 "DENMAN, LORD, Life of," by Sir Joseph Arnould, [283].  
 DENMARK, [237]; ministerial crisis, [*ib.*]; dissolution of Rigsdag, [*ib.*]; Icelandic politics, [*ib.*]; visit of Crown Prince of Germany to Copenhagen, [238].  
 DERBY, LORD, Memorial Statue to, 54.  
 DERBY, The, won by Doncaster, 51.  
 DR STRZELECKI, COUNT, Obituary notice, 156.  
 DEUTSCH, MR. E., Obituary notice, 138.  
 "DEVASTATION," Trial of, 45.  
 DISESTABLISHMENT, Speech of Mr. Gladstone on, [71].  
 DISRAELI, MR., Speech on Second Reading of Irish University Bill, [27]; on Resignation of the Government, [35]; on Judicature Bill, [52]; on the Budget, [68]; Bath letter, [87]; installed Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 108.  
 DIXON'S, MR. HEFWORTH, "Two Queens," [282].  
 DOCKHEAD, Fire at, 47.  
 "DOCTORS AND PATIENTS," by Mr. Timbs, [284].  
 DODWORTH, Railway Accident at, 85.  
 DUDLEY GALLERY, [314].  
 DUEL between M. Ranc and Paul de Cassagnac, [148].  
 DUKE, SIR JAMES, BART., Obituary notice, 139.  
 "DUMAS, ALEXANDRE, The Life and Adventures of," by Mr. Fitzgerald, [272].  
 DURANT, MISS, Obituary notice, 123.  
 EASTBOURNE, Railway Accident at, 84.  
 EARTHQUAKE AT DONCASTER, 47.

**ECCLESIASTICAL APPEALS** to be transferred to Supreme Court, [52].  
**ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS**, New German, [181].  
**EDINBURGH, DUKE OF**, Intended marriage of, [75]; congratulations of House of Lords to Queen, [76].  
**EGYPT**, [242].  
**ELECTION PROSECUTIONS**, Conclusion of, in Galway, 23.  
**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL**, [54].  
**ELIZABETH, QUEEN DOWAGER OF PRUSSIA**, Death of, [201].  
**EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA**, Visits of King of Italy and Emperor William to, [204]; jubilee of, [209].  
**EMPEROR OF CHINA**, Reception of Ambassadors, [256].  
**EMPEROR OF GERMANY**, Visits to St. Petersburg and Vienna, [191]; correspondence with the Pope, [194].  
**EMPRESS DOWAGER OF AUSTRIA**, Death of, [202].  
**"ENCYCLICAL" LETTER OF THE POPE**, [198], [218].  
**ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS**, Rejection of schemes of, by House of Lords, [77].  
**ENGLAND**, History of, for 1873, [1].  
**"ERASMUS, Life of,"** by Mr. Drummond, [281].  
**"ESSAYS, BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL,"** by A. Hayward, Q.C., [280].  
**ETON AND HARROW CRICKET MATCH**, 67.  
**EVACUATION OF FRANCE BY GERMANS**, [148].  
**EVERCREECH**, Railway Accident near, 83.  
**EXETER**, Railway Accident at, 84.  
**EXHIBITION AT VIENNA**, Opening of, [202]; Distinguished Visitors to, [203].  
**EXPENDITURE, PUBLIC INCOME AND**, 249.

**FALK, DR.**, introduces new Ecclesiastical Laws in Prussian Diet, [181].  
**FAMINE IN INDIA IMPENDING**, [106].  
**FANCY DRESS BALL AT MANSION HOUSE**, 46.  
**FAST LIFE**, 111.  
**FAWCETT, MR.**, in debate on Irish University Bill, [23]; Bill for Reform of University of Dublin, [39].  
**FERRY HILL**, Railway Accident at, 106.  
**FIGUERAS**, President of Spanish Republic, [223]; flight of, [227].  
**FINANCE ACCOUNTS**; Public Income and Expenditure for the year 1872-3, 249.  
**FIRES**.—At Dockhead, 47; at Manchester, *ib.*

**FIREWORK EXPLOSION AT LAMBETH** 107.  
**FITZGERALD, MR.**, "Life and Adventures of Alexandre Dumas," [272].  
**FOG**, Dense, in London, 117.  
**FORBES, HON. F. R.**, Obituary notice, 158.  
**FOREIGN HISTORY**, [111].  
**FORGERIES**, Bank of England, 26; trial of prisoners for, 164.  
**FORSTER'S, MR.**, Elementary Education Bill, [54].  
**FORTESCUE, MR. CHICHESTER**, in debate on Irish University Bill, [24]; circular of, to Railway Companies, [92].  
**FOX, GENERAL**, Obituary notice, 135.  
**FRANCE**.—History of the year, [111]; Napoleon III., death of, [112]; meeting of National Assembly, [115]; formation of Second Chamber, [117]; letter of Comte de Chambord to Bishop of Orleans, [120]; Treaty of Evacuation completed, [124]; resignation of M. Grévy, [129]; election in Paris, [131]; reassembling of National Assembly, [134]; resignation of M. Thiers, [136]; Marshal MacMahon President, [137]; prosecution of M. Ranc, [141]; Commercial Treaty with England, [146]; end of Session of Assembly, [147]; Shah of Persia in Paris, [148]; evacuation of, by Germans, [*ib.*]; pilgrimages in, [151]; project for restoration of Monarchy, [153]; activity of political parties in, [154]; Marshal MacMahon's Message at opening of National Assembly, [161]; prolongation of powers of President of, [163]; Bill for appointment of Mayors, [173]; continuance of Paris in state of siege, [174]; Budget of M. Magne, [175]; trial of Marshal Bazaine, [176].  
**FRANCIS JOSEPH, Emperor of Austria**.—Visits of King of Italy and Emperor William of Germany to, [204]; jubilee of, [209].  
**FREE OPENING OF KEW BRIDGE**, 19.  
**FRENCH, TOM**, Obituary notice, 148.  
**"FRENCH HOME LIFE,"** from "Blackwood's Magazine," [308].  
**FYLER, MAJOR-GEN.**, Obituary notice, 152.

**GALES IN LONDON**, 18; in Cornwall, *ib.*; in the North, 118.  
**GALIGNANI, MONS. J. A.**, Obituary notice, 161.  
**GALWAY ELECTION PROSECUTIONS**, Conclusion of, 23.  
**GARNIER, DR. T.**, Obituary notice, 141.  
**GASKELL, MR. J. MILNES**, Obituary notice, 128.

- GAS STOKERS**, Release of imprisoned, 46.
- "GATEWAY TO THE POLYNIA,"** by Captain Wells, [297].
- GATTY, MRS. A.**, Obituary notice, 152.
- GAY, MR.**, killed in India by a Tiger, 49.
- GENEVA**, Father Hyacinthe at, [236]; death of Charles, Duke of Brunswick at, [237].
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY**, Sir Samuel Baker at, 115.
- GERMANY.**—History of the year, [179]; retirement of Prince Bismarck from Presidency of Council of Ministers, [180]; Ecclesiastical Laws in Prussian Diet, [181]; discussion on, [182]; opening of Imperial Diet, [184]; expulsion of Religious Orders, [185]; resistance of Bishops to Ecclesiastical Laws, [186]; prosecution of, [187]; close of Imperial Diet, [189]; visits of Emperor to St. Petersburg and Vienna, [191]; consecration of Bishop Reinkens, [191]; proceedings of Old Catholics, [*ib.*]; unveiling of column of Victory, [191]; correspondence between Emperor and the Pope, [194]; German opinion on, [195]; opening of Prussian Diet, [197]; Civil Marriage Bill, [*ib.*]; proceeding against Archbishop Ledochowski, [*ib.*]; Civil Registration Bill, [199]; Financial Retrospect, [200]; death of King of Saxony, [201]; Queen Dowager of Prussia, [*ib.*].
- GISELA, ARCHDUCHESS**, Marriage of, [202].
- GLADSTONE'S, MR.**, Speech on Irish University Bill, [7]; on second reading of, [29]; resignation of, [33]; resumption of office, [35]; Speech on the Budget, [69]; Speech on Disestablishment, [71]; becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, [83].
- GLASGOW UNIVERSITY**, Mr. Disraeli installed Lord Rector of, 108.
- GLASS, SIR R. A.**, Obituary notice, 161.
- GOLD COAST**, Account of, [95].
- GOODWOOD CUP DAY**, 73.
- GORDON, VICE-ADMIRAL**, Obituary notice, 161.
- GORTCHAKOW, PRINCE.**—Correspondence with Earl Granville respecting Central Asia, 222.
- GOSFORD, MR.**, Evidence of, in Tichborne Case, 182.
- GOVERNMENT**, Unpopularity of, [5]; resignation of, [33]; resumption of office, [35]; irregularities of, [80]; losses of seats by, [87].
- GRANT, PRESIDENT**, Message to Congress, [245].
- GRANVILLE, LORD**, moves Address to the Crown on marriage of Duke of Edinburgh, [76]; despatch of, relating to Khiva, [109]; correspondence with Prince Gortchakow respecting Central Asia, 221.
- GRAVES, MR., M.P.**, Obituary notice, 123.
- GRAVES, ROBERT, A.R.A.**, Obituary notice, 128.
- GREAT CORAM-STREET**, Murder in, 16.
- GREECE**, [242]; Laurium Mines, [243].
- GRIFFIN, VICE-ADMIRAL**, Obituary notice, 141.
- "GROTE, GEORGE, Personal Life of,"** by Mrs. Grote, [261].
- GUTHRIE, DR.**, Obituary notice, 128.
- HALLFIELD GATE**, Railway Accident at, 57.
- HAMILTON, MRS. JANET**, Obituary notice, 158.
- "HAPPY LAND"** at Court Theatre, 29.
- HARBOUR OF REFUGE**, New Holyhead, 78.
- HARDY, MR.**, obtains assent of House of Commons to transfer Ecclesiastical Appeals to Supreme Court, [52].
- HARLEY, COLONEL**, Correspondence respecting Ashantee Invasion, 232.
- HARRIS, MR. A.**, Obituary notice, 135.
- HAWKINS, MR.**, Opening Speech in Tichborne Case, 173.
- HAYMAN'S, DR.**, "Odyssey," [307].
- HAYWARD'S, MR., Q.C.**, "Essays, Biographical and Critical," [280].
- HENLEY REGATTA**, 58.
- HESSEL, DR.** arrested for the Great Coram-street murder, 16; examination of, 17; presentation to, 20.
- "HISTORICAL ESSAYS,"** by Mr. Freeman, [287].
- HOLLAND**, [235]; War with Atchin, [*ib.*].
- HOLLAND, SIR HENRY**, Obituary notice, 152.
- "HOLLAND HOUSE,"** by Princess Lichtenstein, [276].
- HOLYHEAD HARBOUR OF REFUGE**, 78.
- HORSMAN, MR.**, in debate on Irish University Bill, [23].
- HOSPITAL SUNDAY**, 57.
- HOTHAM, ADMIRAL, K.H.**, Obituary notice, 129.
- HOUGHTON'S, LORD**, "Monographs, Personal and Social," [278].
- HOUSE OF LORDS**, The, [77].
- HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE TO COUNTIES**, Mr. Trevelyan's motion in favour of, [72].
- HOWDEN, LORD**, Obituary notice, 15.

- "HUMAN LONGEVITY, ITS FACTS AND FICTIONS," by Mr. Thoms, [283].
- HUNGARY. — Infallibilism in, [208]; Ministerial crisis, [*ib.*]; Buda-Pesth Bill, [209]; Emperor's Jubilee, [*ib.*].
- HUNT'S, MR. HOLMAN, Picture, "Shadow of Death," [316].
- HUNT, MR. THORNTON, Obituary notice, 141.
- HUNTER, MR. J. K., Obituary notice, 129.
- HUXLEY'S, PROFESSOR, "Critiques and Addresses," [294].
- HYACINTHE, FATHER, at Geneva, [236].
- ICELAND. — Demand for New Constitution, [238].
- IMPERIAL DIET (Germany). — Opening of, [184]; expulsion of religious orders, [185]; Bill for introduction of Imperial Constitution into Alsace and Lorraine, [188]; close of session, [189].
- INCOME, PUBLIC, AND EXPENDITURE, 249.
- INDIA, Impending Famine in, [106].
- INFALLIBILISM IN HUNGARY, [193].
- "INTERNATIONAL" REVOLT AT VALENCIA, [229].
- INTRASIGENTES, [227].
- IRELAND. — Fire at Dublin, 54; murder in, 102.
- IRISH UNIVERSITY BILL introduced by Mr. Gladstone, [7]; debate on second reading, [23]; Speech of Mr. Fawcett, [*ib.*]; of Mr. Horsman, [*ib.*]; of Mr. C. Fortescue, [24]; Dr. Lyon Playfair, [25]; Mr. Lowe, [*ib.*]; Speech of Mr. Disraeli, [27]; of Mr. Gladstone, [29]; defeat of Government, [32].
- IRON TRADE STRIKE, [1], 1.
- ITALY. — History of the year, [211]; national feeling for Napoleon III., [*ib.*]; debates on Finance in Chamber of Deputies, [211]; Ministerial crisis, [212]; Religious Corporations Bill, [213]; illness of the Pope, [215]; deaths of Manzoni and Rattazzi, [*ib.*]; resignation of Cabinet, [216]; Minghetti appointed, [*ib.*]; King's visits to Austria and Germany, [217]; expulsion of Jesuits from convents, [*ib.*]; Association of Science, [217]; reassembling of Chamber of Deputies, [218]; financial debates, [*ib.*]; Pope's Encyclical Letter, [218]; Treaty with, for surrender of Criminals, 245.
- "JACKSON'S, SIR GEORGE, Diaries and Letters," [269].
- JAMES, EDWIN, Appeal of, 22.
- JAMES, SIR HENRY, re-elected at Taunton, [88].
- JAPAN, [257].
- JAY, COOKE, AND Co., Failure of, [252].
- JONES, DR. BENICE, Obituary notice, 134.
- JUDICATURE BILL, Introduction of, [40]; Speech of Lord Selborne on, [*ib.*]; discussion on, in House of Commons, [51].
- KENEALY, DR., Opening Speech of, in Tichborne Case, 189; commences speech for defence, 216.
- "KENELM CHILLINGLY," by Lord Lytton, [304].
- "KENYON, LORD, Life of," by Mr. Kenyon, [266].
- KEW BRIDGE, Free opening of, 19.
- KHIVA, Description of, [107]; Earl Granville's despatch relating to, [109]; Count Schouvalow explains Russian policy, [*ib.*]; Russian war with, [239].
- KIMBERLEY, EARL OF, Correspondence respecting Ashantee Invasion, 232.
- KNIGHT, MR. CHARLES, Obituary notice, 131.
- KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, Prince of Wales installed Grand Master of, 43.
- LABOURERS' WIVES, Imprisonment of, 52.
- "LAHORE TO YARKUND," by Dr. Henderson and Mr. Allan Hume, [299].
- "LAND OF MOAB," by Mr. Tristram, [298].
- LAND TENURE, Mr. Mill on, 82.
- LANDSEER'S, SIR EDWIN, Picture, "Sketch of her Majesty the Queen," [309]; funeral of, 101; obituary notice, 153.
- LARKHALL, Railway Accident near, 96.
- LAURUM MINES, [243].
- LAWSON, SIR WILFRID, and the Permissive Bill, [72].
- LECTURES ON LIGHT, by Professor Tyn-dall, [294].
- LEDCHOWSKI, ARCHBISHOP, Resistance to Prussian Ecclesiastical Laws, [187]; further proceedings against, [197].
- LE FANU, MR. J. S., Obituary notice, 129.
- "LETTERS, LECTURES, AND REVIEWS" of Dean Mansel, by Mr. Chandler, [264].

- "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY,"** by Mr. Fitz-James Stephen, [293].  
**LICHTENSTEIN'S, PRINCESS,** "Holland House," [276].  
**LITERATURE,** Retrospect of, [258].  
**"LITERATURE AND DOGMA,"** by Matthew Arnold, [291].  
**LLANDULAS,** Railway Accident at, 85.  
**LOBO, ADMIRAL,** Dismissal of, [233].  
**"LOCHEARN,"** Loss of, 109.  
**LONDON SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS,** 117.  
**LONGMAN'S, MR. WILLIAM,** "History of Three Cathedrals in London," [288].  
**LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET TO THE CORPORATIONS OF ENGLAND AND WALES AT YORK,** 103.  
**LOUISIANA,** Disturbances in, [251].  
**LOWE, MR.,** in debate on Irish University Bill, [25]; introduces the Budget, [54]; reply to Mr. W. H. Smith's Resolution on, [67]; the Zanzibar Contract, [79]; speech at Sheffield, [89].  
**LUIE, JEAN,** Examination of, in Tichborne Case, 207; committal of, 118.  
**LUSHINGTON, DR.,** Obituary notice, 123.  
**LUXEMBURG RAILWAY,** Repurchase by State, [235].  
**LYNCH, CAPTAIN, C.B.,** Obituary notice, 136.  
**LYONS,** Suppression of Central Municipality at, [128].  
**LYTTLETON, MR. CHARLES,** moves Address to the Crown in House of Commons, [7].  
**LYTTON, LORD,** "Kenelm Chillingly" by, [304]; "The Parisians," [305]; funeral of, 15; obituary notice, 124.  
**LYVEDEN, LORD,** Obituary notice, 158.
- M'CLEAN, MR., M.P.,** Obituary notice, 142.  
**M'CLURE, SIR ROBERT,** Obituary notice, 155.  
**MACDONNELL, GEORGE,** Trial of, for Bank of England forgeries, 164.  
**MACKENZIE, COLONEL,** Obituary notice, 148.  
**MACMAHON, MARSHAL,** President of Assembly, [137]; Message on opening of National Assembly, [161]; Presidential powers of, [163].  
**MACREADY, MR.,** Obituary notice, 136.  
**MADDEN, SIR FREDERIC, F.R.S.,** Obituary notice, 131.  
**MAGNE, M.,** French Budget of, [175].  
**MAIDENHEAD,** Railway accident at, 105.  
**MANCHESTER,** Fire at, 47.  
**MANSION HOUSE,** Speech of Lord Selborne at, [81]; fancy dress hall at, 46.
- MANZONI AND RATTAZZI,** Deaths of, [215].  
**MARJORIBANKS, LORD,** Obituary notice, 142.  
**MARRIAGE,** Intended, of Duke of Edinburgh, [75]; Mr. Gladstone's proposition on, [*ib.*]; resolution of House on, [76].  
**MARSHALL, MR. J. G.,** Obituary notice, 155.  
**MARYHILL STATION,** Fatal railway accident at, 104.  
**MATSON, MAJOR-GENERAL,** Obituary notice, 151.  
**MEMOIRS OF ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE,** 283.  
**MEMORIAL STATUES** to Lord Derby and Sir Robert Peel, 54.  
**MERMILLOD, M.—**Appointment repudiated by Council of State (Switzerland), [236].  
**MEXICO,** [254].  
**MILES PLATTING,** Railway Accident at, 83.  
**MILL, JOHN STUART,** on Land Tenure, 32; obituary notice of, 139; Autobiography of, by Miss Taylor, [258].  
**MILLER, MAJOR-GENERAL, C.B.,** Obituary notice, 140.  
**"MILTON, LIFE OF,"** by Professor Masson, [281].  
**MINISTRY,** Changes in, [83].  
**MINOR GOVERNMENT BILLS,** [53].  
**MIVART, MR. ST. GEORGE,** Treatise on Darwinian Theory of Descent of Man, [326].  
**MODOC WAR,** [247]; execution of Captain Jack, [250].  
**MONEY MARKET AND RATES OF DISCOUNT,** [92].  
**"MONOGRAPHS, PERSONAL AND SOCIAL,"** by Lord Houghton, [278].  
**MONTAGLE, LORD,** seconds Address to the Crown in House of Lords, [7].  
**MOROCCO,** [257]; death of Emperor, [*ib.*]; obituary notice, 149.  
**"MOSCHELES, Life of,"** [275].  
**MURDERER,** Extraordinary conduct of a convicted, 94.  
**MURDERS.—**Great Coram-street, 16; the Newton-Stewart, 72; discovery of mutilated body, 89.  
**"MURILLO,"** Capture of, 96; sale of, 111.  
**MURRAY, DR. J.,** Obituary notice, 156.  
**MUTILATED BODY,** Discovery of, 89.
- NAPOLEON III.,** Death of, [4], [111]; French Press on, [112]; National feeling in Italy, [211]; death of, 2; lying-in-state, 4; funeral, *ib.*; obituary notice, 122.



**NAPOLEON, PRINCE**—Petition against expulsion from French territory, [126].

**NAPOLEONIC FÊTE AT CHISELHURST**, 76.

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**.—Committee of Thirty, [115]; relation of President to Assembly, [116]; formation of Second Chamber, [117]; Duke de Broglie's Report, [119]; letter of Comte de Chambord to Bishop of Orleans, [120]; Speech of Thiers, [122]; Treaty of Evacuation completed, [124]; Prince Napoleon's petition, [126]; suppression of Central Municipality at Lyons, [128]; resignation of M. Grévy, [129]; reconstruction of the Cabinet, [132]; reassembling of, [134]; resignation of Thiers, [136]; Marshal MacMahon President, [137]; Message from new President, [138]; interpellation by M. Gambetta, [140]; prosecution of M. Ranc, [141]; Burial of M. Broussier, [142]; Electoral and Constitutional Bills, [144]; interpellation by Jules Favre, [145]; Commercial Treaty with England, [146]; end of session, [147]; Marshal MacMahon's Message on assembling of, [161]; powers of President, [163]; new Committee of Thirty, [173]; Bill for Appointment of Mayors, [16]; Budget of M. Magne, [175].

**NAVAL ACTION OFF CARTAGENA**, [233].

**NAVAL ESTIMATES, The**, [75].

**NETHERLANDS**, [235].

**NEWLAY**, Railway Accident at, 84.

**NEWRY**, Railway Truck burnt at, 107.

**NEWTON-MORE**, Railway Accident at, 106.

**NEWTON-STEWART**, Murder at, 72.

**NICHOLS, MR. J. G.**, Obituary notice, 159.

**NOEL, HON. AND REV. BAPTIST**, Obituary notice, 126.

**NORTH SHIELDS**, Railway Accident at, 83.

**"NORTHFLEET," Wreck of**, 9.

**"NOTES ON THOUGHT,"** by Charles Buxton, [285].

**NOYES, EDWIN**, Trial of, for Bank of England Forgeries, 164.

**OAKS, The**, won by Marie Stuart, 52.

**OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS**, 122.

**O'CONNOR, MAJOR-GENERAL, C. B.**, Obituary notice, 132.

**O'GRADY, The**, Obituary notice, 161.

**OLD CATHOLICS IN GERMANY**, Proceedings of, [191]; Congress at Constance, [16].

**"OLD COURT LIFE IN FRANCE,"** by Mrs. Elliot, [302].

**"OLD KENSINGTON,"** by Miss Thackeray, [306].

**ONSLOW AND WHALLEY, MESSRS.**, fined for contempt of Court, 7; Mr. Onslow fined, 178.

**OPENING OF PARLIAMENT**, [5].

**ORMEROD, MR. GEORGE**, Obituary notice, 156.

**"ORTHODOX LONDON,"** by Dr. Davies, [288].

**OSCAR II.**, crowned King of Sweden, [237].

**OSINGTON, LORD**, Obituary notice, 132.

**"OVER THE DOVREFIELDS,"** by Mr. J. S. Shepard, [301].

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY DEGREES**, 254.

**OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BOAT-RACE**, 75.

**"OXFORD METHODISTS,"** by Mr. Tyerman, [282].

**PAGET, LORD W.**, Obituary notice, 140.

**PARAY-LE-MONIAL**, Pilgrimage to, 86; French pilgrimage to, [152].

**PARIS**, Election in, [131]; continuance of state of siege, [174].

**"PARISIANS, THE,"** by Lord Lytton, [305].

**PARKER, CAPTAIN, R.N.**, Obituary notice, 137.

**PARLBY, GENERAL, C.B.**, Obituary notice, 133.

**PARLIAMENT**, Opening of, [5].

**PARLIAMENTARY RETURN OF RAILWAY ACCIDENTS**, 95.

**PARTRIDGE, PROFESSOR**, Obituary notice, 133.

**"PATTESON, BISHOP, Life of,"** by Charlotte Yonge, [283].

**"PEARL OF THE ANTILLES,"** by Mr. Gallenga and Mr. Goodman, [302].

**PEAS MARSH CROSSING**, Railway Accident at, 91.

**PEEL, SIR ROBERT**, Memorial Statue to, 54.

**PERMISSIVE BILL**, Rejection of, [72].

**PERSIA**, [255]; visit of Shah to Europe, [255]; concessions to Baron Reuter, [16]. *Vide* SHAH OF PERSIA.

**"PERSONAL LIFE OF GEORGE GROTE,"** by Mrs. Grote, [261].

**PERU**, 255.

**PHILIPS, MR. MARK**, 161.

**PIGOT, LORD CHIEF BARON**, Obituary notice, 162.

**PILGRIMAGE TO PARAY-LE-MONIAL**, 86.

**PILGRIMAGES IN FRANCE**, [151].

**PIPER, GENERAL R. S.**, Obituary notice, 162.

**PLAYFAIR, DR. LYON**, in debate on Irish University Bill, [25]; appointed Postmaster-General, [183].

"POLARIS," Safety of Crew of, 97.

POLICE AND THE PUBLIC, 113.

"POLITICAL ESSAYS," by Professor Cairnes, [286].

POLITICAL PARTIES IN FRANCE, Activity of, [154].

POLLOCK, ARCHDEACON, Obituary notice, 156.

PONIATOWSKI, PRINCE, Obituary notice, 143.

POPE PIUS IX. AND THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, [194]; Encyclical Letter, [198]; illness of the, [215]; Encyclical Letter of, [218]; holds a Consistory, [220].

PORTUGAL, [235].

POWERS, HIRAM, Obituary notice, 142.

PRESS, FRENCH, on Death of Napoleon III., [112].

PRESTON, Railway Accident at, 105.

"PRINCESS OF THULE," by Wm. Black, [307].

PRIVATE BILLS IN HOUSE OF COMMONS, [70].

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS, 251.

PROTECTORATE ON GOLD COAST, [97].

PRUSSIA, Death of Queen Dowager of, [201].

PRUSSIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS' resistance to laws, [186]; prosecution of, [187].

PRUSSIAN DIET, [180]; Ecclesiastical laws, [181]; discussion on, [182]; opening of, [196]; Civil Marriage Bill, [197]; Civil Registration Bill, [199]; Financial Retrospect of 1873, [200].

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS.

—Correspondence with Russia respecting Central Asia, 221; Correspondence respecting Ashantee Invasion, 232; Treaty with Belgium for Surrender of Fugitive Criminals, 238; Treaty with Italy for Surrender of Criminals, 242.

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 249.

QUEEN, The.—Speech at Opening of Parliament, [5]; visit to Victoria Park, 43; Grandson, Accident to, 53.

RACES.—The Two Thousand Day, 48; Derby Day, 51; Oaks Day, 52; Ascot Cup Day, 57; Goodwood Cup Day, 73; St. Leger Stakes, 92; Cesarewitch Stakes, 100.

RACING STUDS, Sale of, 67.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—At Shrewsbury, 48; at Hallfield Gate, 57; at Wigan,

73; at Retford, 82; near Salisbury, *ib.*; Ashton, 83; Redhill, *ib.*; North Shields, *ib.*; Miles Platting, *ib.*; near Evercreech, *ib.*; Exeter, 84; Botley, *ib.*; at Newlay, *ib.*; Eastbourne, *ib.*; Dodworth, 85; Virginia Water, *ib.*; Llandulas, *ib.*; at Peas Marsh Crossing, 91; Board of Trade circular, [93]; Wigan Accident Inquiry, 95; Parliamentary Return, 95; at Birchington, 95; near Larkhall, 96; at Wetheral, 99; at Arthington, *ib.*; at Birmingham, *ib.*; at Maryhill, 104; Twickenham, 105; Maidenhead, *ib.*; Preston, *ib.*; Upper Greenhill, *ib.*; Carlisle, 106; Newtonmore, *ib.*; near Ferryhill, *ib.*; fire near Newry, 107; at Ballyglunin, *ib.*; Westbury, *ib.*

RAILWAY AND CANAL BILL, [70].

RATTAZZI, MANZONI and, Deaths of, [215].

RED HILL, Railway Accident near, 83.

RETFORD, Railway Accident at, 82.

REICHSRATH, AUSTRIAN.—Passing of Reform Bill, [201]; end of session, [202]; elections to, [205]; opening of session by Emperor, [206].

REINKENS, BISHOP, Consecration of, [191]; presides over assembly of Old Catholics of Westphalia, [193]; reply to the Pope, [199].

REMARKABLE TRIALS, 164.

"REMINISCENCES AND REFLECTIONS" of Dr. McLeod Campbell, [265].

"RENAISSANCE, Studies in History of the," by Mr. Pater, [291].

REPUBLIC, Proclamation of Spanish, [223].

REPUBLICANISM, Mr. Bright and, 48.

RESIGNATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, [33]; resumption of office, [35].

RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE, [258].

REUTER, BARON, Concessions to, by Shah of Persia, [255].

"RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN THE WEST OF EUROPE, Essays on," by Earl Russell, [290].

ROBERTS, GEN. SIR A., Obituary notice, 162.

ROBINSON, DR. T., Obituary notice, 140.

RONALDS, SIR FRANCIS, Obituary notice, 149.

ROSE, SIR GEORGE, Obituary notice, 163.

ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION, [307].

ROYAL COMMISSION.—Report on Unseaworthy Ships, 100.

RUSSELL'S, EARL, "Essays on the Rise and Progress of Christian Religion in the West of Europe," [290].

RUSSIA.—History of the year, [239]; Khivan War, [*ib.*]; correspondence with, respecting Central Asia, 221.

- SALISBURY, LORD**, seconds Address to the Crown on marriage of Duke of Edinburgh, [76].
- SALISBURY**, Railway Accident near, 82.
- SALOMONS, SIR D.**, Obituary notice, 143.
- SAMANA**, Purchase of, by United States, [246].
- SANDFORD, ARCHDEACON**, Obituary notice, 133.
- SANTA CRUZ**, Atrocities committed by, [224]; condemned to be shot, [225].
- "SANTO DOMINGO, PAST AND PRESENT,"** by Mr. Hazard, [301].
- SAVINGS' BANK DEPOSITS** applied to Telegraphs, [80].
- SAXONY**.—Death of King John, [20]; obituary notice, 151.
- SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS**, 117.
- SCHOUVALOW, COUNT**, explains Russian Policy relating to Khiva, [109].
- SCIENCE**, Retrospect of, [317].
- SCOTT, MR. HOPE, Q.C.**, Obituary notice, 136.
- SCOTT, GENERAL SIR J., K.C.B.**, Obituary notice, 126.
- SCUDAMORE, MR.**, applies Savings' Bank Deposits to Telegraphs, [80].
- SEDGWICK, PROFESSOR**, Obituary notice, 127.
- SELBORNE, LORD**, Speech on Judicature Bill, [40]; Speech at Mansion House, [81].
- SERRANO**, Flight of Marshal, [226].
- "SHADOW OF DEATH."**—Mr. Holman Hunt's picture, [316].
- "SHAH,"** Launch of, 93.
- SHAH OF PERSIA**, Visit of the, 58; reception at Windsor, 60; at Guildhall, 61; visit to docks, 62; to Crystal Palace, 64; departure from Portsmouth, 65; concession to Baron Reuter, [82]; visit to Paris, [148]; visit to Berlin, [190].
- SHAM FIGHT AT ALDERSHOT**, 66.
- SHEFFIELD**, Speech of Mr. Lowe at, [89].
- "SHELLEY'S EARLY LIFE,"** by Mr. MacCarthy, [271].
- SHERIFFS**, List of, 253.
- SHIPWRECKS**.—Of the "Northfleet," 9; of the "Chacalrico," 28; of the "Torch," *ib.*; of the "Boyne," 29; of the "Atlantic," 36; "Ville du Havre," loss of, 109; and "Lochearn," 111; Tyne steam-tug, 121.
- SHREWSBURY**, Railway Accident at, 48.
- "SIMPSON, SIR JAMES**, Memoir of," by Dr. Duns, [267].
- SKIPWORTH, MR.**, fined for contempt of Court, 9.
- "SLAVE CATCHING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN,"** by Captain Colomb, [300].
- SMITH, MR. W. H.**, Resolution on the Budget, [66].
- "SOMERVILLE, MRS., Autobiography of,"** [283].
- SOUTH AMERICAN STATES**, [254].
- SPAIN**.—History of the year, [220]; abdication of King Amadeo, [*ib.*]; Señor Castelar's reply, [222]; proclamation of Republic, [223]; Figueras President, [*ib.*]; Carlist War, [224]; flight of Marshal Serrano, [226]; elections to Cortes, [*ib.*]; meeting of Cortes, [227]; flight of Señor Figueras, [*ib.*]; Intransigentes, [*ib.*]; International revolt in Valencia, [229]; at Cartagena, [*ib.*]; seizure of Intransigente vessels by English and Prussian ships, [230]; Castelar President, [231]; bombardment of Alicante, [233]; naval action off Cartagena, [*ib.*]; dismissal of Admiral Lobo, [*ib.*]; Carlist War, [233]; differences between Castelar and Salmeron, [*ib.*]; "Virginus" at Cuba, [235].
- SPIRITUALIST**, Awfully sudden Death of a, 103.
- ST. LEGER STAKES**, 92.
- STATE PAPERS, PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, &c.**—Correspondence with Russia respecting Central Asia, 221; Correspondence respecting Ashantee Invasion, 232; Treaty with Belgium for Surrender of Fugitive Criminals, 238; Treaty with Italy for Surrender of Criminals, 242; Income and Expenditure, 246.
- "STATION AMUSEMENTS,"** by Lady Barker, [300].
- STOKES, TWEED, and HALL**, Trials of, [245].
- STONE, MR.**, seconds Address to the Crown in House of Commons, [7].
- STRIKES**.—Iron and Coal Trade, [1]; speech of Sir W. Armstrong on, [2]; Iron Trade, 1; continuance of, 17, 25; end of, 33.
- "STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE,"** by Mr. Pater, [291].
- SUMATRA**, Dutch War in, [235].
- SUNDAY LECTURES** in St. George's Hall, by Dr. Carpenter, [325].
- SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN GERMANY**, [185].
- SUPREME COURT FOR ECCLESIASTICAL APPEALS**, [53].
- SWANWICK'S, MISS**, "Oresteian Trilogy," [307].
- SWEDEN**, [237]; Coronation of Oscar II., [*ib.*].
- SWITZERLAND**, [236]; M. Mermillod's appointment repudiated by Council, [*ib.*]; Father Hyacinthe, [*ib.*]; death of Duke of Brunswick at Geneva, [237].
- TALIFU**, Massacre at, [256].

TALK-O'-THE-HILL COLLIERY, Explosion at, 21.  
 TAUNTON, Sir Henry James re-elected for, [88].  
 "TAYLOR, LETTERS OF JOHN JAMES," by Mr. Hamilton Thom, [266].  
 THACKERAY'S, Miss, "Old Kensington," [306].  
 THIERS, M., and Committee of Thirty, [115]; wishes to form Second Chamber, [116]; Speech in National Assembly, [122]; completes Treaty of Evacuation, [124]; resignation of, [136]; beneficial Government of, [147]; seclusion of, [179].  
 THOMSON, MR. R. W., Obituary notice, 133.  
 "THREE CATHEDRALS IN LONDON DEDICATED TO ST. PAUL," by Mr. Wm. Longman, [288].  
 "THRESHOLD OF UNKNOWN REGION," by Mr. Clements Markham, [297].  
 THUNDERSTORMS, Severe, 70.  
 TICHBORNE CASE.—Messrs. Onslow and Whalley fined for contempt of Court, 7; Mr. Skipworth fined, 9; Committal of Luie for perjury, 118; general account of the Case, 173; Mr. Hawkins' Speech, *ib.*; Mr. Onslow fined for contempt of Court, 178; Mr. Gosford's evidence, 182; Dr. Kenealy's Speech, 189; examination of Luie, 207; Dr. Kenealy begins speech for defence, 216.  
 TIGER, Mr. Gay killed in India by a, 49.  
 TITE, SIR WM., M.P., Obituary notice, 137.  
 TONNAGE COMMISSION, International, at Constantinople, [242].  
 TRADES' UNION CONGRESS, 6.  
 TRANSIT OF VENUS, [326].  
 TREVELYAN, MR., Motion of, for extending Household Suffrage to Counties, [72].  
 TRIAL OF THE "DEVASTATION," 45.  
 TROLLOPE'S, MR., "Australia and New Zealand," [296].  
 "TRUE REFORMER," from "Blackwood's Magazine," [286].  
 TURKEY, [242]; Lahej Expedition, [*ib.*]; International Tonnage Commission, [*ib.*]; Egypt, [*ib.*].  
 TWICKENHAM STATION, Railway accident at, 105.  
 "TWO QUEENS," by Mr. Hepworth Dixon, [282].  
 TWO THOUSAND DAY, 48.  
 TYNDALL'S, PROFESSOR, Lectures on Light, [294].  
 TYNE STEAM-TUG, Loss of, 121.  
 TYPHOID FEVER IN MILK, 77.  
 UNITED STATES, [244]; exposure of frauds by Congress, [*ib.*]; trial of

UNITED STATES—*continued*—  
 Stokes, [*ib.*]; General Grant's Message at close of Congress, [245]; purchase of Samana, [246]; Modoc War, [247]; execution of Captain Jack, [250]; disturbances in Louisiana, [251]; financial panic, [*ib.*]; "Virginius" difficulty, [253].  
 UNIVERSITY BOAT-RACE, 35.  
 UNIVERSITY DEGREES, Oxford, 254; Cambridge, 260.  
 UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, Mr. Fawcett's Bill for Reform of, [39].  
 UNIVERSITY, Irish, Bill, [7].  
 "UNORTHODOX LONDON," by Dr. Davies, [288].  
 UNSEAWORTHY SHIPS.—Preliminary Report of Royal Commission to inquire into alleged, 100.  
 UPPER GREENHILL, Railway Accident at, 105.  
 VENN, REV. H., Obituary notice, 127.  
 VETCH, LIEUTENANT-COL., Obituary notice, 157.  
 VICTOR EMMANUEL.—Visits to Austria and Germany, [217].  
 VIENNA, Opening of Exhibition at, [202]; distinguished visitors to, [203]; opening of the new Waterworks at, [204].  
 VIRGINIA WATER, Railway Accident at 85.  
 VICTORIA PARK, Queen's visit to, 43.  
 "VILLE DU HAVRE," Loss of, 109.  
 "VIRGINIUS," Affair of, [235], [253].  
 VOLUNTEERS AT WIMBLEDON, 69.  
 VON LIEBIG, BARON, Obituary notice, 136.  
 WALES, PRINCE OF, installed Grand Master of Knights Templars, 43.  
 WALEY, MR. JACOB, Obituary notice, 142.  
 "WALKS IN FLORENCE," by Susan and Joanna Horner, [302].  
 WESTBURY, LORD, Obituary notice, 143.  
 WESTBURY, Railway Accident at, 107.  
 WETHERAL, Railway Accident at, 99.  
 WHALLEY, MESSRS. ONSLOW and, fined for contempt of Court, 7.  
 WHITEHURST'S, MR., "Court and Social Life under Napoleon III.," [303].  
 WICKENS, VICE-CHANCELLOR, Obituary notice, 157.  
 WIGAN, Railway accident at, 73; inquiry into, 95.

WILBERFORCE, MR. H. W., Obituary notice, 138.

WILLIAM, EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Visits to St. Petersburg and Vienna, [191]; correspondence with the Pope, [194].

WILSON, REV. J., Obituary notice, 145.

WIMBLEDON, Volunteers at, 69.

WINCHESTER, Death of Bishop of, 68; obituary notice, 146.

WINTERBOTHAM, MR., M.P., Obituary notice, 163.

WOLSELEY, SIR GARNET, appointed Commander-in-Chief at Ashantee, [103].

WOLVERTON, LORD, Obituary notice, 148.

"WOOLING O'T, THE," by Mrs. Alexander, [307].

WROTTESEY'S, COLONEL, "Life and Letters of Sir John Burgoyne," [268].

WYON, MR. J., Obituary notice, 149.

YORK, Lord Mayor's Banquet to the Corporations of England and Wales, at, 103.

ZANZIBAR CONTRACT, [79].

ZETLAND, EARL OF, Obituary notice, 140.

THE END.



